

**SUBTITLING FRANCOPHONE WORLD CINEMA:
NARRATIVES OF IDENTITY, ALTERITY AND POWER
IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION**

Francesca Maria Leveridge

A thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Translation Studies

School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies

June 2023

Abstract

Cinematic representations of multilingualism raise questions about communication and mutual understanding not only between characters in films but also between films and their audiences, for whom it is typically necessary to facilitate access to foreign dialogues through different forms of translation. Where languages are pitted against one another, however, or juxtaposed in ways that serve to reveal and explore tensions and hierarchies between different linguistic, cultural and social groups, translation becomes entangled in issues of identity, alterity and power. This thesis untangles and explores these complex interactions between languages and translation as they arise in the practice of subtitling. Specifically, it asks questions about how subtitling can play an active part in the shaping of identity by mediating differences between the local, the national and the global, and how subtitles intersect with the relations of power that exist between different cultures. In turn, the thesis exposes the semiotic and narrative dynamics that subtitles add to films and considers the implications of these findings for the ways we think of audiovisual translation and of its relationship with creative processes and accessibility practices.

These questions are considered in the context of multilingualism, not only because issues of language, identity and power relations are inextricably involved in discussions thereof, but because multilingualism is an increasingly common experience for many subtitlers and film audiences alike. This is particularly true of francophone world cinema, from whose corpus the thesis analyses six films across three case studies: *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (Dany Boon 2008), *L'esquive* (Abdellatif Kechiche 2003), *Inch'Allah dimanche* (Yamina Benguigui 2001), *Dheepan* (Jacques Audiard 2015), *Le grand voyage* (Ismaël Ferroukhi 2004) and *Exils* (Tony Gatlif 2004). Methodologically, the thesis combines semiotic, narrative, and linguistic analysis of the subtitled audiovisual texts, drawing on a range of perspectives within Audiovisual Translation Studies, Postcolonial Translation Studies, Film Studies, French and Francophone Studies and Cultural Studies.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I must acknowledge and thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Midlands4Cities Doctoral Training Partnership for the full funding of this research project, without which it would never have been undertaken.

To my supervisors, Dr Pierre-Alexis Mével and Professor Jean-Xavier Ridon – there are absolutely no words that can adequately express my gratitude to you both. Thank you for always encouraging me to go big with my ideas, for your invaluable critical insight on their subsequent development, for your reassurance when things felt impossible, for sharing your wisdom regarding all aspects of academic life and for unrelentingly championing me and my research at every stage of this PhD. You have both had a profound impact on my life beyond the context of our supervisions and I truly could not have wished for better mentors. It has been a privilege.

I am hugely grateful to everyone who has been a part of this journey in some way or another; to the postgraduate and early-career researchers, academics and creatives with whom I have crossed paths, worked and shared ideas in the past four years, to my friends near and far, old and new, for their love, kindness and humour that have kept me going in the more difficult moments, and of course to my immediate family, whose support has been immense and unwavering throughout my academic career.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Tables.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
Note on Translations.....	ix
Introduction.....	1
1. Preliminary.....	1
2. Multilingualism, Cinema, Translation.....	4
3. The ‘Third Space’ of Film Translation.....	14
4. Overview of the Thesis.....	24
Chapter One: Subtitling Multilingual Films: Challenges, Conventions, Creativity.....	27
1. Introduction.....	27
2. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Technicalities.....	30
3. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Practicalities.....	39
4. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Ideologies.....	48
5. Conclusion.....	56
Chapter Two: Materials and Methodology.....	59
1. Introduction.....	59
2. Materials.....	61
2.1. Defining the Multilingual Context.....	61
2.2. Defining the Multilingual Corpus.....	68
2.2.1. Case Study One.....	71
2.2.2. Case Study Two.....	73
2.2.3. Case Study Three.....	75
3. Methodology.....	77
3.1. The Theoretical Framework.....	77
3.2. Macrocontextual Analysis.....	79
3.2.1. Metatextual.....	79
3.2.2. Paratextual.....	81
3.2.3. Textual.....	82
3.3. Microcontextual Analysis.....	84
3.3.1. Language.....	84

3.3.2. Image.....	85
3.3.3. Sound	87
4. Conclusion.....	88
Chapter Three: Subtitling <i>Bergues</i> and the <i>Banlieue</i> : Translating Cinematic Representations of Non-Standard Varieties of French into English.....	92
1. Introduction	92
2. Language Varieties in Audiovisual Translation: a Heteroglossic Perspective	97
3. Case Study Analysis.....	108
3.1. Lexis	108
3.2. Phonetics.....	122
3.3. Syntax	134
4. Conclusion.....	144
Chapter Four: Woman, Native, Other: Subtitling Gender and Minority in the Multilingual Migration Film	148
1. Introduction	148
2. Can the Subaltern be Subtitled?	153
3. Case Study Analysis.....	163
3.1. “Broken” French.....	163
3.2. Translanguaging	174
3.3. Code-switching.....	186
4. Conclusion.....	197
Chapter Five: Lost in Audiovisual Translation: Decentring Subtitles in the Maghrebi-French Return Road Movie.....	202
1. Introduction	202
2. On Travelling Texts, Mobile Movies and the (Extra)Diegetic Dimensions of Displacement.....	207
3. Case Study Analysis.....	218
3.1. Borders.....	218
3.2. Thresholds	229
3.3. Non-places	239
4. Conclusion.....	250
Conclusion	254
Filmography.....	267
Teleography	270
Discography	271
Bibliography	271

List of Tables

Table 1: Examples of the translation into English of verlan, Arabic borrowings and slang (<i>L'esquive</i>)	109
Table 2: Examples of dialect-for-dialect replacement strategies (<i>L'esquive</i>).....	115
Table 3: Examples of the translation of archaic lexicon in French into English (<i>L'esquive</i>)	117
Table 4: Translation of <i>ch'timi</i> dialectal words into English (<i>Bienvenue</i>).....	119
Table 5: Examples of typographical variations in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i>	122
Table 6: Translation of wordplay into English in <i>Bienvenue</i>	124
Table 7: Representation of the <i>ch'timi</i> accent in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i>	127
Table 8: Examples of eye-dialect in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i>	127
Table 9: Examples of Southern American English in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i>	132
Table 10: Examples of orthographical and syntactic alteration in the English-language subtitles of <i>L'esquive</i>	135
Table 11: Different renderings of the same metaphor from printed text to film dialogue to subtitled translation.....	137
Table 12: Translation of transposition into English (<i>L'esquive</i>).....	139
Table 13: Translation of idioms into English (<i>L'esquive</i>)	142
Table 14: Translation of Arabisms into English (<i>L'esquive</i>).....	144
Table 15: Translation of broken French into English (<i>Inch'Allah dimanche</i>).....	165
Table 16: Subtitling of broken French into English (<i>Dheepan</i>).....	170
Table 17: Subtitled exchange between Yalini and Karine presenting modifications to French dialogues and translanguaging (<i>Dheepan</i>).....	175
Table 18: Representation of an English word spoken in dialogue in English-language subtitles (<i>Dheepan</i>)	178
Table 19: Subtitling of an exchange between Brahim and Yalini with examples of non-translation (<i>Dheepan</i>).....	181

List of Figures

Figure 1: Malik speaking in Arabic, subtitled into French (<i>Un prophète</i> , Audiard 2009).....	2
Figure 2: César grows suspicious of Malik (<i>Un prophète</i> , Audiard 2009).....	3
Figure 3: ‘Diagonal’ and ‘horizontal’ forms of translation (adapted from Gottlieb 1994: 104)	31
Figure 4: Visual representation of Japanese as written text in the <i>mise-en-scène</i> of <i>Babel</i> (González Iñárritu 2006).....	34
Figure 5: Marking of different languages using brackets in <i>Roma</i> (Cuarón 2018).....	36
Figure 6: Example of colour-coding to mark multilingualism in the subtitles for d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers (<i>Un prophète</i> , Audiard 2009)	38
Figure 7: Use of colour coding to denote different speakers in subtitles for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing produced for <i>Eastenders</i> ‘Episode 6075’ (BBC 1 2020)	39
Figure 8: Trialling different options for subtitles to ensure legibility against the <i>mise-en- scène</i> (adapted from Romero-Fresco 2019: 137-9).....	43
Figure 9: Typefaces associated with specific cultural contexts (Deryagin 2018 in Romero- Fresco 2019: 133)	46
Figure 10: Examples of glossing and experimentation with colour, typefaces and subtitle position in <i>anime</i> fansubbing (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 42).....	47
Figure 11: Subtitles with blurred and overlapping text appearing in a dream sequence (<i>Desperanto</i> , Rozema 1991)	52
Figure 12: Experimentation with subtitle layout (<i>Desperanto</i> , Rozema 1991).	53
Figure 13: Lydia (pictured with Krimo) shows her costume to Zima (<i>L’esquive</i> , Kechiche 2003).....	110
Figure 14: The <i>mise-en-scène</i> of the <i>banlieue</i> (<i>L’esquive</i> , Kechiche 2003).....	113
Figure 15: Italicisation of <i>ch’timi</i> lexicon in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i> (Boon 2008).....	120
Figure 16: The real-life food truck (<i>Friterie ‘Momo’</i>) used as the <i>baraque à frites</i> in and now immortalised by <i>Bienvenue</i> (Boon 2008; La Voix du Nord 2016)	121
Figure 17: Philippe looks disappointedly at the <i>baraque à frites</i> (<i>Bienvenue</i> , Boon 2008)	121
Figure 18: Representation of the <i>ch’timi</i> accent in the English-language subtitles of <i>Bienvenue</i>	125
Figure 19: Title card as presented in English-language subtitled trailer for <i>Bienvenue</i> (IMDb, n.d.; Boon 2008)	130
Figure 20: Lydia corrects Krimo during rehearsals (<i>L’esquive</i> , Kechiche 2003)	138
Figure 21: Zouina listens to the radio (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001).....	167

Figure 22: Yalini sits with Ilayaal’s school books (<i>Dheepan</i> , Audiard 2015).....	168
Figure 23: Representation of mispronunciation in English-language subtitles (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001).....	171
Figure 24: Representation of mispronunciation in English-language subtitles (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001).....	172
Figure 25: Karine gives Yalini instructions (verbal and non-verbal) (<i>Dheepan</i> , Audiard 2015).....	176
Figure 26: Yalini uses objects to aid communication (<i>Dheepan</i> , Audiard 2015).....	177
Figure 27: Yalini tells Brahim, through translanguaging practices, that Dheepan suffers from war-related trauma (<i>Dheepan</i> , Audiard 2015).....	184
Figure 28: Aïcha criticises Zouina in front of the children (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001).....	188
Figure 29: Zouina begs and pleads with Malika (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001) .	190
Figure 30: Images of Zouina crying are interspersed with flashbacks and accompanied by subtitled song lyrics (<i>Inch’Allah dimanche</i> , Benguigui 2001).....	195
Figure 31: Réda drives alongside his father in Jordan (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004)	221
Figure 32: An over-the-shoulder shot showing the father reading his prayer book (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004).....	222
Figure 33: An over-the-shoulder shot Réda driving with prayer beads in view (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004).....	223
Figure 34: Title sequence (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004).....	224
Figure 35: Title sequence (<i>Exils</i> , Gatlif 2004).....	226
Figure 36: A mid-long shot of migrant workers walking towards their camp (<i>Exils</i> , Gatlif 2004).....	227
Figure 37: Subtitling of Leïla’s internal monologue with speech marks (<i>Exils</i> , Gatlif 2004).....	232
Figure 38: Subtitling of Leïla’s internal monologue with speech marks with Naïma in shot (<i>Exils</i> , Gatlif 2004).....	232
Figure 39: Zano and Naïma watch Leïla’s letter being read in Arabic, subtitled into English (<i>Exils</i> , Gatlif 2004).....	234
Figure 40: Réda sits isolated amongst the pilgrims in Jordan (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004).....	235
Figure 41: Réda and his father reconcile as they are sat closely together in Belgrade (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004).....	237
Figure 42: A currency exchange takes place in Belgrade (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferrouki 2004).....	240

Figure 43: Subtitling of the woman in black’s mysterious language (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004)	247
Figure 44: Example of narrative integration in the subtitles (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004)	248
Figure 45: Réda and his father pick up Mustapha at the Turkish border (<i>Le grand voyage</i> , Ferroukhi 2004)	249

Note on Translations

Dialogues in standard French from the films studied are transcribed by me, unless stated otherwise, presented with my own translation into English underneath in square brackets (marked with an asterisk when deliberately literal for illustrative purposes, as in Chapter Four) and corresponding subtitled translations are taken from official DVD releases. Translations from the official releases are also used when presented alongside citations from the dialogues within the main body of the text, unless stated otherwise. In Tables, subtitled dialogue preceded by a dash indicates that the subtitle appeared onscreen at the same time as one translating the dialogue of a different speaker.

Dialogues in the films in languages other than standard French are for the most part not transcribed (although always labelled), with a few exceptions in Chapter Three. Borrowings from other national languages or language varieties present in dialogues and their transcriptions are marked in the Tables with curly brackets or presented in italics to stress pronunciation, and non-verbal communication is presented in round brackets. French-language translations for dialogues in languages other than French are also taken from official releases of the films.

French quotations from secondary material within the text are accompanied by published translations wherever possible and are marked as such. Those quotes without pre-existing translations have been translated by me.

Introduction

‘Subtitles are only the most visible and charged markers of the way in which films engage, in direct and oblique fashion, pressing matters of difference, otherness and translation’

(Egoyan and Balfour 2004: 21).

1. Preliminary

In Jacques Audiard’s *Un prophète* (2009), 19-year-old Malik El Djebena enters prison to serve a six-year sentence for assaulting a police officer. Inside the institution, there is a clear division based on ethnicity; the “Arabs”, referring to individuals of North African descent, whose circle remains relatively closed off to the rest of the prison, whilst the Corsicans, have a criminal network that reaches some the upper echelons of the prison security. Apparently indifferent to his own cultural identity,¹ as well as to making any connections inside the jail, Malik is perceived by the Corsican crime boss, César, who holds significant power and essentially runs the prison from within, to be something of a blank canvas, seeing potential to mould him into a lackey and go-between for rival gangs. After being recruited, Malik carries out a number of “missions” given to him by César – including killing another inmate – which both toughen him up and enable him to gain the leader’s confidence and protection in the process. Certainly, Malik is a fast learner and quickly rises up the prison ranks, yet it is ‘his ability to learn, harness and manipulate multiple languages’, rather than his ‘aptitude’ for physical violence (King 2017: 89), that drives his ascent to power.² Malik uses his newly acquired literacy skills in French (he learns to read in prison) to teach himself Corsican from a pocket dictionary, soon becoming the sole inmate able to communicate in all three languages that operate across the prison’s biggest factions. In turn,

¹ Despite being of Maghrebi origin himself, Malik does not ask for his cell to be in the areas traditionally inhabited by the Arab inmates.

² See also Hoad (2010), King (2014). Audiard himself describes Malik as ‘the triumph of intelligence over brute force’ (in Vincendeau 2009: 20).

this enables him to evaluate, play and undermine them accordingly, and ultimately to his advantage.

Malik's strategic deployment of his multilingual skills is highlighted in particular in a scene that follows the failure of a drug smuggling job that himself and Ryad were employed by César to carry out. As the two men of Franco-Maghrebin descent discuss – in French – the seriousness of the situation they find themselves in (their employees are threatening to dissent and rebel against the Corsicans), César and his minion-in-chief Vettori enter the room, bringing their conversation to an abrupt end. César begins to accuse Malik and insult Ryad, who, upon defending himself, is met with a threat of physical violence from Vettori. In an attempt to defuse the situation, Malik switches from speaking in French to calming his friend in Arabic, using this language change to covertly promise Ryad that they will not agree to give in to the Corsicans and their demands, stating, as the French-language subtitles for the film put it: 'Ta gueule ! On va le faire mais pas comme ils pensent.' [Shut up! We'll do it, but not how they expect us to.] (Figure 1).

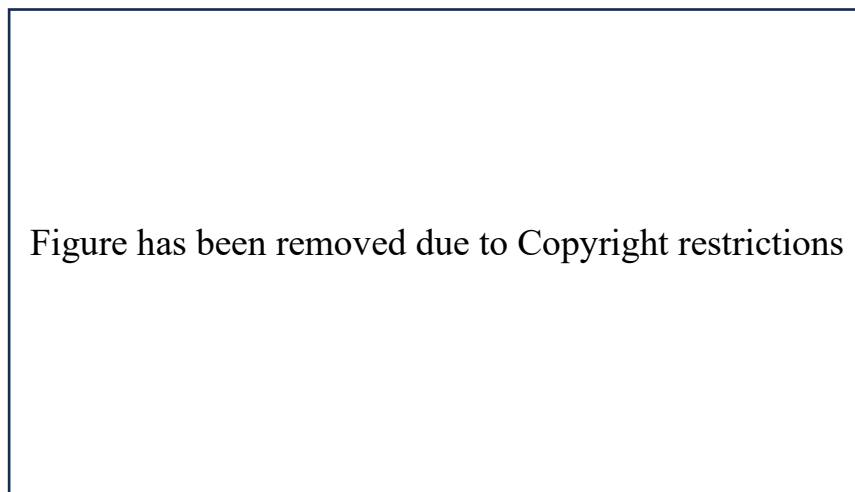


Figure 1: Malik speaking in Arabic, subtitled into French (*Un prophète*, Audiard 2009)

He then switches back to French to reassure an increasingly suspicious César that he is disciplining Ryad and trying to make him understand. Despite his clear discomfort at

being in a position of linguistic incomprehension and thus not in one of control over the situation (Figure 2), César is seemingly convinced by Malik's masquerade and allows him to continue. Returning to Arabic, Malik promises Ryad that they will kill the Corsicans, before striking his friend on the head in a fake display of discipline. Turning to the Corsicans, Malik asserts – in French – that '[c]'est bon, il [Ryad] a compris' [it's okay, he gets it now], and with that they leave the room.



Figure 2: César grows suspicious of Malik (*Un prophète*, Audiard 2009)

Cinematic representations of multilingualism such as this raise questions about communication and mutual understanding not only between characters in films but also between the film and the audience, for whom it is typically necessary to facilitate access to foreign dialogues via translation. Without the aid of French-language subtitles in *Un prophète*, as shown in Figure 1, non-arabophone viewers of the film would be as much in the dark as to Malik's intentions, and as much a victim of his 'treacherous interpreting' (King 2014) as his unsuspecting boss. Arabic speakers, on the other hand, would have the upper hand, a reflection on the 'outside', the real world, of the linguistic power plays happening 'inside', both in the prison and the fictional film world in which it exists. Indeed, where languages are pitted against one another, or juxtaposed in ways that serve to reveal and

explore tensions and hierarchies between different linguistic, cultural and social groups, translation becomes entangled in questions of identity, alterity and power, both diegetically and extradiegetically. This thesis seeks to untangle and explore these complex interactions between languages and translation as they arise in the practice of subtitling. Specifically, it asks questions about how subtitling can play an active part in the shaping of identity by mediating differences between the local, the national and the global, and how subtitles intersect with the relations of power that exist between different cultures. These questions are considered in the context of multilingualism, not only because issues of language difference, identity construction and power relations are inextricably involved in discussions thereof, but because multilingualism is an increasingly common experience for many subtitlers and film audiences.

2. Multilingualism, Cinema, Translation

Although every society in the world is multilingual in principle, film has, throughout its history, been principally monolingual. The scarcity of onscreen representations of multilingual realities, as stated in Junkerjürgen and Rebane (2019), can be attributed to the persistent legacy of monolingualism that was rooted in the formation of nation-states and related narratives of unified national identity (cf. Higson 1989; Gramling 2016). When not ‘reduced to background noise’ or silenced altogether (Shohat and Stam 1985: 54), foreign languages in films have typically been used metonymically for the purposes of ‘postcarding’ (Wahl 2005), that is, the use of a few words or an accent to denote the presence of something or someone foreign, or as a crude ‘marker of Otherness’ (Wahl 2008: 337). This technique both supports a restrictive understanding of languages as “national” languages (Dwyer 2005; O’Sullivan 2007) and propagates purist linguistic standards, advocating the monolingual – and thus monocultural – paradigms of fictional representation in ways that affect not only the communities of Other nations across the globe, but also those that are more local (Kozloff 2000). Worldwide political, social and cultural changes in recent

decades, however, have brought about a growing decentralisation of cultural production in general and of the film industry in particular (Ezra and Rowden 2006). The establishment and development of the European Union, large-scale migration in the 20th and 21st centuries, as well as international conflicts such as the Second World War, for example, have generated considerable interest in contemporary topics like intercultural communication, and led to a shift of focus towards, and reappraisal of, multilingualism on screen, as a thematic, aesthetic and indeed narrative device.

Themes of war, migration, (post)colonialism and globalisation are at the core of Wahl's outline of the 'polyglot film' genre (2005; 2008),³ characterised for him by an 'anti-illusionist' representation of language that does not try to 'hide the diversity of human life behind the mask of a universal language' (2005: 43). He argues that:

[In] polyglot film [...] languages are used in the way they would be used in reality. They define geographical or political borders, 'visualise' the different social, personal or cultural levels of the characters and enrich their aura in conjunction with the voice [...]. (ibid.)

The claim to realism is one that should be approached with caution; Kozloff (2000: 121) argues that films rarely seek to "accurately" portray languages as they are spoken in real life contexts, and even when they do, as she writes, film dialogue 'is never realistic; it is always designed for us.' This is not to say that adherence to realism is not indeed one of the functions of dialogue in narrative film, along with characterisation and location setting (ibid.: 34-37; see also Delabastita and Grutman 2005), but to stress that it constitutes an adherence to a director's fictional interpretation of a given reality. As such, in 'polyglot films', languages are used in a way that the director believes or wants audiences to believe they would be used in reality. Multilingualism in film is a fictional resource – and as we will see a powerful one – exploited to construct a reality that is embedded within a director's thematic, aesthetic, stylistic and narrative objectives.

³ Wahl (2008: 336) argues that there are in fact five 'sub-genres' of polyglot films: the migration film, the fraternisation film, the existential film, the globalisation film and the colonial film.

It should also be noted that multilingual films themselves are not a specific genre, nor do they constitute a particular style of filmmaking; rather, multilingualism is a device that cuts across film genres and styles, and one not limited to use in experimental and independent cinema either, with which it has traditionally been associated (see Naficy 2001). Indeed, representations of multilingualism have become increasingly visible in popular, “mainstream” cinema, making their way into some of the most influential Hollywood films of recent years:⁴ the critically-acclaimed *Babel* (Alejandro González 2006), the Oscar-winning *Slumdog Millionaire* (Danny Boyle 2008) and Quentin Tarantino’s blockbuster *Inglourious Basterds* (2009) are just a few examples from a long list of such titles in which multilingualism is exploited as a resource for conflict, comedy and suspense, amongst other diegetic effects (Díaz-Cintas 2011: 216; de Bonis 2014b; 2015).⁵ When O’Sullivan (2007: 92) proposes that multilingual films ‘facilitate crucial forms of resistance to the traditional monolingualism, fringed with exotic linguistic noise, of popular Anglophone film’,⁶ the understanding of audiovisual translation becomes rife with multiple signifiers having to do with identity, alterity and power that go far beyond the diegetic world (see also Delabastita 1989; Díaz-Cintas 2012; Heiss 2014). And yet, this markedly ideological perspective on the interrelations between multilingualism, audiovisual translation and questions of Otherness has since been pursued by only a handful of studies (see Betz 2009; Leperlier 2012; Yau 2012), leaving a vast amount of terrain to be explored in this field of enquiry.

The precise territory charted in this thesis is that of francophone world-cinema, a corpus that responds to the ways in which filmmaking ‘in French’ has become increasingly decentred (Marshall 2012), multilingual (King 2017) and international (Gott and Schilt

⁴ Similarly, there has been increased space afforded to languages other than English in US popular television series such as *Jane the Virgin* (CBS 2014-2019), *Emily in Paris* (Netflix 2020-), *Unorthodox* (Netflix 2020) and *Narcos* (Netflix 2015-2017), as well as foreign-language television drama in the UK, leading to the establishment of the *Walter Presents* streaming service (see Haworth and Kimyongür 2022).

⁵ For comprehensive lists of films that feature more than one language, see O’Sullivan (2007), Bleichenbacher (2008), Şerban (2012) and Mamula and Patti (2016).

⁶ The terms ‘anglophone’, ‘francophone’ and so on are not capitalised in my own writing in this thesis, but remain capitalised where they have been in cited material.

2018), much the same as that ‘in English’. In fact, the insertion of French filmmakers such as Jacques Audiard into the anglophone cinematic sphere is part and parcel of this process; his film *The Sisters Brothers* (2018) features no French dialogue, actors, settings or filming locations, and yet is still labelled as ‘French’ by national cinema bodies (see King 2021; 2023a). With the majority of the dialogue in English,⁷ such a film is not of particular interest to the present study, although this is not to say that its translation back into the francophone world is without its own socio-politics worthy of investigation elsewhere; translation tensions in Quebec, for example, stem not only from the relationship between French and English, but between what von Flotow (2010) refers to as ‘Parisian French’ (i.e., that of metropolitan France) and ‘International French’ (i.e., that of French-speaking Canada). Pinning down “French” as a language and even “French-speaking” as a concept or label is indeed a complicated task, as we will see throughout the thesis, and one that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter Two. For, as Riffard (2006: 8) puts it, ‘la notion de francophonie elle-même sous-entend la présence souterraine d’autres langues’ [the very notion of francophonie itself presupposes the underground presence of other languages]. It is the endeavour of this project, in response, to examine how these languages are negotiated, represented and disseminated ‘overground’, *au-dessus du sol*, specifically *le sol du texte filmique*, by studying how they are subtitled both within (into French) and between (into English) national, cultural and cinematic contexts.

One central concept framing the thesis’ unpicking of these global translational entanglements in and of francophone cinema is that of *cinéma-monde*. First coined by Marshall (2012), and as I explain in more detail in Chapter Two, *cinéma-monde* encompasses diverse cinemas of the *Francosphère* and their numerous and various interconnections, including – but not especially – those from the Hexagon. Very often, and indeed increasingly, *cinéma-monde* is also defined by its connections with cultures, peoples, territories and languages beyond the French-speaking world altogether. *Cinéma-monde*

⁷ Bar a few instances of Russian.

refers to a 'cinema' that is thus already *in-translation*: its mappings richly problematise borders and border crossings, both internally and externally, expanding the geographical, cultural and linguistic limits of what is habitually considered 'francophone'. The term, and its terminology in particular, as we will see, issues an open invitation to investigate, *through translation*, the semantics and politics of the relations of opposition, exclusion or similarity that contemporary, francophone, multilingual films set in transcultural and (mostly) postcolonial contexts, enter into with other established categories and hierarchies of 'cinema', and the related narratives of identity, alterity and power formed in their production, dissemination and consumption. It is for this reason that this thesis does, and indeed in many respects *must* engage with this corpus in order to answer the questions it raises, although it should be noted that the exclusive focus on francophone films starts from Chapter Two and onwards with the case studies in Chapters Three, Four and Five; examples to illustrate the intricacies of subtitling multilingual films in Chapter One are drawn from a range of cinematic contexts in order to frame the subsequent analyses with a level of technical awareness that appears largely absent from the already sparse literature on matters of translation in francophone film, and in transnational cinema more broadly, a further gap to which this thesis responds.

This thesis takes both a transnational and translational view of multilingual cinema and brings together a number of perspectives in both areas of scholarship. The so-called 'multilingual' or 'linguistic turn' in filmmaking (Dwyer 2005; Meylaerts 2006a; Berger and Komori 2010; Mamula and Patti 2016) has coincided with the 'transnational turn' in Film Studies (see Ezra and Rowden 2006; Nestingen and Elkington 2005; Ďurovičová and Newman 2009; Higbee and Lim 2010), as well as the need to account for the work of migrant, diasporic or otherwise 'intercultural' (Marks 2000) or 'accented' (Naficy 2001) filmmakers and films that cannot be readily attributed to any single national context. These works typically manifest the tensions of conflicting cultural identifications and influences, and indeed linguistic affiliations, on the levels of content and form (Mamula and Patti 2016),

thereby calling into question many of the principles that have traditionally governed mainstream cinema: a strong tendency towards cultural uniformity and a corresponding preference for linguistic homogeneity. As far as Translation Studies is concerned, the increasing abundance of on-screen representations of linguistic and cultural diversity raises a number of similar questions as to how these phenomena are affecting practices in subtitling, dubbing, voice over and other forms of audiovisual translation. Is the traditional conceptualisation of translation as an act of linguistic transfer between two essentially monolithic languages and cultures still legitimate? How can multilingualism be rendered in dubbing? Is subtitling a better choice for preserving linguistic diversity in translation? Are different modes of screen translation mutually exclusive?

Both Audiovisual Translation Studies and areas of audiovisual translation practice within the film industry, which until recently appeared to have afforded a somewhat marginal place to the issue of multilingualism (Romero-Fresco 2013; 2019), have necessarily begun to acclimatise to a situation that is well and truly the new norm. The growing intensity of research in this respect, itself evidenced by a steady stream of studies devoted entirely to the analysis of the translation of multilingual cinema, and from a variety of approaches (see Heiss 2004; Monti 2009; 2014; 2016; Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011; 2019; Minutella 2012; Zabalbeascoa 2012; de Higes Andino et al. 2013; de Higes Andino 2014; Voellmer and Zabalbeascoa 2014; Sanz Ortega 2015; Beseghi 2017; Corrius et al. 2020, amongst others) is proof of this.⁸ So too are the new trends being observed in the field of professional audiovisual translation practice, and particularly subtitling, which show a partial abandonment of conventional linguistic homogeneity and standardisation (see Nornes 1999; Taylor 2006; de Bonis 2015) in favour of strategies such as the use of graphic and visual markers to accentuate distinctions between languages and language varieties and their relevance to the construction of certain characters or scenes (see Bartoll 2006; de Higes

⁸ For a recent and concise overview of the trends and topics in the field, see Pérez L. de Heredia and de Higes Andino (2019).

Andino 2014; Rizzo 2018). All of these procedures reflect an attempt to represent linguistic diversity in subtitling in a more complex manner and invite researchers to dig deeper into the dynamics of cultural representation in audiovisual translation, and, importantly for this thesis, into the semiotic and narrative dynamics that subtitles can and do contribute to films.

As depictions of multilingualism in film have increased over the years, so too has the use of part-subtitles for their translation (Dwyer 2005: 296), which are typically – although not always (see Romero-Fresco 2019) – created during the initial stages of film production, thus challenging traditional ideas about subtitles being ‘a product conceived as an afterthought, rather than a natural component of the film’ (Sinha 2004: 174). Langer Rossi (2019: 36) states that ‘the presence of the translated text is borne simultaneously with the very decision to make a multi-language film’, highlighting how subtitling in multilingual films very often takes on an instrumental role as a ‘vehicle for plot and character development’ (O’Sullivan 2007: 84). Choosing not to provide subtitles can highlight a character’s sense of linguistic alienation, emphasise any issues of communication that they may encounter, and extend their resulting feelings of ostracism to the audience members for whom the untranslated language is also unknown, therefore ‘enabl[ing] them to experience the same game of perceptions as the protagonist’ (Langer Rossi 2019: 53). If we consider that viewers are usually supposed to identify with characters who come from the same country, or indeed speak the same language (Bleichenbacher 2008), that which is consistently not translated, then the application of a non-translation strategy to those characters who do not, who are therefore ‘Other’, renders their identities all the more ‘strange, alien or foreign’ (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2019: 73).⁹ The presence of subtitles, then, serves not merely as an alternative means of conveying a verbal message, but rather functions as a signal of place, context and cultural distance.

⁹ On the subject of aliens, Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2019: 73) note that language is ‘even more important’ in multilingual space operas or fantasy films, e.g., *Star Wars* (George Lucas 1977) and *The Lord of the Rings* (Peter Jackson 2001) because ‘national background is not a factor of empathy with the audience.’

In the process of (re-)translating multilingual films for audiences across the globe, the subtitler and all other decision-makers involved in the process of film localisation will make choices that inevitably alter to some extent the networks of interacting languages, cultures and identities that are being represented. Addressing such shifts ultimately requires acknowledging that translation decisions are determined according to accessibility, and that both subtitling strategies and the roles they play in films will change depending on who the “target” audience(s) and language(s) are. Although in the translation *of* a multilingual film the subtitles represent a form of transfer of an already complete work rather than a component of the original or “source” filmmaking process, they are no less meaningful. Subtitles, especially for viewers watching films in other languages or for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing,¹⁰ are indispensable as far as making sense of the visual components of a film is concerned, as a large part, if not all, of the soundtrack with which they generate meaning in conjunction is otherwise inaccessible. It is, technically speaking, inherently problematic to detach subtitles from the images, film audio and other pieces of semiotic information with which they interrelate in turn, and therefore to separate the mechanical functions of subtitling, i.e., providing access, from the role it plays in the creative aspects of narrative construction. In any and all cases, subtitling decisions have the potential to change the overall dynamics of a film’s discourse, and their power as a shaping tool for the ways in which meanings are generated both in and by films – be these “originals” or their “translations” – is something this thesis brings to the fore.

This thesis looks at the subtitling of multilingualism in the context of part-subtitling as well as translation for a target audience and asks the following question: how do subtitling choices impact on the ways in which a film’s narrative, themes and characters are presented to and understood by audiences? This gives rise to several issues that will be addressed in the thesis. What forms does multilingualism take in films and how are different linguistic forms portrayed, who by, who for and for what purposes? In what ways does

¹⁰ See Romero-Fresco (2019).

multilingualism affect cultural representation in films and how is linguistic and cultural diversity in multilingual films dealt with in subtitling processes? What is the role played by audiovisual translation, therefore, in shaping cinematic narratives of identity, alterity and power, both within and beyond the diegetic world? Answering these questions necessitates a multidisciplinary research approach that reflects the complexity of multilingual films as both process and product of translation, thus interlinking narratological, linguistic, cultural, historical, sociological, and political concerns. The analyses of each set of case studies presented in this thesis are structured by conceptual and theoretical frameworks that span the realms of (socio)linguistics, semiotics and cultural theory, and incorporate elements of not only linguistic, but also multimodal and contextual analysis.¹¹ This in turn reflects the core arguments advanced by the thesis: the first is that fictional audiovisual multilingual narratives are permeated with translation and the second is that translation stands as a semiotically complex act of negotiating difference.

More broadly, this thesis is situated at the intersections of Audiovisual Translation Studies, Film Studies as well as Postcolonial Translation Studies, which, amongst other subdisciplines of Translation Studies developed within the framework of the ‘cultural turn’ (see Bassnett and Lefevre 1990; Bassnett and Trivedi 1998), remains somewhat undeveloped within audiovisual translation research.¹² The work of scholars investigating translation in postcolonial contexts (Niranjana 1992; Spivak 1993; Bhabha 1994; Bandia 2006; 2008) has played an instrumental role in broadening the scope of research in Translation Studies beyond questions of linguistic transfer to consider the influence that wider frameworks of power, ideology and societal and cultural norms have on the translation process. The core tenets of postcolonial translation theories, which typically examine translational encounters in contexts marked by asymmetrical power relations, are that

¹¹ The case for a new methodological approach for exploring the phenomenon of multilingualism and translation in cinema is made in the conclusion to Chapter One and the methodological approach to be used in the present research project is outlined in Chapter Two.

¹² See Díaz-Cintas (2012), Chaume (2018), von Flotow and Josephy-Hernández (2018).

language is not neutral, translation can never be an impersonal process, and the extent to which languages, cultures, and societies may be represented objectively in translated texts is therefore very much up for debate. Much of this scholarship concerns itself specifically with the relationship between translation and multilingualism, as the nature of the postcolonial text often means it involves multiple linguistic and cultural systems. More importantly, this body of work stresses both the ubiquity of translation within these multilingual narratives and the part it plays in forming identities, articulating differences and navigating relations of power, therefore suggesting that a postcolonial translation theory perspective is particularly well placed to investigate the questions raised by this thesis.

Postcolonial theories of translation have, until now, been grounded in the context of literary translation, and it is of course acknowledged that unlike literary texts, films do not only use language to evoke but also rely on sounds and images to construct meaning. It is also recognised, therefore, that these frameworks will need to be adapted accordingly in this study to account for its audiovisual nature. To this end, as Díaz-Cintas (2012: 281) has argued:

[The] apparent lack of more academic contributions with a focus on the cultural angle of AVT [audiovisual translation] is perhaps one of the many paradoxes in this field, since audiovisual productions, particularly fictional programmes, would seem to lend themselves perfectly to this type of approach, given the wealth of cultural information conveyed by them and the fact that the linguistic fabric is only a part of the whole semiotic composite.

The analytical approach, outlined in Chapter Two, takes into account the cinematographic and acoustic ‘languages’ of the films under study, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the subtitles affect perceptions of difference not solely at the level of the dialogue, but also the semiotic difference(s) between the verbal, visual and non-verbal dimensions.

Examining these interactions from a postcolonial standpoint, the thesis thus interrogates audiovisual translation as a powerful – and power-laden – site of discursive practice through which to articulate concepts of identity and alterity, at the levels of nation, gender, ethnicity,

class and religion, and the differences that exist amongst them, both within and between languages, cultures and societies.

3. The 'Third Space' of Film Translation

Deeply influential to the postcolonial school of translation thought is Homi K. Bhabha's conceptualisation of 'hybridity', developed in *The Location of Culture* (1994) to theorise the creation of transcultural forms within the contact zones produced by (post)colonialism. For Bhabha, hybridity is the process by which the colonial governing authority attempts to "translate" the identity of the colonised Other within a singular cultural framework based on the Self, but ultimately fails by producing something 'hybrid', or which interweaves elements of both. It is the problem of 'cultural difference' that cannot be translated, according to Bhabha, who quotes Benjamin in describing it as the 'irresolution, or liminality, of "translation", *the element of resistance* in the process of transformation, "that element in a translation which does not lend itself to translation"' (Benjamin 1968: 75 in Bhabha 1994: 224, emphasis in original). For Bhabha, these 'interstices' at which cultural differences come into contact are sites of radical and dangerous possibility; the notion of translation as an impossible yet necessary – and unavoidable – exchange is somehow beyond both 'the assimilationist's dream, or the racist's nightmare, of a "full transmissal of subject matter"' (ibid.). Bhabha posits hybridity, the 'culture of the in-between' (Bhabha 1994: 224), as a strategy for postcolonial migrants to challenge and rewrite oppressive colonial discourses by exposing their internal contradictions, to collapse the binaries between Self and Other, coloniser and colonised, East and West, and instead engender, through translation, a space in which they may be transcended, subverted and transformed.

Whilst Bhabha's understanding of translation is figurative, based on movement between cultures rather than languages and texts, his formulations appear frequently in scholarship addressing the production and translation of migrant, postcolonial, diasporic

literatures.¹³ As Batchelor explains, the trope of the ‘in-between’ is especially popular among translation theorists studying the phenomenon of ‘writing-as-translation’, or in other words ‘texts that read like translations, with evidence of interference from other languages, but that are actually “originals”’ (2008: 52). Simon, for example, who defines this type of practice as a form of ‘border writing’ (1996: 161), describes such texts as ‘interstitial space[s]’ where ‘translation and writing meet as processes of creation’ (ibid.: 162). Her description of this space as ‘powerful’, ‘difficult’ and ‘conflictual’ (ibid.) echoes Mehrez’s (1992: 122) argument that the language “in-between” created by postcolonial hybrid texts ‘subvert[s] hierarchies by bringing together the “dominant” and the “underdeveloped” [...] exploding and confounding different symbolic worlds and separate systems of signification in order to create a mutual interdependence and intersignification.’ This hybridity, which is ‘distinctive and characteristic’ of postcolonial writing is, for Bandia (2006: 355), ‘vital to the creation of a “third space”, a space of one’s own as it were, a space to inscribe one’s identity and find one’s own voice within a global literary machine with its exclusionary and hierarchical structure.’ All three theorists thus clearly invoke Bhabha’s notion of hybridity and the transgressive potential its ‘in-betweenness’ is purported to contain.

A further Bhabhian concept to which Bandia makes explicit reference here is that of the ‘third space,’ which:

[...] though unrepresentable in itself [...] constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (Bhabha 1994: 37)

The ‘third space’ is that in which all ‘cultural systems and statements are formed’, under conditions that are ‘contradictory and ambivalent’, in a constant state of flux, never completely identifiable, which Bhabha argues (ibid.: 38) puts paid to ‘hierarchical claims to

¹³ See Tymoczko (1999a; 1999b); Ashcroft et al. (2002); Bandia (2006); Zabus (2007); Batchelor (2014).

the inherent originality or “purity” of cultures.’ By exploring the ‘productive capacities’ of this space, he writes (ibid.: 38-39), ‘we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves.’ Such ideas have clear relevance to the postcolonial text, whose linguistic and cultural ‘hybridity’ complicates the identification of a singular “source” and/or “target”, and insodoing undermine the logical structures that underpin the dominant (and primarily Western) conceptualisation of translation as a binary ‘transfer or exchange between stable or monolithic linguistic or cultural entities’ (Bandia 2012: 419-20). Indeed, the presence of multiple languages and linguistic forms within a single text poses a challenge for its translation into an Other language, and one that takes on new dimensions when this hybridity is ‘articulated and inscribed’ (Bhabha 1994: 39) not only in verbal language, but across visual and non-verbal signs too.

Bhabha’s theorising can certainly be usefully applied to an audiovisual translation context, and in particular subtitling, which we might consider a ‘third space’ in which different codes come into contact – and sometimes conflict, as we will see – and through this interaction produce a text that is more than the sum of its individual parts. Ascheid’s (1997: 34) observation that ‘subtitling foregrounds the translation process by visibly underlining one text with another’ which ‘reflexively mirrors its textual construction between one text and another’ points to its fundamentally ‘hybrid’ nature, for example. Subtitles exist at the ‘interstice’ of “source” and “target” text, the foreign and the familiar, they accentuate the inherent heterogeneity of multilingual films, of which they are also the product; part-subtitled multilingual films in particular can be conceived of as “original” texts that ‘read like translations’ (Batchelor 2008: 52), the written translation on the screen a physical reminder of the presence, or interference – both visual and aural – of other languages. Presented alongside the dialogue (rather than replacing it, as in dubbing) they ‘open up a space (shared with the films’ other semiotic systems) where the fluidity of linguistic differences and ambiguities can manifest’ (Leveridge and Mével 2023: 35). Of course, there still needs to be some sort of coherence between the film and the subtitles, both internally

and externally, which may result in representations of multilingualism having a greater degree of ‘unity’ or ‘fixity’ in the translated text than their “original” form, especially when they become thrice removed from their “source”.¹⁴

Whilst stressing the subversive potential of translation on the one hand, postcolonial theorists have also foregrounded translation’s ability to enforce and sustain asymmetric relations of power between languages and cultures. Niranjana’s *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism and the Colonial Context* (1992) explores how literary translation is one of the central discourses ‘inform[ing] the hegemonic apparatuses that belong to the ideological structure of colonial rule’ (1992: 33).¹⁵ Niranjana’s argument that Western translation methods produce ‘hegemonic’ and ‘dehistoricized’ versions of the colonised (ibid.: 3) is firmly echoed by Spivak in her seminal essay ‘The Politics of Translation’ (1993), as she writes:

In the act of wholesale translation into English there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest. This happens when all the literature of the Third World gets translated into a sort of with-it translatese, so that the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan. (Spivak: 1993: 371–2)¹⁶

Spivak believes that Western feminists fail to translate the difference of the author’s view – linguistic, cultural, social – because they, albeit with good intentions, over-assimilate the text to make it more accessible to their Western readers. For Spivak, to be accessible is ‘to

¹⁴ In the discussion of examples in the thesis, I refrain from referring to the dialogue as the ‘original’ or ‘source’ text; the dialogue, after all, does not go away when a film is subtitled.

¹⁵ Amongst education, theology, historiography and philosophy. Niranjana’s focus is on how translation into English has generally been used by the colonial power to construct a rewritten image of the ‘East’ that has then come to stand for an incontestable truth. In the book, she highlights that missionaries, for example, one of the most pervasive transmitters of the coloniser’s ideological values onto the colonised, also performed a role as translators. As she summarises: ‘[t]ranslation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism’ (Niranjana 1992: 2).

¹⁶ In the essay, Spivak brings together feminist, postcolonialist and poststructuralist approaches to discuss the ideological consequences of the translation of ‘Third World’ women’s literature into English by feminist translators and the distortion this typically entails. Spivak’s work will be returned to in Chapter Four of the thesis.

betray the text and to show rather dubious politics' (1993: 191), or, put differently, to deliberately ignore the specific connotations and cultural implications that make the original text unique and representative for its author and their contextual background.

Comparable homogenising tendencies are frequently observed in subtitling, especially where representations of multilingualism are concerned (see O'Sullivan 2011; de Bonis 2015; Ellender 2015). As Taylor (2006: 38-39) writes with regard to the subtitling of non-standard linguistic varieties, for example:

Of the two major strategies for translating film, dubbing and subtitling, the latter moves ever further towards a standard language through its very nature as written, and therefore more formal, genre. [...] there is a shift from the more specific to the more generic, in that lexis, terminology and expressions specific to regional and social varieties need to be generalized in order to guarantee comprehension over wide geographical and social divides.

The perceived assimilation of markers of linguistic (and cultural) difference to a standard language in the name of accessibility naturally raises questions similar to those posed by Spivak about the silencing of minority voices, although it should be noted that the polysemiotic nature of audiovisual texts such as films produce a number of different pressures that greatly impact on translation decisions. In addition to handling the interlingual challenges posed by the "source" text for translation, subtitlers are subject to rigid spatial and temporal restrictions arising from the text's movement from oral speech to the more concise written mode (Gottlieb 1994) and the need to synchronise the subtitles with the film's soundtrack and image. Ensuring that subtitles conform to the various "rhythms"¹⁷ comprising the audiovisual viewing experience generally requires stripping utterances down to their most basic forms, which may result in standardisation when these utterances are linguistically complex.

¹⁷ See the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998).

Whilst the factor of constraints, and the status of subtitling as a ‘constrained’ form of translation (a label coined by Titford 1982) may offer an explanation and indeed justification for the homogenisation of language difference in its practice, it produces more questions than it answers, and points to the presence of broader, systemic issues of power operating within the very mechanisms and structures of audiovisual translation itself. These have been addressed most saliently by Nornes, who criticises subtitling as a colonial, culturally appropriative and assimilative practice that ‘domesticates all otherness while it pretends to bring the audience to an experience of the foreign’ (1999: 18). In this system, ‘all forms of difference are suppressed, and troublesome texts are fitted into the most conservative of frameworks’ (ibid.). This statement could be interpreted from a technical and/or practical perspective: complex texts are streamlined, or condensed, in order to adhere to limits on subtitle length and duration, for example, so as to then accommodate the viewers’ reading ability and allow them to absorb as much of the audiovisual information as possible. It could also be viewed in the more ideological sense: it is certainly the case that the technical limitations of subtitling have been exploited and manipulated by certain agencies and censorial regimes and otherwise ‘conservative frameworks’ in order to neutralise, or ‘suppress’ – linguistically, culturally, and politically – ‘troublesome’ texts (see O’Sullivan 2011 and Díaz-Cintas 2012; for dubbing see Mereu Keating 2016 and Dwyer 2017). Nornes ultimately acknowledges that these processes of ‘violent reduction’ are ‘demanded by the apparatus’ (1999: 18), that is to say, the limitations imposed on subtitling by the audiovisual nature of its medium and modality, but also suggests that subtitlers themselves are complicit in, or should be held accountable for sustaining and normalising such restrictions, for which reason he argues that we may therefore think of them as ‘corrupt’.

Although this thesis seeks to take an approach to audiovisual translation that extends its scope beyond an ‘objective’ rendering of purely linguistic original expression into other languages, it is not my intention to suggest that the complete responsibility for decisions

made in practice rests on the shoulders of subtitlers. Nor do I seek to lay blame at their feet for potential distortions of otherness that may arise where differences are standardised or erased altogether. To quote Kapsaskis (2008: 49), ‘the choice of the word “corrupt” is infelicitous, as subtitlers have an ethical commitment to follow guidelines specified in screen translation commissions.’ A number of text-external factors such as a subtitler’s lack of resources – be these financial, technological, or otherwise – the absence of filmmakers from the translation process, and pressure from distributors can all also determine whether or not multilingualism is marked in subtitling, and how (de Higes Andino 2014; Romero-Fresco 2019). Decisions as to how to deal with difference in audiovisual translation might also be influenced by the dominant sociocultural and political frameworks of representation in which the films themselves are produced, circulated and received. Throughout the thesis, translation choices and their potential implications are examined within these broader contexts in which they appear, taking into account the specific socio-historical, -cultural and -political relationships between the languages represented on screen, the motivations and ideologies of the filmmakers, and the respective language attitudes of “domestic” receiving culture(s) and (inter)national audiences. On this last point, as we will see, representations of multilingualism and ‘open captions’ on screen do not always equate with openness to other cultures.¹⁸

Subtitles, in any case, occupy a somewhat paradoxical position at the threshold between the world of the film and that of the viewer. They serve as a means to bring the latter closer to the former by facilitating comprehension of dialogue in other languages, and yet simultaneously create a sense of distance or detachment, as the presence of text on the screen sometimes becomes a distraction and obstructs the visual realm within the frame. Thompson’s (2000) description of subtitles as an ‘intrusion into the visual space of a film’ that pulls the spectator away from its ‘bodily presence’ carries overwhelmingly negative

¹⁸ ‘Open captions’ is another term for subtitles that are embedded within an audiovisual text and cannot be turned off, unlike ‘closed captions’ (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 21).

connotations and suggests that, for him, they are an unwelcome imposition that is firmly separate from an otherwise unspoiled artistic work. The perception of subtitles as an ‘evil necessity’ (Sinha 2004: 174), or as an invasive manifestation of foreignness, of the Other, that which ‘despoil[s] the image’ and its ‘beauty’ (Nornes 1999: 19), thus akin to a physical disfigurement of its body, can have potentially damaging consequences for the ways in which subtitled languages – and by extension the cultures, communities, societies, and nations they carry with them – are perceived by film audiences. As Shohat and Stam (1985: 52) argue in ‘The Cinema After Babel: Language, Difference, Power’, while ‘languages as abstract entities do not exist in hierarchies of value, languages as lived operate within hierarchies of power’ and that this has particular relevance ‘wherever the question of language difference becomes involved with asymmetrical political arrangements.’ Thus, even those films that seek to subvert hierarchies between “major” and “minor” languages, therefore, may ultimately and unintentionally reinforce them when it is the latter that is subtitled.

Indeed, one of the problems with Bhabha’s use of translation as a metaphor is that it ‘emphasize[s] the transformative power of translation and its overall usefulness for cultural and social integration without considering the political, social and cultural power differentials translation processes always imply’ (Guldin 2016: 53).¹⁹ On the one hand, multilingual films, by virtue of their ‘hybridity’, often decentre the national or “major” language, and yet often also rely on that language for translation if they are to reach the widest possible audience, thus paradoxically recentring it. Despite the potential conflicts and contradictions they may entail, be these political, ideological, thematic and/or narrative, decisions ultimately have to be made as to who the “intended” audience is going to be, what their “main language” is, what elements of the film are “foreign” to them and thus need to be

¹⁹ Critics have pointed out that Bhabha does not consider that many, and if not most of the individuals about whom he writes, are not ‘free to fashion themselves anew with each passing day’, whether this is due to unequal and unfavourable relations of power being exerted or deliberate attempts to assert fixed identities and cultural forms in attempts at survival and resistance to the homogenising forces of globalisation (Ahmad 1995: 16; Sharif 2016: 161).

made familiar in translation. The production of multilingual films thus inherently involves a tension between making a film accessible to a given audience in a particular way, as otherwise the material will not be understood at all, and the fact that all translation decisions are interventions into a text – introductions of a different authorial perspective (that of the translator) and a different language (that of the spectator) – that inevitably skew and filter understanding of it. This is especially true of subtitles, which, unlike other modes of intervention that might be employed here to facilitate the audience’s access to “foreign” dialogues, such as diegetic interpreting between characters (see Cronin 2009; O’Sullivan 2011), or dubbing and voice-over, add material linguistic and semiotic layers of meaning to films.

The visibility of subtitles, to draw one’s attention back to Egoyan and Balfour’s (2004: 21) words that head this introductory chapter, and their visibility as a ‘double instance of foreignness’, both in terms of what, or who, they represent diegetically, and their status as an extradiegetic textual element (Kapsaskis 2008: 47), poses problems for Wahl’s (2005) claims that the aura of voices in polyglot films are enriched by their realism, particularly if/when these voices are subtitled. In fact, Kapsaskis writes that: ‘[b]y disturbing the supposed continuity of cinematic space and time, they [subtitles] help to *dissolve* the aura of film. The authenticity of the cinematic representation gives way to a polysemiotic and visibly mediated reality’ (2008: 48, emphasis added). And yet, subtitling is often seen as no less of an invisible form of intersemiotic ventriloquy than dubbing (see Danan 1991 and Ascheid 1997),²⁰ and sometimes explicitly so. Famous film critic and subtitler Henri Béhar refers to subtitling as:

[...] a form of cultural ventriloquism, and the focus must remain on the puppet, not the puppeteer. Our task as subtitlers is to create subliminal subtitles so in sync with the mood

²⁰ From which Kapsaskis’s (2008: 47) statement serves to distinguish subtitling as a cultural phenomenon in relation to ‘the effect of transparency’.

and rhythm of the movie that the audience isn't even aware it is reading. We want *not* to be noticed. (2004: 85, emphasis in original)

In response to this, the thesis asks: must subtitles deny themselves the right to be read for what they are? Must subtitles, as Sinha (2004: 173) phrases it, always be 'pariahs, outsiders, in exile from the imperial territoriality of the visual regime'?

Such views of subtitles as an appendage are currently being challenged by work conducted on 'aesthetic' and 'creative' subtitling (Foerster 2010; McClarty 2012), which I discuss in the following chapter, and with whose ideology this thesis is wholeheartedly aligned. To cite Curti, who writes about such subtitles as those that are 'living', to take this stance is to see the translated text not as an entity that simply 'represent[s] filmic content, but [one that] expressively and affectively reciprocate[s] it through differential foldings of pulsation, vibration, movement and rest; in the process uncovering an immanent corporeal force present to *all* subtitles' (2009: 206, emphasis added). The notion that 'all' subtitles have the potential to 'push through the eyes to be heard, touched, tasted and smelled' (ibid.) is particularly important to the overarching aims of the research, namely that of presenting single-language subtitling as as much of an 'activity' that 'pass[es] and [is] performed through and by the body', i.e., the filmic text, as subtitling produced for its "original" form. This understanding of subtitles, further, serves neither 'to protect the unity of the subject' nor as a move to 'collapse [...] the activities of reading, hearing, and seeing into one single activity, as if they were all the same', as filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-ha argues of subtitling practice (1992: 102), but to acknowledge that their polysemiotic interrelation in the subtitled text means that they cannot be separated so easily. Indeed, where do such statements leave us with multilingual films, not simply spaces in which 'film and translation meet' (Kapsaskis 2008: 46), but those in which film *is* translation,²¹ and translation is thus reading,

²¹ I am reminded here of Meylaerts's (2013: 19) assertion that 'at the heart of multilingualism, we find translation. Translation is not taking place in between monolingual realities but rather within multilingual realities'.

seeing, and hearing?

The proliferation of multilingualism in cinema provides an unparalleled opportunity for exploring the ways in which films and their subtitles form, affirm or perhaps challenge particular views of difference that are never without consequences, regardless of whether their ‘defamiliarizing effect [...] actually serves to foreground alterity’ or ‘naturalize the foreign’ (Kapsaskis 2008: 46). Even for those for whom subtitles are redundant (as one might assume any multilingual film would have an audience that can access large parts of it without the aid of translation), they still carry an ideological weight and influence on the perception of the narrative by virtue of their visual, material framing of otherness. Even if the choice is made to not translate certain parts of “foreign” dialogue, this decision already reflects on the politics of translating. Translating, not translating, how to translate; all of these decisions undeniably impact the construction, dissemination and reception of character dialogues and the stories they tell, and the ways in which we deal with the Other, as well as our Selves. Taking multilingual francophone cinema as its object of study, this thesis seeks to demonstrate that subtitling, and subtitles, are not simply tools for access and ones that are fundamental to contemporary communication, but major shaping forces in the global narratives of identity, alterity and power being constructed in an increasingly multilingual world. As Bhabha (1994: 39) argues, ‘it is the ‘third space’, the “inter” – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture.’

4. Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One examines the main challenges involved in translating multilingual films, focussing on the polysemiotic nature of subtitling and why it may differ from other modes of audiovisual translation such as dubbing, as well as reviewing the various strategies and techniques that may be employed to emphasise

multilingualism in subtitled audiovisual texts. This discussion of potential solutions to the challenges posed by multilingualism for subtitling is made in reference to both “conventional” practices as well as those deemed to be “non-standard” or “creative”, which I conclude as having unrecognised potential in the domain of multilingual films. The chapter argues that multilingual films already highlight the “creative” capacities of so-called “conventional” subtitles, given the embeddedness of translation on narrative, thematic and aesthetic levels, but demonstrates also that this potential is subject to be limited by a range of technical, practical, and ideological issues in the subtitling process, and in particular when multilingual films must go from being subtitled in “part” to in “full”. As the thesis examines the subtitling of multilingualism in films for both “domestic” and “international” audiences – I use the terms in inverted commas here as defining audiences is not so straight-forward in any context, let alone that of multilingual films – an awareness of the conditions under which subtitles are produced, and how these might change from context to context is necessary to frame the analysis to follow.

Chapter Two outlines the methodological approach of the thesis and introduces the multilingual materials to which it is applied. A corpus of six films, divided into pairs to form three case studies, have been selected from the body of francophone world cinema, which, as the chapter makes clear, is exemplary of the ways in which multilingualism is used to interrogate concepts of identity, alterity, and relations of power in contemporary film. The films chosen for analysis span a wide range of genres, themes, styles, and subjects, and also illuminate the many possible forms in which multilingualism may manifest in audiovisual texts, thus providing a wide and rich scope for examining the ways in which subtitles interact narratively and semiotically on the meanings that representations of multilingualism bring to each individual text. The diverse nature of the corpus means that the analysis must be tailored to the case studies, and the chapter explains the various text-external, or “macrocontextual” factors that were assessed in order to select conceptual lenses for analysis that reflect each film’s approach to language and its relation to the key themes that frame the

thesis on a meta-level: identity, alterity and power. In each case study, these conceptual lenses are then applied to the “microcontextual” analysis, i.e., how multilingualism is constructed and represented in the internal parts of the texts, namely the soundtrack, image, and subtitles, where applicable; non-translation is a prevalent strategy in many of the films under study, as we will see. It is hypothesised in this chapter that a more conceptual means of thinking through subtitles will allow for them to be seen as a more integral part of the film.

Chapters Three, Four and Five present the case study analyses, each of which challenge, in their own ways, some of the commonly held assumptions about subtitles – and more specifically the subtitling of multilingualism – that are discussed in the earlier parts of the thesis. The analysis of how non-standard varieties of French are subtitled into English in the films *L’esquive* (Abdellatif Kechiche 2003) and *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* (Dany Boon 2008) in the first case study sheds light on a range of possible techniques that stretch the boundaries of a seemingly rigid written text in order to mark linguistic and cultural fluidity. In the second case study, which examines the French- and English-language subtitled translations of *Inch’Allah dimanche* (Yamina Benguigui 2001) and *Dheepan* (Jacques Audiard 2015), we learn how the subtitling strategies reflect – both literally and metaphorically – the multilingual practices associated with the migrant characters represented in the films, in which the subtitles subsequently become physically and symbolically embedded. That subtitles actively contribute to, rather than passively convey, the narrative and semiotic construction of meaning in films is concretised in the final case study comprised of the road movies *Exils* (Tony Gatlif 2004) and *Le grand voyage* (Ismäel Ferrouhki 2004). The exploration of transnational mobility through the medium of translation in these films, both diegetically and extradiegetically, in ways that are explicitly connected and which directly implicate multiple “target” audiences, is used as a springboard from which to further reflect on the conceptualisation and practice of audiovisual translation in the thesis’ conclusion.

Chapter One:

Subtitling Multilingual Films: Challenges, Conventions, Creativity

1. Introduction

A key technicality of producing a film in multiple languages is that translation also typically needs to be considered in the initial creative processes, and assessments made as to what audiences require in order to follow the plot, understand the development of characters in multilingual settings, or to shape their responses towards whatever is happening on screen. As discussed in the introduction to the thesis, decisions about providing access to multilingual films that need to be made in practice often bring with them – willingly or unwillingly – ideological consequences, and especially when this access is provided through subtitles, because of the ways in which they semiotically, visually and materially demarcate Otherness. Further complications arise when part-subtitled multilingual films are (re)translated for an audience in a country different to that of its original production: translating two or more spoken languages into one written language and effectively distinguishing between them often requires more information than can be workably conveyed within the translated text itself. Representing markers of orality – regardless of the language – in subtitles is also a challenge given the rigid spatial and temporal conditions under which they are produced, and a general tendency to homogenise linguistic diversity – often perceived as a ‘loss’ (Taylor 2006; Tortoriello 2012; de Bonis 2015; Ellender 2015) – can be observed. As problematic a notion as ‘loss’ is in Translation Studies, and for audiovisual translation in particular,²² it is also one that has been critical to examining issues

²² As has been discussed extensively by Guillot (2012: 483; 2017), who argues that the notion is ‘based on a methodological fallacy’, and specifically the assumption of a match between source and target texts that the technical and multimodal constraints of subtitling often make impossible to achieve, and which are exacerbated by cross-linguistic and -cultural differences. Guillot (ibid.) posits that some degree of ‘loss’ is therefore ‘inevitable’, but also stresses that “gains”, so to speak, can arise as a result of these aforementioned constraints rather than in spite of them. This is a point that will be revisited in the thesis’ conclusion.

with and exploring solutions for subtitling in the context of audiovisual representations of multilingualism, both of which are the focus of the present chapter.

In order to understand and illustrate the different ways in which multilingualism may be presented in subtitles, it is first necessary to provide a definition of subtitling as a mode of audiovisual translation. Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 8) define it as:

[...] a translation practice that consists of rendering in writing, usually at the bottom of the screen, the translation into a target language of the original dialogue exchanges uttered by different speakers, as well as all other verbal information that appears written on the screen (letters, banners, inserts) or is transmitted aurally in the soundtrack (song lyrics, voices off).

Thus, on its most rudimentary level, subtitling involves a shift from speech in one language into writing in another (be this a different language, or a different variety of the “source”, and typically national, language, as I explain below), limited not only to the content spoken in the dialogues, but also the linguistic messages that are encoded within the other aural and/or visual signs in the filmic text. Subtitling, as we will see, may also involve movement between signs that are non-verbal or not considered ‘linguistic’ at all, highlighting its nature as both an inter- and polysemiotic practice, and one that consequently produces distinctive procedural complications that may determine how multilingualism is presented to audiences in translation, if at all. Unpacking these constraints in more detail here is necessary for framing the subsequent analyses with a degree of technical awareness, as well as considering those concerns of a more practical or ideological nature, which may influence the form in which subtitles appear altogether.

Linguistically speaking, two main types of subtitling are typically distinguished based on the transfer from the source to the target text: intralingual and interlingual.²³ In intralingual subtitling, both the source text and the target text are composed in the same language – or at least national language – whereas in interlingual subtitling the two texts are

²³ See Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007: 13-19) for classification of subtitles by ‘linguistic type’.

composed in different languages. As intralingual subtitling is primarily used to produce ‘subtitles for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing’,²⁴ it has traditionally been classified under the umbrella of audiovisual media accessibility rather than audiovisual translation, as is the case with interlingual subtitling.²⁵ Whilst the main focus of this thesis is interlingual subtitling,²⁶ any sole focus on this mode of transfer is complicated by the multilingual nature of the object of study. Indeed, multilingual films call into question the idea of translation as smooth transfer from one linguistic code to another (or what might be conventionally considered as “language” altogether, as mentioned above), as there is typically no unitary or fixed “source” language to translate from, and potentially multiple “target” languages into which to subsequently translate. Films depicting regional dialects, “broken” languages or other non-standard linguistic forms, for example, might be subtitled intralingually into the “standard” variety of a national language in order to guarantee comprehension amongst a wider “home” audience. A subtitler putting the film into a different language altogether might also use intralingual translation to explore options for conveying the communicative and diegetic effects of the non-standard features present in dialogues to an audience abroad.

Regardless of the type of linguistic transfer involved, format used, or intended audience, subtitling is first and foremost an accessibility practice: it provides viewers with the opportunity to make sense of and respond to audiovisual cultural products in languages of which they have no or limited knowledge (Greco 2016; Guillot 2017). Subtitles are also a creative media in their own right; this is evident not only in the types of aesthetically interactive and innovative methods used in fansubbing and similar amateur subtitling environments,²⁷ but also in the use of colour-coding and typographical variations employed

²⁴ Subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing is also referred to as ‘closed captioning’ in some countries like the USA and Australia – see Robson (2004) and Downey (2008).

²⁵ See Neves (2018).

²⁶ Of (multiple) different national languages and variety of national languages other than French into French, or these different national languages and their varieties as well as those of French into English.

²⁷ See Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez (2006) and Pérez-González (2007) for early accounts of fansubbing phenomena, and Massidda (2020) for an examination of the latest and future trends for this amateur practice.

in more traditional subtitling practices such as subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing (see Neves 2005; 2018). Multilingual films are a prime example of how even “conventional” subtitles – a term I unpack in this chapter – can play a diegetic, aesthetic and therefore “creative” role that goes beyond their primary function of linguistic transfer and/or “access” – at least when they are part-subtitled. When producing single-language subtitles for multilingual films, creative solutions are required in order to protect and emphasise the forms of linguistic diversity that are integral to the development of the film’s narrative, characters and themes, whilst simultaneously accounting for medium-related constraints and the access needs of the audience. Multilingual films bring into focus the perceived tension between accessibility and creativity in subtitling,²⁸ which is explored throughout the chapter in reference to the above mentioned “conventional” subtitling practices in the first instance and forms that depart from convention in the second.

2. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Technicalities

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the main constraints of audiovisual translation derive from the polysemiotic nature of the text it deals with, as well as, specifically in the case of subtitling, the transformation of oral speech into writing. Gottlieb (1994: 105), who terms this transformation ‘diagonal’ when the task of translation is undertaken interlingually (Figure 3),²⁹ attributes the reduction of dialogue typical in subtitling not only to the issues of space and time that accompany the shift between the spoken and written codes, but also to their ‘incompatibility’.³⁰ Although subtitles are supposed to reflect speech, they are seen as a written, and therefore more formal language. As a result, markers of spontaneous speech such as repetitions, hesitations, incomplete

²⁸ This debate is usefully summarised in Guillot (2017) and further explored in Romero-Fresco (2019).

²⁹ ‘Subtitling, being *two dimensional*, “jaywalks” from source-language speech to target-language writing’ (Gottlieb 1994: 104, emphasis in original).

³⁰ Be this reduction partial, as in the case of condensation, or total, as in the case of deletion or omission (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 146).

sentences and self-corrections tend to be smoothed out in subtitles, and other features more typical of “oral” language or which depart from the standard variety – itself typically used in writing – such as accents, dialectal lexicon and other non-standard linguistic forms are also frequently omitted (ibid.: 105-6).³¹ The apparition of such features in the dialogues of multilingual films may serve to indicate that a character is experiencing communication difficulties, is in the process of acquiring a language, or that they belong to a certain national, regional or social group, for example. Their elimination in the subtitled text, due to the pressure exerted by constraints and the fact that the written medium is not well adapted to conveying such features – to the extent therefore that elimination is more so the “fault” of the writing rather than the subtitler – may thus have a detrimental effect on the audience’s understanding of characters and their position(ings) in the fictional sociocultural world.

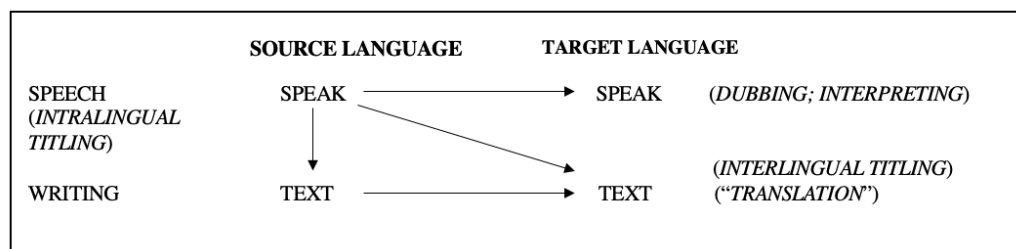


Figure 3: ‘Diagonal’ and ‘horizontal’ forms of translation (adapted from Gottlieb 1994: 104)

Although many of the paralinguistic features of spoken language, and their emotive and expressive value, may be “lost” in written form,³² it is expected that they can be recuperated from the other verbal and non-verbal signs that accompany the subtitled text. Aural cues – such as the tone, pitch, stress and volume of a character’s voice – or visual ones – their body language, facial expressions and gestures, for example – all contribute greatly to

³¹ Of course, the speech of film dialogues is itself not spontaneous, but rather written to be spoken, and is itself highly stylised in all respects (Guillot 2012). Artificially conveying speech naturalness in audiovisual texts is what Chaume (2004) describes for dubbing as a sort of ‘prefabricated orality.’

³² Gottlieb (2018: 51) has argued that the use of exclamation marks, italics and other forms of emphasis are ‘only faint echoes of the certain ring that intonation gives the wording of the dialogue’. There are, of course, other means through which orality can be conveyed in subtitles, as will become evident in the case study analyses to follow.

meaning and are typically associated with a character's emotional state (see Hatim and Mason 1997: 82; Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 191-3; Tveit 2009: 87; Mével 2012: 156). Characters in multilingual films might cry, scream or shout in response to feelings of linguistic and cultural alienation, for example, or to express frustration in situations where communication is impeded, be this for practical or more symbolic reasons. They may also resort to using hand signals, head movements and other forms of non-verbal communication as a means of indicating their degree of (non-)comprehension to other characters and/or to fill in the gaps in their linguistic knowledge. The information conveyed by these other channels can similarly complete the verbal message for audiences even if the subtitles do not convey the full effects of the dialogue, which also enables subtitlers to condense or omit some of the above-mentioned linguistic elements without sacrificing their overall meaning.³³ The multimodal, polysemiotic nature of the audiovisual text and its translation very much can and do also facilitate linguistic creativity and non-conformity in subtitling, as we will see in the chapters to follow.

The degree of relevance (or redundancy) of the visual and non-verbal information to the audience's understanding of the narrative,³⁴ and therefore what can, should or must be subtitled has to be carefully decided by the subtitler.³⁵ It might also depend largely on how bound this information is to the source culture, and the distance of this culture to that of the receiving audience (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 52). The subtitler may need to provide explanations regarding the meaning or significance of body language or gestures for viewers in a different cultural sphere (*ibid.*), or gloss culture-bound terms and references, otherwise known as 'extralinguistic cultural references' (Pedersen 2005; 2007; 2011; see also Ramière 2006; 2010) referring to places, customs or institutions – which might also be represented visually or in non-dialogic auditory cues such as music – that are unknown to target

³³ Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 145) assert that 'since the verbal subtitle sign interacts with the visual and oral signs and codes of the film, a complete translation is, in fact, not required.'

³⁴ I.e., 'the balance between the effort required by the viewer to process an item, and its relevance for the understanding of the film narrative that determines whether or not it is to be included in the translation' (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 148).

³⁵ See also Bogucki (2004) and Perego (2009).

viewers.³⁶ Explicating this information in the subtitles is a near impossible task, given the spatial restrictions at play and the need for synchronicity, which could lead the subtitler to substitute these references in the film with those from the receiving context in order to safeguard their diegetic, communicative or indeed aesthetic function(s) in the narrative. However, the use of culturally-specific terms in the target language might also clash with what the viewer sees – and indeed hears, as the ‘additive’ nature of subtitling (Gottlieb 1997: 41) means that audiences are still exposed to the language of the original soundtrack – and risks extracting them briefly from the film world and breaking their willing suspension of disbelief.³⁷

Multilingual films might be argued to exacerbate the ‘vulnerability’ of subtitling (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 57), or to increase the potential for the subtitles to come under scrutiny by an audience which may have some knowledge of the language(s) spoken in the dialogue.³⁸ The vulnerability of subtitling sets it apart from other modes of audiovisual translation such as dubbing, in which the dialogue is translated into the target language, re-recorded by voice actors, and used to supplant, rather than supplement the soundtrack in the polysemiotic network of the filmic text (Luyken 1991: 311).³⁹ Consequently, the audience of the translated film has little to no exposure to the foreign languages represented in the film

³⁶ Humour and non-standard tokens such as vulgarity and swearwords, which may also form part of the function of multilingual representations in film, are related and frequently focused upon aspects, and will be examined in Chapter Three.

³⁷ According to Mével (2012: 234), the potential for clashes and their consequences ‘may incidentally be one of the reasons why interlingual subtitles display a tendency to neutralise non-standard features and cultural references.’ However, there is still the possibility that standardising could lead the subtitled dialogue to suffer from linguistic inconsistency or narrative implausibility and pull audiences out of the fictional reality. One might imagine this to be especially true of scenes in which a film portrays communicative problems due to linguistic comprehension, be this due to unfamiliar references, dialects or the case of broken language, problems that may be evident from the information conveyed by the visual and aural channels.

³⁸ Such as multilingual films with dialogues in French and Arabic translated for distribution in France, to take an example from this thesis, where the audience would likely comprise of many viewers familiar with both languages. The blurring of distinctions between ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ audiences produced by multilingual films also complicates the idea that the latter does not experience translation solutions as ‘losses’, to return to this notion once more, since they are not aware of the source (Ramière 2010; Guillot 2012). However, it is also true that native speaker viewers do not necessarily share all the same references or derive all that is to be derived from source dialogues anyway (ibid.).

³⁹ This is not to say that dubbing does not also suffer from a vulnerability of its own, having to do primarily with the need to synchronise the newly recorded audio track with lip movements in the source text (see Romero-Fresco 2019).

unless this is done so visually in written communication or in the *mise-en-scène*, such as on signs, screens, or graffiti, for example (Figure 4).⁴⁰ The *mise-en-scène* more broadly, and specific aspects of it such as costuming and props, as we will see, can also contribute significantly to a film’s representation of multilingualism – be this of help or hindrance to the translator – by conveying information to viewers about the national and/or cultural identities of characters and the languages they speak by extension.⁴¹ However, these elements may not be enough to indicate switches between linguistic codes undertaken by a bilingual character – whose identity may be as visually ambiguous as it is linguistic – where these are erased from the acoustic track, for example, which may subsequently lose a crucial point of their characterisation.

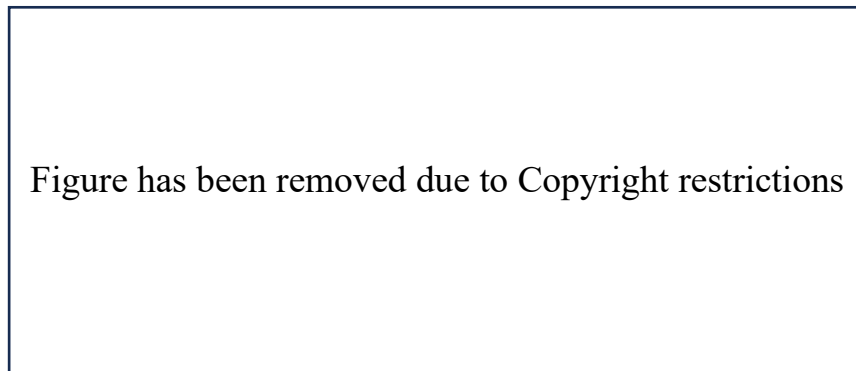


Figure 4: Visual representation of Japanese as written text in the *mise-en-scène* of *Babel* (González Iñárritu 2006)

If subtitling does “better” preserve linguistic and cultural diversities presented on screen than dubbing at the aural level – Wahl (2008: 343) likens the process rather

⁴⁰ De Bonis (2014a; 2014b) has criticised the homogenisation that occurs in dubbing, observing that accents are frequently lost and even features that we might consider ‘postcarding’ such as foreign greetings are obliterated and translated into the target language.

⁴¹ Compensation at the visual level, and the *mise-en-scène* specifically, in subtitling has also been discussed by Ramière (2010), Taylor (2016) and Ramos Pinto (2017) with regard to cultural references and non-standard language varieties respectively. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

dramatically to a form of ‘symbolic castration’⁴² – the extent to which this preservation is “meaningful” for audiences will depend on their familiarity with the languages represented on screen. As Shohat and Stam (1985: 41) point out:

[...] in the case of the subtitled film, we hear the more-or-less alien sounds of another tongue. If the language neighbours are our own, we may recognise a substantial proportion of the words and phrases. If more distant, we may find ourselves adrift on an alien sea of undecipherable phonic substance.

To return to our code-switching example above, therefore, unless viewers can understand either one or both of the languages spoken by the character, the value of visual and contextual cues for helping viewers to grasp the language changes occurring in the film might be similarly negligible, and some form of explicitly visible tracing would be necessary. For the audience of a part-subtitled film, the alternation between subtitled and non-subtitled dialogue may suffice,⁴³ but for those watching that same film with ‘single-language subtitles’ (Heiss 2004), i.e., when all of the dialogues have been translated into the target language, this visible distinction would need to be made within the subtitles themselves.⁴⁴ One way of doing this is to label the language being spoken in parentheses,⁴⁵ e.g., [ARABIC] or [IN ARABIC], followed by the translated dialogue.⁴⁶ Alternatively,

⁴² It should be noted here that dubbing does have its own techniques for preserving features of multilingualism such as contextual translation and diegetic interpreting (Baldo 2009) which allow for “secondary” languages in multilingual films to remain untranslated. Other theorists (see de Bonis 2015; Sanz Ortega 2015) advocate the use of a mixed approach whereby the main dialogue is dubbed and other languages are subtitled to replicate the experience of watching a part subtitled film in countries where dubbing is the norm. There is, however, an issue here in that dubbing has the additional constraint of harmonising the voices, of which de Bonis (2015) provides a detailed explanation with reference to multilingual films.

⁴³ To convey switches between languages at a minimum, but perhaps not their symbolic value, a point to which I return later in the chapter.

⁴⁴ As Heiss (2004: 215) appropriately remarks: ‘one should not underestimate the risk that people will simply overlook cultural differences when being presented with nothing but single-language subtitles.’

⁴⁵ de Higes-Andino (2014: 128) observes examples of this technique being used in which an explanatory note appears in addition to or instead of the translation to indicate which language is being used.

⁴⁶ Square or round brackets – practices vary across companies – are used in subtitles for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing to identify and differentiate between speakers, be these descriptive or nominative, e.g. [WOMAN] or (FRANCESCA), and may extend to denoting different languages (Zárate 2021). They may also serve to describe elements like whispered speech when time and space constraints do not allow for the insertion of a descriptive label (ibid.).

intertitles may be used to inform viewers that parentheses will be used for certain languages,⁴⁷ as is the case with the English-language subtitles of Alfonso Cuarón's multilingual film *Roma* (2018) (Figure 5).

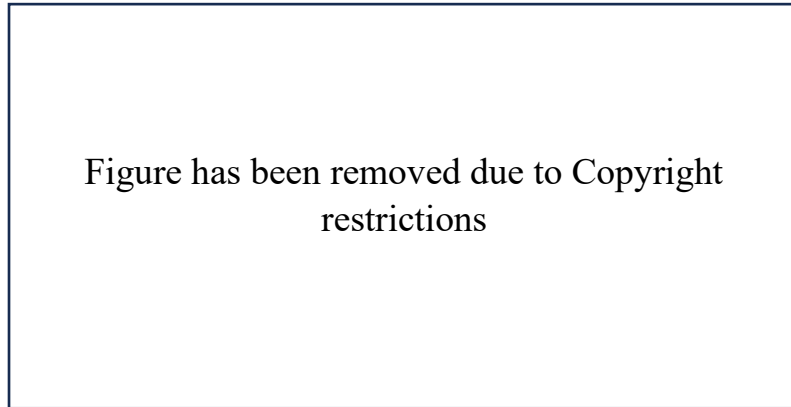


Figure 5: Marking of different languages using brackets in *Roma* (Cuarón 2018)

One disadvantage of using brackets is that they take up extra characters in the subtitles, and therefore space, which leaves the use of different typefaces for each language in the film as a potentially more practical solution.⁴⁸ Bartoll (2006: 2) observes this strategy in the Spanish-language translation of *Monsoon Wedding* (Mira Nair 2001), where a 'normal' letter type is used to subtitle the dialogues in English and italics for those in Hindi. Using typographical variations in this way appears feasible for not only distinguishing between languages as the presence of translation for only one language would in a part-subtitled film, but also for conveying some form of meta-pragmatic commentary about their perceived status or relationship to one another, as is implied in decisions about which language is part-subtitled, as previously discussed.⁴⁹ Bartoll's (ibid.: 3-4) comment equating

⁴⁷ A word or group of words (such as dialogue in a silent movie or information about a setting) that appear on-screen during a film but are not part of a scene.

⁴⁸ Subtitles are typically limited to 1-2 lines of approximately 35-40 characters each to enable synchrony of the subtitle with the image, although as we see this can vary depending on the context of practice (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 23). Cuarón, the director of *Roma* (2018) confessed that he found the job of having to fit the text into this 'restricted' space 'painful' (Aguilar 2019: n.p.) when working on the film's English-language subtitles.

⁴⁹ See also O'Sullivan (2011: 192) and Şerban (2012: 50).

“secondary” languages in a film with those of characters who speak “improperly” as potential targets for italicisation is especially suggestive of the ways in which typefaces may be used to evoke particular connotations about languages and the characters who speak them, and their Otherness in particular, a point that is explored further in the following section. Using italics does, however, create some pragmatic issues for subtitlers and viewers considering that they are more often used conventionally for other reasons in subtitling, such as voiceovers (e.g., by narrators), voices produced by phone calls, radios and televisions, and indeed music (de Higes Andino 2014: 127), although, as Zárte (2021) has discussed, they are also increasingly being used in subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing to mark multilingualism.⁵⁰

Finally, colour-coding, also suggested by Bartoll (2006: 5), represents another possibility for overcoming the technical barriers to marking multilingualism in subtitling. In the English-language subtitled translation of Park Chan-wook’s film *Ah-ga-ssi* [*The Handmaiden*] (2016), which has dialogues in Korean and Japanese, an intertitle appearing at the beginning of the film (similar to that displayed in Figure 5) informs the audience that the subtitles for these respective dialogues will be shown in different colours. The film is South-Korean produced and makes a critique on Japanese oppressive dominance over Korean national sovereignty, which Langer Rossi (2019: 47) suggests is the purpose of the colour-coding in the subtitles. As she writes (ibid.), the film’s use of multi-coloured subtitles ‘shows not only its awareness as a translational product, but finds a way to actively engage the audience in the *implications* of the interchanging of languages, implications which could pass unnoticed to a non-Asian spectator’ (my emphasis). It is hard to say whether or not the use of different colours alone would be enough to convey any specific connotations about the two nations and/or information about the relations of power existing between them; in

⁵⁰ Specifically, Zárte (2021) covers this technique being employed by some broadcasters and streaming services for emphasising foreign words that are unfamiliar or not part of the common vocabulary of the target language. It is also being used to indicate that some accents or pronunciations are reflected orthographically, so as to help the viewers to distinguish terms which are not seen in conventional writing.

this respect, the use of italics as aforementioned might be a more obvious option. Perhaps it is by coincidence that Malik's 'treacherous interpreting' (King 2014) in *Un prophète*, to return to the thesis' introduction, is marked in its French-language subtitles for d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers with the subtitles in red, commonly associated with danger (Figure 6).

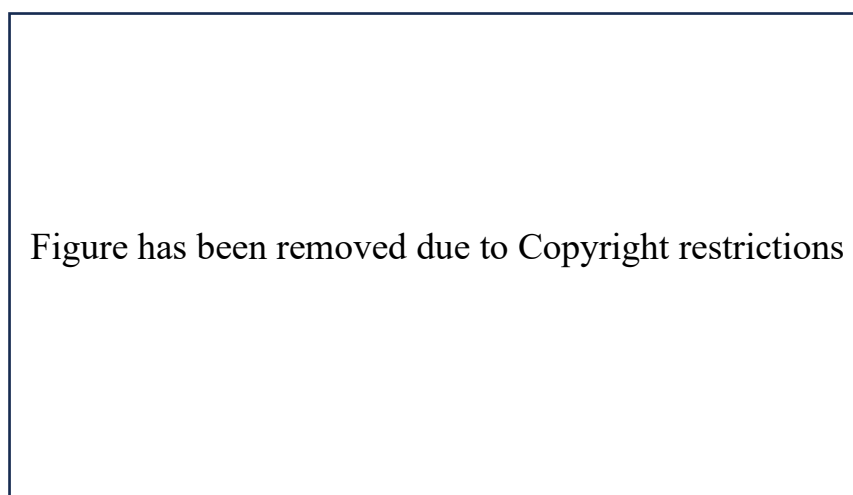


Figure 6: Example of colour-coding to mark multilingualism in the subtitles for d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers (*Un prophète*, Audiard 2009)

The green subtitle – representing dialogue – with which the red subtitle – marking language – is presented is used consistently throughout the film to denote that it is Malik speaking (and white, yellow and so on used for other characters), more in keeping with how colour-coding is used for subtitling monolingual audiovisual texts for audiences on the deafness spectrum (see Neves 2005) (Figure 7).⁵¹ Although reception studies show that colour-coding can help viewers distinguish between languages (see, for example, Szarkowska and Boczkowska 2020), arguably here, as with *Ah-ga-ssi*, it is the written signpost to a code-switch that make such distinctions clear, perhaps taking us back to square one as far as character limits are concerned. The label in Figure 6 itself is repeated

⁵¹ Although increasingly used for texts that are multilingual (see Szarkowska et al. 2013).

throughout the film when there are representations of code-switching, which is perhaps less an issue for shorter dialogues such as that presented here, but for longer stretches this repetition is likely to cause some spatial issues. Note also here that the layout of the subtitles in *Un prophète* as presented in Figure 6 is particularly accommodating to this technique and not seen as widely in interlingual or “conventional” subtitling, something I will discuss further in Section 4.

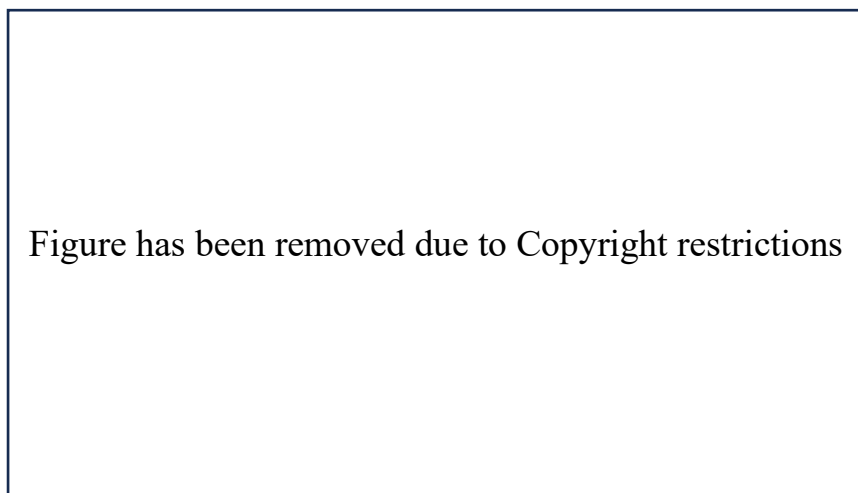
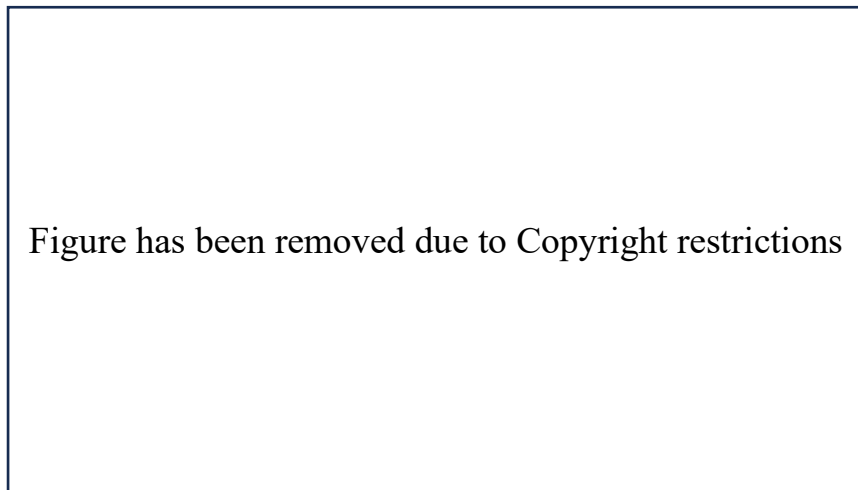


Figure 7: Use of colour coding to denote different speakers in subtitles for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing produced for *Eastenders* ‘Episode 6075’ (BBC 1 2020)

3. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Practicalities

In addition to these technical constraints, there are factors surrounding the translation process itself that are at least as important in determining the ways in which

multilingualism is dealt with in subtitling. A transcript of the original dialogue is often provided by the customer, be this the filmmaker, producer, or external agents such as the distributor, as is more likely the case (see Romero-Fresco 2013; 2019). If this transcript is accurate and contains useful information concerning elements such as metaphors, puns and cultural references, or indeed non-standard linguistic forms and their relevance in the narrative, it can be of great help to the subtitler (Díaz-Cintas 2001). However, the opposite is very often true: many dialogue lists are of a poor quality, containing no explanations of the significance of linguistic references, and/or missing information and misspellings of names, for example (ibid.; see also Ockers 1991: 36; Gottlieb 2001: 42). In other words, they have faults in precisely those areas where the subtitler may need the most assistance, especially those working with multilingual films. Moreover, the access to dialogue lists varies, and the same seems to be true of the time that subtitlers have at their disposal for carrying out their work.⁵² Without the time to devote to researching the linguistic and cultural aspects of the translation as well as needing to guarantee that all the technical aspects (themselves of course a result of temporal constraints) are respected, it may be increasingly likely that markers of differences end up being absent in the subtitled text.

The separation of translation from the film industry and filmmaking processes is a contributing factor to this move towards homogenisation. In the era of silent films⁵³ and later of ‘multiple language versions’⁵⁴ (see Vincendeau 1999: 208-9), translation was an ‘integral’ part of filmmaking and the industry as a whole (Dwyer 2005: 302); if filmmakers wanted their films to travel, this had to be factored into production processes, and even those of pre-

⁵² Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the conditions under which professional subtitlers carry out their work, those cited most widely as the most factors determining translation quality are ‘poor wages [...]; absurd deadlines [...]; poor originals [...]; and finally, poor training of translators’ (Fawcett 1983: 189; see also Szarkowska et al. 2021). The question of quality in audiovisual translation is addressed in the subsequent section of the chapter.

⁵³ Even before the introduction of sound in cinema, silent films required the translation of the intertitles used by the filmmakers to convey dialogue or narration (see Ivarsson 1992: 15).

⁵⁴ Also known as “multilinguals” or “foreign language versions” (Đurovičová 1992). Romero-Fresco (2013) explains that films were made and remade in two or three languages by the same director and sometimes in up to fourteen languages with a different director for each language version. The cast could remain the same or change depending on the films and the number of versions to be produced.

production (Romero-Fresco 2013: 205). Once translation technologies had been refined, became more affordable and the attitudes of filmmakers towards them changed, most importantly,⁵⁵ as Romero-Fresco (ibid.) explains, ‘translations lost their status as part of the filmmaking process and became part of the distribution process, as is the case now.’ Somewhat ironically, the improved quality and increased affordability of subtitling technology has ultimately produced detrimental effects on the quality of translated films and the working conditions of translators today:

The majority of film viewers may not ever experience the dialogue written by the scriptwriter and supervised by the filmmaker over a period of months or years. Instead, they hear (dubbing and [audio description] AD) or read (subtitling and [subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing] SDH) the dialogue and the descriptions produced by translators in no more than three days, for little money and with no access to any of the people who have made the film. (Romero-Fresco 2013: 205)

Needless to say, this culture of separation and outsourcing can cause the vision of the filmmaker to suffer, which takes on a different, and sad irony in the case of multilingual films, considering that translation tends to be such an integral part of that vision and the narrative, thematic and aesthetic conceptualisation of their film, if not the production process itself.⁵⁶

Although in the prevailing industrial model, and in the context of translating a multilingual film for an “international” audience, it is typically the subtitler who decides the

⁵⁵ Vincendeau (1999: 208-209) notes that multi-language versions were themselves produced as the result of negative responses to early attempts at dubbing and subtitling.

⁵⁶ Romero-Fresco (2019) also points out that the structures in place in the industry typically prevent filmmakers from even becoming aware of the problem. He draws on an interview with filmmaker Ken Loach conducted by de Higes Andino (2014) in which he discusses how he was not aware that the multilingualism in his films is often lost in translation. For instance, in *It's a Free World...* (2007), a scene where an interpreter translates a conversation between Polish workers and their English-speaking employer in London becomes, in the dubbed Spanish film, a conversation between the Polish workers (who speak broken Spanish) and the employer (who speaks perfect Spanish), where the translator is now a secretary that is somehow part of the conversation. Loach discovered this homogenisation upon the film's premiere in Spain, and expressing his anger told de Higes Andino (ibid.) that he felt this approach ‘destroys the films’ and breaks ‘the whole trust between you and the audience.’

roles played by different languages, their relative significances and how to mark them (ibid.), their approach does tend mostly to follow that of the filmmakers towards their primary audience, or the “home” audience (O’Sullivan 2011). If the “other” language/s is/are translated for the primary audience, and therefore meant to be understood, then correspondingly, they ought to be translated for the secondary audience too. In contrast, if filmmakers decide to keep the foreign dialogues untranslated, then the same approach would likely be taken in the (re)translation process for an international audience (ibid.). This becomes more complicated in situations where ‘the main language of the target text coincides with one of the languages of its heterolingual source text’ (Voellmer and Zabalbeascoa 2014: 234) or if the target audience’s degree of familiarity with and understanding of the language(s) in question are greater or lesser than that of the source. The absence of subtitles or the use of subtitles with a strategy different to that present in the film’s part-subtitled translation would likely produce glaring contrasts to its reception by its “home” audience and thus conception by the filmmaker (although, working out whether or not representations of multilingualism are even aimed at “international” audiences is one of the questions this thesis sets out to investigate). Of course, translation does have to happen, and we might expect the accessibility needs of the audience to sometimes clash with the creative use of multilingualism in a filmic text, emphasising the need for filmmakers to embrace translation not only in the original production for domestic audiences, but for international viewers too.⁵⁷

Romero-Fresco (2019: 46; 65-66) suggests multilingual films as the ideal candidate for the ‘accessible filmmaking model’, which:

[...] aims to consider translation and/ or accessibility during the production of audiovisual media (through the collaboration between the creative team and the translator) in order to

⁵⁷ As noted by Romero-Fresco (2013), it is not only the structures in place that affect how films travel across national, cultural and linguistic borders; directors and filmmakers rarely think about this, even those who make multilingual oeuvres.

provide access to content for people who cannot access or who have difficulty accessing it in its original form. (Romero-Fresco 2019: 5-6)

‘Accessible filmmaking’ responds to the aforementioned issues in the film and audiovisual translation industries in which the outsourcing of translation at the distribution stage means that filmmakers or the creative teams behind films have no say in subtitling decisions, and subtitlers in turn have insufficient resources (time, contact, production materials and so on). As he points out, further (Romero-Fresco 2019: 35), this generally results in translation being made to fit existing templates that bear little to no relation to the film, thereby undermining its aesthetics and the vision that the director has so thoughtfully and purposefully sought to create and convey to viewers (see also Crow 2005). To draw on just one example, relating to the colour of subtitles, Romero Fresco (2019: 83-87) notes how the bright white and yellow letters of conventional styles may clash with the intended effects of dark lighting in certain shots, or on the other hand, might fade away altogether when juxtaposed against a high-contrast background of the same colour (Figure 8):



Figure 8: Trialling different options for subtitles to ensure legibility against the *mise-en-scène* (adapted from Romero-Fresco 2019: 137-9)

His model therefore encourages filmmakers to consider how the subtitles will interact with the *mise-en-scène*, and whether this might affect the legibility of the subtitles, and to bear this in mind when selecting the colours and patterns of costumes, props, or to explore different options for the subtitles after their selection (as in Figure 8).⁵⁸

Although Romero-Fresco is referring primarily here to the visual and aesthetic effects of subtitling, and in reference to the intralingual subtitling of a documentary in particular (2019: 137-9),⁵⁹ the arguments that he advances have a clear relevance to multilingual fiction films, where subtitles are conceivably a core part of the film's visuals and overall multilingual aesthetics. In part-subtitled multilingual films, the translated text can be just as important as the costuming, camerawork and lighting in defining characters, the dynamics between them as well as to encourage responses from the audience. We might even consider part-subtitled multilingual films as a natural example of accessible filmmaking,⁶⁰ as translation decisions – be these intra- or extradiegetic, or absent altogether – are typically incorporated thoughtfully and purposefully into these films rather than being outsourced as an element of distribution.⁶¹ However, filmmakers wishing to maintain in single-language subtitles specific markers of language difference present in their film or the reproduction of certain subtitling patterns may need to find ways of communicating this to translators, or communicating with translators to find potential means through which this can be achieved in view of technical and linguistic considerations (Romero-Fresco 2019: 65-66). The aforementioned example of the English-translation of *Roma* (Cuarón 2018) shows how accessible filmmaking might be implemented in practice here; the marking of the Mixtec

⁵⁸ See also Fox (2018: 6).

⁵⁹ It is worth noting here that accessible filmmaking adheres to the wider notion of media accessibility outlined by Greco (2016: 23). Romero-Fresco writes that accessible filmmaking 'is concerned with both traditional media accessibility modalities such as subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing and audio description but also with audiovisual translation modalities such as interlingual subtitling and dubbing' (2019: 9).

⁶⁰ See Romero-Fresco (2019: 65-6) for discussion of the relationship between part-subtitling, translation in multilingual films and accessibility.

⁶¹ Of course, the work of single-language-subtitlers is no less thoughtful, purposeful or creative, at least from the perspective of this thesis; from what has been discussed here, the practices of the industry seem not to afford them the same value or worth.

dialogues using brackets was carried out at the request of the filmmaker (Aguilar 2019), who came up with the idea as a means of ensuring the audience grasped the language changes occurring in the film.⁶²

The accessible filmmaking model is not solely concerned with issues of accessibility, but also places emphasis on applying to subtitles the creativity involved in the production of other types of on-screen text. To return to Section 2 of the chapter, the use of different fonts is also discussed by Romero-Fresco (2019: 133-5),⁶³ with some potentially beneficial solutions for subtitling multilingual films. The suggestion of using a particular font that might be associated with a certain culture and therefore language (Figure 9), e.g., a calligraphic script to mark Arabic or a gothic style of lettering for German (see Deryagin 2018), may serve to mark languages or even accents (as with the font for ‘Wild West’, Figure 9) changes in multilingual films more playfully or interactively than simply using italics. Further, as Romero-Fresco (2019: 134) explains, typefaces are argued to provoke certain emotional responses from viewers (see also McClarty 2012; 2013) and their use in subtitling can therefore serve to shape perceptions of whatever or whomever is being subtitled, or to compensate for the loss of paralinguistic features in subtitles, or, as it is argued here, rather, to complement them. The use of different fonts might thus also contribute to conveying more details about characters than just the languages they speak, or for evoking certain connotations tied to these languages. In the case of *Ah-ga-ssi*, to return once more to Section 2, the strategic use of a more sympathetic typeface for the subtitled Korean dialogues than their Japanese counterparts might have conveyed the director’s

⁶² Cuarón explained that ‘for those who speak Spanish, the only subtitled dialogue is that in Mixtec. But it’s very important for the audience that doesn’t speak Spanish to denote that there are two distinct languages in the film’ (Aguilar 2019: n.p.).

⁶³ Although, in line with the premise of accessible filmmaking, his emphasis is on finding typefaces that are tailored to the aesthetics of the film rather than relying on existing, and potentially conflicting, templates.

intended ideological critique more meaningfully than the use of different colours alone.⁶⁴

Medieval Europe
1930s Germany
THE WILD WEST

Figure 9: Typefaces associated with specific cultural contexts
(Deryagin 2018 in Romero-Fresco 2019: 133)

The extent to which such techniques can – or indeed ought to be – applied to films would depend on a number of the technical and practical factors discussed thus far in this chapter, including the desires of the director,⁶⁵ who might prefer for the film’s subtitles to be produced in line with those styles deemed more “conventional” (i.e., conforming to presentation standards outlined in professional guidelines, discussed below). The kind of experimentation with the creative features of subtitles explored by Romero-Fresco (ibid.) is arguably closer in style to the types of subtitles produced in amateur or non-professional practices such as ‘fansubbing’, with an example taken here from an *anime* programme (Figure 10):⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The use of a sans serif font, which ‘evoke[s] fewer qualities than serif fonts, and may be described as no-nonsense and restrained’ (Spierkermann and Ginger 1993 in Romero-Fresco 2019: 134), for the Japanese dialogues might have served well to convey the critique of the Japanese culture as ‘oppressive’ in the film.

⁶⁵ Which the collaborative aspect of accessible filmmaking would help to establish in the first instance.

⁶⁶ The vast majority of works in Audiovisual Translation Studies on the topic of fansubbing, i.e., when fans of shows or series write their own subtitles and make them available online, locate the practice in the *anime* fandom, that is, Japanese animation produced primarily for the domestic Japanese market, from which the term ‘fansubbing’ itself seems to have developed (see Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 37). However, more recent work is broadening the examination of such phenomena beyond the structures of *anime* subculture and exploring its dynamics in Internet start-ups and crowdsourcing practices (i.e., Dwyer 2017).



Figure 10: Examples of glossing and experimentation with colour, typefaces and subtitle position in *anime* fansubbing (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 42)

Not ‘constrained’ by the rules of the industry, and the technical considerations that accompany them by extension, fansubbers are freer to ‘abuse’ subtitling conventions (Nornes 1999) both in terms of visual style and substantive content (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 51). In addition to a more ‘daring’ use of colours, typefaces and typography in their ‘formal presentation’ (ibid.),⁶⁷ fansubbers often vary the length of subtitled text and its position on the screen, meaning that more information can be included, as I mentioned previously with reference to the subtitling of *Un prophète*. Correspondingly, there is also a tendency in fansubbing to superimpose notes and glosses onto the visuals to provide explanatory comments about what is seen, heard or indeed read in the subtitles of the dialogue where words or references from the “source” language are left untranslated in the “translated” text (see Kung 2016) (Figure 10). This technique, somewhat reminiscent of Appiah’s (1993) concept of ‘thick translation’, a cornerstone approach within postcolonial

⁶⁷ As in accessible filmmaking, fansubbers also ‘ensure that the visual styling of subtitles is compatible with the aesthetics of the programme’ and select colours appropriate to those in the *mise-en-scène* or which seemingly correspond to the personalities of the characters (Pérez-González 2007: 270).

translation theory, would prove particularly useful for overcoming some of the technical barriers to explaining or expanding on culturally bound information and the inclusion of features of non-standard language whilst simultaneously providing a translation of the dialogue in the subtitles, as discussed in Section 2.

4. Subtitling Multilingual Films: Ideologies

Marking multilingualism in subtitles by using brackets, colour coding or different typefaces – beyond subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing – affords subtitling the visibility that ‘it actively seeks to avoid’ (O’Sullivan 2011: 143). A commonly reiterated saying, capturing the essence of subtitling, is that ‘the best subtitles are those that the viewer does not notice’ (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 40). Subtitles that draw too much attention to themselves are believed to break the fictional ‘contract of illusion’ between the film and its audience (Pedersen 2017), thereby lowering the viewers’ enjoyment and feeling of immersion in the film’s diegesis. To return to a discussion started in the thesis’ introduction, Thompson (2000: n.p.) explicitly states that subtitles should hide their presence: ‘[t]he goal of subtitles is for them to be “invisible” as text because they are felt to be speech.’ Henri Béhar, further (and cited here in O’Sullivan 2011: 143), has also argued that if subtitles ‘aren’t invisible’ then this constitutes ‘failure’. The idea that subtitles should be invisible is somewhat of a fallacy (Foerster 2010; McClarty 2012);⁶⁸ subtitles are visible, and they have to be if viewers are to follow the plot, or indeed if they serve as a driver of the plot itself, as in the case in many part-subtitled multilingual films (O’Sullivan 2011).⁶⁹ This produces a tension for the subtitler working with single-language text: on the one hand, a solution is needed to draw attention to the linguistic plurality of the film, yet on the other, the solutions

⁶⁸ Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007: 40) do underline the inevitable contradiction that their diktat entails as subtitlers are expected to produce an inconspicuous text which ‘dashes in and out at the bottom of the screen’.

⁶⁹ Subtitles were once also described by Marleau (1982: 271) as ‘un mal nécessaire’, a necessary evil.

available for doing so might detract from it by becoming ‘too visible’ (O’Sullivan 2011: 143) and drawing attention to themselves instead.

What is implicit in these arguments about the (in)visibility of subtitles is not only the physical presence of the text on screen being a disturbance, but also the idea that subtitles should not complicate, in any way more than necessary, the individual’s reading experience (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 40). Viewers are more likely to notice the presence of subtitles on screen when they are more difficult to read, be this due to technical or linguistic inconsistencies (Szarkowska et al. 2021: 673).⁷⁰ Interestingly, then, and somewhat ironically, the inclusion of linguistic features in subtitles that would make them feel the most “as speech” – i.e., markers of non-fluency, phonetic particularities and non-standard forms – are also those that would make them harder to read and/or more noticeable for viewers.⁷¹ Given the long-standing norms of standardisation that have prevailed in commercial and “conventional” subtitling, a point to which I return shortly, it is also possible that viewers might (mis)interpret the presence of oral features in the subtitled text as an error (Pedersen 2017; see also Martínez-Lorenzo 2020), and perceive them therefore as distracting. This leaves little room for manoeuvre for a subtitler dealing with films in which linguistic “errors” or “broken” forms of language serve routinely as a narrative catalyst,⁷² be this to shape interactions between characters with different levels of language proficiency, or the entire narrative trajectory of a character for whom language mastery is a key storyline.

⁷⁰ The potential discrepancies between the visual and linguistic codes that may occur when substituting non-standard linguistic forms and cultural references in subtitles as discussed in Section 2 is one example of this.

⁷¹ Gottlieb (1994: 106) notes that ‘the audience would be taken aback by reading the oddities of spoken discourse’.

⁷² Linguistically, at least, as interplay with the other semiotic codes can help subtitlers to ‘suggest variation’ (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 91), a line of thought that is pursued further in Chapter Four.

To correct or not to correct? Faced with this dilemma,⁷³ the subtitler may turn to one of the many sets of subtitling guidelines that have been published to help practitioners navigate the process as well as to create standards across the profession.⁷⁴ These manuals cover in detail everything from the visual presentation of subtitles and punctuation conventions, to how long they should be and appear on screen, as well as questions of linguistic register and word choice. The *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998), to name but one example, suggests using simplified lexis as well as language that is grammatically ‘correct’, presumably to ease the cognitive load for the viewer and ensure readability. On a practical level, this would provide an answer for our above-mentioned subtitler, although it is perhaps poor advice as far as fulfilling the communicative and diegetic functions of “broken” language in translation is concerned. Cleaning up the errors in the subtitles would also seemingly contradict the eighth commandment of the *Code* stipulating that ‘the language register must be appropriate and correspond with the spoken word’ (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998: n.p.), itself perhaps based in a fallacious argument. Although the guidelines were designed to be instructive and to ensure quality – as well as being just that, *guidelines* – many scholars argue that they have become sets of omnipotent rules that actively prevent subtitlers from experimentation and stifle their creativity – be this linguistically (Nornes 1999; Foerster 2010) or visually (McClarty 2012; 2013; Romero-Fresco 2019) – and to which subtitlers must, or at least feel pressured to adhere.⁷⁵ Unless

⁷³ Which might take on an ethical and ideological dimension in the case of subtitling ethnographic films or documentaries, as discussed by Martínez-Lorenzo (2020). Although the films dealt with in this thesis are fictional, it is argued that they still have some real-world impact on how stereotypes and ideas about social and cultural groups are created and disseminated, and the question of ethics in particular will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Four.

⁷⁴ The *Code of Good Subtitling Practice*, devised by Ivarsson and Carroll in 1998 and endorsed by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST) is probably the most influential of these. The *Code* has been cited and taken up many times by subsequent key manuals on subtitling, including that of Díaz-Cintas and Remael (2007), whose guidelines have the benefit of being more recent and more detailed. See also Karamitroglou (1998).

⁷⁵ Despite wide criticisms from scholars, it should be noted that these guidelines do not actively encourage standardisation or even invisibility. The *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* even advises ‘due consideration of all idiomatic and cultural nuances’ (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998: 1). This due consideration may not always be apparent, nor even possible, given the aforementioned conditions – be these technical or practical – under which subtitlers carry out their work.

they are Henri Béhar of course, in which case they are actively embraced.

Translation quality is a rather slippery concept, and a subjective one whose appreciation can easily vary depending on the different stakeholders involved in the production and reception of subtitles, or on the dimension of the subtitles being analysed (see Szarkowska et al. 2021), of which there are many. These include the extent to which subtitles conform to the standards established in both the film and audiovisual translation industries, the impact of different subtitling techniques on audience reception (measured subjectively and/or objectively), and degrees of equivalence (linguistic, cultural) between dialogues in one language and subtitles in another (ibid.). Whilst this thesis does not engage explicitly with an assessment of translation quality within any of these existing or defined parameters, the analyses presented in subsequent chapters suggest that some form of quality (or lack thereof) can be established from how the subtitles of multilingual films are presented on screen, both in terms of their content and their form. On this latter point, it also deals with subtitles that would be classed as “conventional” in that they are presented in a white or yellow font, in a plain serif typeface, typically constitute no more than two lines and are positioned at the bottom of the screen (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998). The thesis thus also sets out to assess whether the multilingual context challenges typical ideas about subtitling quality from this visual perspective, and with particular reference to questions of convention, creativity, accessibility and indeed subtitle (in)visibility.

There have, of course, always been films that have defied the traditions of subtitling and exploited the added semiotic and narrative dimensions that it provides in an unconventional manner. One film cited by both Foerster (2010) and Fox (2018) in their respective accounts of ‘aesthetic subtitling’ and ‘integrated titles’ that is of particular interest to the present study is *Desperanto* (Patricia Rozema 1991),⁷⁶ in which the subtitles are used

⁷⁶ The film narrates the experiences of a Toronto housewife who travels to Montreal for a weekend of excitement yet finds herself disappointed and unable to conquer the cultural divide. Ultimately, she escapes into a fantasy world where anything is possible, including stepping out of the film to read the subtitles.

to ‘make visible the experience of trying to access another culture when [one] can’t speak the language’ (Rozema 2004: 65). The subtitles are used in conjunction with visual symbols and metaphors such as brick walls to symbolise barriers to accessing another culture (ibid.: 66), even coming to the character in her dreams, their presentation as text that is blurred and overlapping signalling the flurry of voices speaking around her (Figure 11).



Figure 11: Subtitles with blurred and overlapping text appearing in a dream sequence (*Desperanto*, Rozema 1991)

She also starts to interact physically with the subtitles, as explained by the director: ‘finding it difficult to read the subtitles at the bottom of the frame that are oriented towards the viewer, she squeezes in between us and the subtitles to better connect to the world on the other side’ (ibid: 67). Similar techniques could be applied to multilingual films in order to represent and translate characters’ emotions as they navigate experiences in a foreign land, or to convey some form of meta-level commentary on the ways in which characters experience acts of translation themselves. The example from *Desperanto* shown in Figure 12 is one that explicitly emphasises distinctions between “insider” and “outsider” identities based on the way in which the characters speak, and one that complements the corresponding effects of the cinematography. Where multilingual films already blur the boundaries between diegetic and extradiegetic forms of translation to a certain extent, as

well as their functions, the integration of the subtitles into the *mise-en-scène* in this way more broadly could take this even further and enhance their translational aesthetics, for *all* audiences of the film, regardless of their status as “domestic” or “international”.



Figure 12: Experimentation with subtitle layout (*Desperanto*, Rozema 1991).

Capitalising on the aesthetics of translation and translation as aesthetics, and thus increasing the visibility of translation – in this case, of subtitles – is the core tenet of so-called ‘creative subtitling’ practices. As McClarty (2012: 140) writes:

[...] creative subtitles will never be “invisible” (if, indeed, subtitles have ever been “invisible”). Yet the aim of creative subtitles is not to “invisibly” reproduce the same effect on the target audience as that of the source audience. For who is to say what that experience is? Who is to say that that experience can be defined as one single unifying experience? Creative subtitles, then, aim to achieve difference rather than sameness. Just as other texts are completed in translation, given new meaning as they move across cultures, so too will creative subtitles allow the film text to gain new meanings in translation.

Although the encouragement for departure from the source text in this statement does appear to be at odds with the above-mentioned general premise of ‘creative subtitling’,⁷⁷ McClarty is right to claim that complete equivalence of experience for audiences is near impossible. Rather, the aim of creative subtitling practices is to produce an equivalent overall entertainment experience in that the subtitles are embedded into the audiovisual content in ways that give the impression that the filmmaker or content creator had intended for them to be there the whole time.⁷⁸ In this respect, using creative subtitles to translate multilingual films for international audiences might serve usefully to produce the same experience of viewers watching the part-subtitled film in their original countries of reception.⁷⁹

Whilst greater freedom for translators and filmmakers (and collaboration between them) would be an ideal scenario (as well as one that benefits both parties, as well as audiences),⁸⁰ it is for now just that: an ideal. The widespread implementation of creative subtitling practices would likely entail a complete overhaul of the film production and distribution processes, which not only seems a long way off in terms of the technology

⁷⁷ McClarty’s concept of ‘creative subtitles’ was developed with intralingual captioning in mind and takes inspiration from theatre translation, which she observes is typically a collaborative practice between producer and translator and tailored to each individual production, paying attention to the ‘specific aesthetic qualities of the individual play that is being translated’ (2012: 138). McClarty also writes that ‘[c]reative subtitles may be subtle or striking, bright or neutral, wild or restrained, but they will always respond to the individual film text, or even to specific moments within that film text (2012: 140). See also Mével (2020) on creative captioning for the theatre and the notion of ‘accessible paratext’.

⁷⁸ And filmmakers increasingly do. See for example Langer Rossi’s (2019) analysis of the films *Eden* (Mia Hansen-Løve 2014) and *Sleep Dealer* (Alex Rivera 2008), and Foerster’s (2010) case study on the film *Night Watch* (Timur Bekmambetov 2004). Foerster (2010: 82) also mentions earlier examples such as *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (Terry Gilliam and Terry Jones 1975) and *Vivre sa vie* (Jean-Luc Godard 1962). For television series, see Pérez-González (2014) for an analysis of the subtitles created for *Sherlock* (BBC 2010-2017).

⁷⁹ As is the aim of ‘accessible filmmaking’ (Romero-Fresco 2019), which seeks to bridge the gap in experience of viewers watching an untranslated film and those watching its accessible counterpart (either in inter- or intralingual translation).

⁸⁰ The results of numerous eye-tracking studies conducted on audience reception to creative subtitles (see Caffey 2009; Brown et al. 2015; Fox 2016; Kruger et al. 2018) show that they reduce time and effort spent on reading, and increase time spent on images, thus creating a more effective illusion of invisibility despite being more visible than ever. Subjective responses from audiences included in these studies also reported increased levels of overall enjoyment of the films and positive reactions to the subtitles.

available,⁸¹ but would almost certainly be met with initial resistance by the industry,⁸² and perhaps even professional subtitlers.⁸³ Indeed, the use of terminology such as “creative subtitles” has proven not to be unproblematic and has slowly started to attract criticism in recent years. As has been suggested by Bassnett et al. (2022) in a recent roundtable discussion on translation and creativity, by saying “creative subtitling” to refer only to subtitles that are “non-standard” (which might serve as a more objective term),⁸⁴ it consequently implies that the work of “conventional” subtitlers is uncreative. Not only is this term somewhat misleading, therefore, and potentially even offensive – one only has to enter ‘creative subtitling’ into the search bar on Twitter to see that it has created active debate and in some cases outrage amongst audiovisual translation professionals and scholars – but I would add here risks perpetuating and actively contributes (if unwillingly) to the very erasure or ‘invisibility’ of subtitles, subtitling and subtitlers that these more experimental methodologies confidently claim to counter. It could be argued to that end that Pedersen’s suggestion of the term ‘free form’ subtitles (in Bassnett et al. 2022) similarly plays into dominant ideas about subtitling being a ‘constrained’ form of translation, although, as the analysis will show, these constraints also have creative potential. For who is to say what that creativity is? Who is to say that creativity can be defined as one single unifying experience? Who is to say that “conventional” subtitles cannot be creative, and that “creative” subtitling

⁸¹ The absence of bespoke tools, in particular, has been identified as an important area of development for creative subtitling to become easier to implement (Romero-Fresco 2019; Mével 2020) and, therefore, to become a more widespread practice. Currently, no specialist software exists for producing creative subtitles as efficiently and spontaneously as conventional subtitling software allows, and conventional subtitling software, for its part, typically does not have a range of features wide nor sophisticated enough to produce well-designed, professional looking creative subtitles.

⁸² Romero-Fresco (2019: 46) notes that Quentin Tarantino anticipated similar issues with his multilingual film *Inglourious Basterds* as those faced by Ken Loach with *It’s a Free World...* (see de Higes Andino 2014) and explicitly asked the Spanish distribution company to combine dubbing with subtitles in parts such as the pub scene, which is built around the use of languages (Sanz Ortega 2015). The distribution company point blank refused, arguing that the Spanish audience would not welcome the use of subtitles in a dubbed film. The resulting scene, fully dubbed into Spanish using different accents, bears little resemblance to the original. As Romero-Fresco (2019: 46) rightly states, ‘[t]he millions of Spanish viewers who watched this scene on TV or in the cinema were effectively watching a different film’.

⁸³ As McClarty (2012: 149) also acknowledges.

⁸⁴ Although also one that risks becoming obsolete in the case that such practices eventually become mainstream and therefore “the standard”.

techniques would be suitable for all films? It is precisely these questions that this thesis will address.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has indeed highlighted various different forms of creativity in subtitling. Section 2 explored the use in interlingual translation of intralingual subtitling techniques for marking the otherness of film dialogues, either linguistically or typographically. Section 3 saw these typographical features take on more experimental forms in practices that complicate clear distinctions between professional and amateur subtitling realms, as well as their relationship to the other creative processes involved in audiovisual text production. The “non-standard” frameworks illustrated in Section 4 highlighted examples of the possible diegetic and aesthetic functions of subtitles that go beyond conventional conceptualisations of accessibility, and which challenge not only conventional norms of standardisation and invisibility, but also traditional conceptions of what subtitling is, or indeed has the potential to be. Whilst it is therefore seemingly difficult to pin down an exact definition of what “creativity” means for audiovisual translation, it is acknowledged that there are clear differences between subtitles designed to demonstrate some kind of intentional interplay with other semiotic systems in order to explicitly support diegetic and narrative, and therefore creative functions, and those that have not. Of those scholars discussing the creative potential of these ‘types’ of subtitles, three main points emerge that will be reflected in the approach of the present research to the films under study: (a) subtitles are an integral, rather than ancillary part of the film, (b) they must be interpreted beyond their linguistic dimension, and (c) they have the potential to produce a different viewing experience to that of the viewers of the “original” version.

These points are reflected in the object of study more broadly: as we have already established, with multilingual films, issues of translation are activated from the film’s conception and the subtitles consequently take on a more purposeful semiotic and narrative

role than we might see in other works of fiction. To call the subtitles of multilingual films anything other than “integrated”, “aesthetic” or “creative”, even if not by the definitions provided in this chapter, is therefore somewhat problematic. Subtitles are indeed an integral part of any film’s overall polysemiotic network, be these in “original” films or their (re)translations, and therefore a part of their visual composition. They also complicate this network, particularly when they serve to relay the information in the film to an audience whose language does not feature in the dialogues, which inevitably leads to the displacement and (re)creation of meaning, and to (visibly) new experiences for audiences. This shaping power, this “creative” potential of subtitling, to add further, new layers of meaning and interest to texts that may not have existed in their “original” form tends to be eclipsed by the consequences of its constrained nature (Guillot 2012; McClarty 2012); this is especially true in the context of multilingual films, as we saw in the introduction to the thesis. Yet this creative potential, and exploiting it, as we have seen in the present chapter, is precisely what can help to overcome the barriers to making difference(s) “visible” in such films, linguistically, semiotically and textually.

Multilingual films may benefit from each of the different practices discussed here: they call into question ideas about translation being a form of transfer from one fixed “linguistic” code to another, complicate clear distinctions between different types of subtitling, as well as notions of accessibility and creativity and their relationships to one another. Although this thesis does not apply the strategies and techniques of subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing, accessible filmmaking and creative subtitles to multilingual films in practice, it is argued that their theoretical underpinnings may be usefully applied to the material under study in order to gain a more rounded understanding of what subtitles can, and do achieve, in multilingual films. Of particular note is the emphasis on considered, tailored approaches to audiovisual texts and their translations with an understanding of the special relationship between the subtitles and the other semiotic modes present, and their distinctive diegetic, narrative and aesthetic qualities (McClarty 2012). An acknowledgement

of the specificities involved in watching the “foreign” version of a film as opposed to its “original” is also required to understand how the creative role of the subtitles and all other filmic codes will change depending on the access needs of the audience (Romero-Fresco 2019). Finally, they suggest that the creation of subtitles should not purely be based on Audiovisual Translation Studies, but also Accessibility, Film and Media studies, amongst others (Fox 2018). This multimodal, contextual and multidisciplinary approach to subtitling, specifically in the context of multilingual films, is explored in the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Two:

Materials and Methodology

1. Introduction

This thesis addresses the ways in which subtitles impact on the semiotic and narrative dimensions of meaning making in films, focussing in particular on the translation of cinematic representations of multilingualism. For the purposes of the thesis, multilingual films are understood broadly as ‘those in which two or more languages are spoken by a single character or, more commonly, by several different characters’ (Díaz-Cintas 2011: 215). It also adopts the ‘open and flexible’ understanding of multilingualism proposed by Delabastita and Grutman (2005), acknowledging within its selected corpus representations of not only the official or named languages of given nations, but also their social and regional variations, as well as non-verbal forms of communication and even invented codes that might not traditionally be considered “languages” at all. The ‘linguistic amalgam’ (Heiss 2004: 210) present in multilingual films is rendered all the more complicated by their audiovisual nature: language in its most formal sense, i.e., as spoken or written, is but one means through which multilingualism can itself be conveyed in films, alongside images, perspective, sounds, music, and so on and so forth. Representations of multilingualism in films do indeed often cut across and challenge neat linguistic typologies that attempt to separate languages into distinct, unitary entities, and, as we have seen, produce complex challenges for their translation into other languages as well as complicating traditional ideas about what translation itself constitutes (see Meylaerts 2013), as we will see in the case study analyses to follow.

Having examined the various issues at play – technical, practical and ideological – when producing subtitles for multilingual films in practice, this chapter presents the theoretical framework used for their analysis in this thesis, joining an increasing number of

studies in moving towards a multimodal analysis of subtitling and necessarily so.⁸⁵ On a general level, it is inherently difficult to separate the dialogues – and the subtitles by extension – from the other semiotic resources at play in audiovisual texts. The relationship between the different modes – spoken, written, visual, aural – impacts greatly on what can, should, or must be translated in subtitles, and how, in an additional layer of textual information that becomes an integral part of the overall narrative and semiotic equation. A solely linguistic approach is therefore simply not enough, and not only in the case of multilingual films: much of the existing analysis of “monolingual” subtitled texts – if such a word can even be used to describe them – in Audiovisual Translation Studies has been criticised for focussing on ‘decontextualised stretches of dialogue in the source and target languages, with little or no attention to the interplay between dialogue and visual semiotic resources’ (Pérez-González 2014: 182; see also Guillot 2012; Taylor 2013; 2016). In multilingual films, however, subtitles are arguably even more deeply enmeshed in their audiovisual fabric: they are typically ‘borne with the decision to make a film in multiple languages’ and the ‘presence of the translated text’, as Langer Rossi (2019: 36) argues, is therefore ‘an issue of *mise-en-scène*.’ Accounting for the linguistic, semiotic and disciplinary hybridity of the medium under study is thus all the more vital and is reflected in the analytical approach.

This thesis contends that even those multilingual films presented with ‘single-language subtitles’ force us to consider the translated text differently, if not by virtue of their linguistic and semiotic hybridity then by the subject matter with which this hybridity serves to engage. As Delabastita and Grutman (2005: 13-14) argue:

The increasing use of either translation or other languages [...] as a device in fictional texts does more than just draw the reader’s attention to their texture [but] crucially, it also provides a comment about our socio-cultural values and the state of the world we live in.

⁸⁵ See for example Gambier (2006) and (2009) on the benefits of approaching the analysis of subtitled films from a multimodal perspective and Tuominen et al. (2018) for an overview of the necessity.

In addition to placing the subtitles within the polysemiotic context of the films, the thesis also recognises the importance of situating the films within their wider contexts – cultural, historical, social, and political – of production and reception. The overall aim is to determine the contribution that representations of multilingualism, and their translation(s), make to the overall set of meanings constructed with the audiovisual tools at the filmmaker’s disposal, and in relation to the meta-lenses of identity, alterity and power that frame the thesis. These three themes were identified in the introduction as those routinely addressed by multilingual films, and in particular those produced in or depicting the French-speaking world. The second section of this chapter gives a broad overview of this cinematic landscape before narrowing its focus on the corpus of films selected for analysis, followed by the presentation and discussion of the theoretical framework in Section Three.

2. Materials

2.1. Defining the Multilingual Context

In line with the broader transnational trends discussed in the thesis’ introduction, French cinema is becoming increasingly multilingual. The growing number of studies devoted to the topic to have emerged in the past two decades are a testament to this (see Tarr 2005; Johnston 2010; Sanaker 2010; Smith 2010; 2013; King 2017), and also attest to the diversity of genres, time periods, social frames and cultural contexts across which representations of multilingualism in French cinema cut. The presence of foreign languages in these films naturally conjures up some issues with using the label “French”, as with any national cinema, itself perceived as a ‘limiting’ concept (see Higson 1989; 2006), as this generally indicates the involvement of actors, characters and crew of varying nationalities, as well as international production elements, filming locations and narrative settings. Drawing together the practical and political aspects of this problematising of the term “French”, King (2017: 9-10) points out that a number of recent multilingual “French” films do not physically take place ‘on French soil [nor] represent the perspectives of French nationals’,

position France symbolically as ‘the home, dream or ultimate destination of the characters’, or, crucially, ‘even have their titles in French.’ This latter point brings into focus the marginal position occupied by the French language in the narratives of many of the multilingual films included in King’s corpus, such as *Welcome* (Philippe Lioret 2007), *Un prophète* (Jacques Audiard 2009), *London River* (Rachid Bouchareb 2009), *Des hommes et des dieux* (Xavier Beauvois 2010) and *Dheepan* (Jacques Audiard 2015).

Yet however minimal the material presence of the French language, or rather the ‘standard’ French of metropolitan France,⁸⁶ in these films, its symbolic dominance is very often reinforced for francophone audiences precisely because it is typically the language that is not subtitled. It is seemingly always the case that dialogues in Arabic are subtitled into French and not vice versa in films that mix the two, such as *Le Thé au harem d’Archimède* (Mehdi Charef 1985), *Rai* (Thomas Gilou 1995), *Samia* (Philippe Faucon 2000), *Inch’Allah dimanche* (Yamina Benguigui 2001), *Le grand voyage* (Ismaël Ferroukhi 2004) and *Fatima* (Philippe Faucon 2015). In so doing, as Johnston (2010: 78-79) argues, this symbolically frames the Arabic language and its speakers as Other as though the language is not widely spoken amongst people living in France, and therefore implies that (standard) French alone is the main language or the language ‘by default’ (see also Turek 2010 and Rosello 2011). Such a decision is, practically speaking, most likely connected to these films’ financial and institutional identifications as “French”,⁸⁷ and also essentially the fact that these films were mainly distributed in France and other French-speaking countries, no matter how tenuous the narrative, ideological and linguistic connections to notions of “Frenchness” they might be. Defining these films as “French” in any sense is nonetheless political, therefore, and may inherently – if unintentionally – strengthen the hegemony and ideology of the metropolitan language by standing it as the “main”, or “central” language against which all Others must

⁸⁶ A point that is explored in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁸⁷ See Tarr (2007) and Vanderschelden (2007).

be positioned, defined and understood, as well as seemingly the language into which they must be translated in order to be understood at all.

Many multilingual “French” films strategically deploy non-translation techniques to invoke reverse power dynamics that place the monolingual French-speaking viewer in a position of inferiority by taking away access to “foreign” codes.⁸⁸ I think here in particular of the pivotal scene in Laurent Cantet’s *Entre les murs* (2008) in which Malian teenager Souleymane is summoned to a disciplinary hearing in which a committee of teaching staff must determine whether he is to be expelled from school after an act of violent behaviour. Souleymane is supported at the hearing by his mother, who neither speaks nor understands French at all, and, with no other speakers of her native language Bambara present at the meeting apart from Souleymane, the young man is asked to act as an interpreter. That the mother’s dialogue is left unsubtitled throughout the entire scene, as King (2014: 81) argues, places monolingual French-speaking spectators in the same ‘position of vulnerability’ as the school committee members, and those with knowledge of both codes, like Souleymane, who may or may not be acting as a ‘treacherous interpreter’ (King 2014) here, to return to the description of Malik in the thesis’ introduction, in a ‘unique position of linguistic superiority’ (ibid.). Souleymane is ultimately expelled, and as Koumba (another student) explains to François, the class teacher, his expulsion from school will also mean “exclusion” from France, something that he ironically drums into his pupils throughout the film with lessons on the linguistic norms and cultural and societal values of written, standard French, the code into which Souleymane is ultimately forced to translate.

Those films depicting intralingual varieties of French, in particular, have a noticeable lack of subtitles altogether. One might reasonably assume that this is due to representations of varieties of national languages ‘pos[ing] fewer intelligibility problems’ for audiences than the introduction of ‘distinct’ foreign languages (Kozloff 2000: 82). They are

⁸⁸ See King (2017) and Leveridge and Mével (2023) for further examples.

nonetheless ‘ideologically potent’ (ibid.): one only has to look at reviews of *banlieue* films,⁸⁹ for example, to see that the rapid-paced street slang that dominates these texts is largely unintelligible to a monolingual, standard French-speaking audience, and perhaps intentionally so. Abdellatif Kechiche, director of *L’Esquive* (2003), responded to reports of audience members not understanding the non-standard dialogues in the film by stating that ‘these people’ – implying well-to-do, middle class, white Parisians – needed to acknowledge that ‘they live in a little world that is actually quite small’ and that more people speak the variety depicted than they even care to think (Porton 2005: 48).⁹⁰ If, as Johnston (2010: 84) argues, the linguistic hybridity of such films signals a ‘renegotiation of the French republican model to accept within its discursive (and by extension, more broadly socio-cultural) limits, a “French other” and the paradox inherent in this term’, then this is arguably reflected in the decision *not* to provide subtitles for the non-standard dialogues. Indeed, Tarr notes, for example, that the subtitling into standard French of *La Haine* (Mathieu Kassovitz 1995) was ‘rejected as a form of exoticism’ (2005: 69). Although the film, along with other *banlieue* films such as *Hexagone* (Malik Chibane 1994) and *État des lieux* (Jean-François Richet 1995) have on occasion been screened – controversially – with subtitles in French cinemas (see Higbee 2007; Johnston 2010).

Whilst using the label “French”, as King (2017:15) argues, does not mean ‘box[ing] French films into narrow, monocultural or monolingual definitions, but to recognise the plurality of voices, identities and narratives that make up twenty-first century France’, the same cannot necessarily be said for those that make up the various French-speaking nations, regions and zones outside of the Hexagon. Cultural outputs from beyond the metropole are routinely excluded from the corpus of “French cinema” (see Marshall 2012), and instead typically lumped together, regardless of continent, country, or culture – and thus arguably as

⁸⁹ I.e., films depicting life in France’s *banlieues*. These terms will be defined and discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

⁹⁰ He followed this statement by insisting that if these people were to go into the *banlieues*, they would not ‘be understood’ either (ibid.: 48), suggesting a subversive willingness on the part of Kechiche to throw back the trope of exclusion felt by the communities he depicts onto mainstream audiences. This will be explored further in the following chapter.

a monolith – under the umbrella term ‘francophone’. This is problematic for a number of reasons, the first being the “West and the rest” style dichotomy the term has enabled, one that relegates literature and films made in France and those made in its former colonies to distinct – and hierarchical – categories.⁹¹ Further, and ironically, the term generally elides those areas in the “West” that make up the French-speaking “rest”, e.g., Belgium, Switzerland, and Quebec, as well as ‘diversity within the Hexagon that is not derived from the colonial’ (Hargreaves et al. 2010: 2). Avoiding the label ‘francophone’ whilst still recognising the ‘diversity and richness of this huge corpus’, considered ‘everything that “French” culture purports not to be’ (Marshall 2012: 41) creates a tension for defining multilingual films broadly considered part of the *francosphère*. This is exacerbated by the multilingualisms to be discussed in the present thesis, which come from both within and outside of the “French” language, and beyond the ‘francophone’ world altogether.

A possible resolution to this problem may be found in joining the growing number of studies (see Martin 2016; Gott and Schilt 2018; King 2023a; 2023b) engaging with the relatively newer concept of ‘*cinéma-monde*’. The term, itself borne of debates surrounding the 2007 ‘*littérature-monde*’ manifesto,⁹² was initially coined by Marshall (2012) in an article calling for the development of the concept of ‘francophone film’ in line with increasingly transnational approaches to the production, distribution and consumption of ‘national’ cinemas. Marshall posits *cinéma-monde* as a heuristic tool through which to analyse the growing corpus of films whose interactions with and connections to the French-speaking world – by some combination of linguistic or cultural affinities, geographic

⁹¹ Despite the fact that ‘francophone’ was initially conceived of as a lens through which to ‘de-centre a model of French studies that was focused exclusively on the Hexagon’ (Hargreaves et al. 2010: 2), and thus to have the opposite impact. For a more complete history of the introduction of ‘francophone’ studies in the academy, see Hargreaves (2012: 2).

⁹² The manifesto ‘*Pour une littérature-monde en français*’ [‘in favour of a world literature in French’] published in *Le Monde* in 2007 contributed to fostering a renewed critical interest in world literature in French. *Littérature-monde* defines itself as a reaction to and move away from the notion of ‘francophone literature’ and its colonial and imperial connotations, as well as the hegemony of France and of the (standard) French language.

contacts and settings, production and/or reception networks (ibid.)⁹³ – are increasingly fluid, both drawing upon and extending beyond the limits of “French” and “francophone” frames. The concept is thus also ‘fragile’, according to Marshall (ibid.: 41), ‘positing a unity and then immediately undermining it’, prompting reflection on the ways in which *cinéma-monde* films, and those of the corpus contest homogenous and hierarchical categorisations of a central metropolitan France versus a peripheral *francophonie*, and complicate these distinctions altogether.⁹⁴ Further complications arise when we factor translation into the equation, which not only offers a window onto the *monde* depicted by the films of this corpus, but expands its reach even further, within what Marshall (ibid.) terms a “Francophone” purview [...] asking new questions of the diagram and the relations between its elements, widening and multiplying perspectives.’

Marshall’s use of the word ‘francophone’ is significant here, as is its frequent usage throughout his article – where the term *cinéma-monde* by contrast is mentioned only once more than in its title, where it is accompanied by a question mark – which seems to contradict (perhaps consciously) the attitudes towards the term in the *Pour une littérature-monde* manifesto (2007: n.p.) from which it draws inspiration:

Soyons clairs : l’émergence d’une littérature-monde en langue française consciemment affirmée, ouverte sur le monde, transnationale, signe l’acte de décès de la francophonie. Personne ne parle le francophone, ni n’écrit en francophone. La francophonie est de la lumière d’étoile morte.

[The emergence of world literature in a purposefully pronounced form of the French language, a transnational form open to the outside world, has essentially tolled the death knell for Francophonie. No one speaks, nor do they write in a so-called Francophone language. Francophonie shines as bright today as a burned-out star.]⁹⁵

⁹³ For Ezra and Rowden (2006: 1) ‘in its simplest guise, the transnational can be understood as the global forces that link people or institutions across nations.’

⁹⁴ Majumdar (2002: vii) argues that the binary opposition understood in the term ‘francophone’ creates an ‘illusory homogeneity in camps on either side of the divide’.

⁹⁵ Translation published in Leveridge and Mével (2023: 28).

It is acknowledged that the term francophone, as with *la Francophonie*, is in many respects deeply problematic, seen on the one hand as homogenising very different spaces – geographic, cultural, and linguistic – under an ambiguous statement of unity, though simultaneously implying that one is either French or francophone, but not both. On the other hand, the difference the term thus inherently foregrounds is precisely what makes it useful as a critical lens, as is acknowledged by Marshall (2012: 35), who asks: ‘what might happen if a decentred view of Francophone Cinema were to emerge? [And] to what extent [...] can so-called “French national cinema” be “francophonised”, or made minoritarian, by this approach?’⁹⁶ It is for this reason that the thesis adopts the term francophone in its title and in discussions of subtitled representations of multilingualism throughout, asking: what might happen if a *translated* view of ‘Francophone Cinema’ were to emerge?

The thesis further expands the concept of ‘*cinéma-monde*’ by understanding the role played by audiovisual translation, and more specifically subtitles, in its construction, and will employ it as one of several framing devices through which to analyse the films. The ‘four elements’ on which the term ‘dramatically focusses attention’ identified by Marshall (2012: 42) – ‘borders, movement, language, and lateral connections’ – serve as lenses through which to reflect on the films’ representation(s) of multilingualism, how these are subtitled for the audiences, and to what semiotic and narrative effect. Marshall’s terminology is more generally conducive for describing the varying degrees of connection between texts and the relationships formed with their audiences in processes of translation, which are largely absent from the literature concerning the corpus of *cinéma-monde* (Leveridge and Mével 2023: 30). This is not to say that there has been no discussion at all: Tarr (2005) mentions the slipperiness of translating non-standard varieties of French into their standard counterparts for audiences of *banlieue* cinema, which Johnston (2010) extends to the subtitling of Arabic as discussed above. King (2017) has demonstrated how subtitles

⁹⁶ Marshall’s term is also derived from the Deleuzian concept of ‘francophonising’, an active verb that outlines a minorising of a heretofore centred notion of ‘French’ cinema (2012: 44).

are used in *cinéma-monde* films to decentre and overturn existing hierarchies, making explicit links between audiovisual translation (and diegetic depictions of translation and interpreting, for that matter), multilingualism and power. Indeed, those contributions that do mention subtitles bring to the fore the power they have in shaping and situating otherness within broader narratives of identity but have merely scratched the surface of a far bigger picture that this thesis seeks to paint.

2.2. Defining the Multilingual Corpus

This thesis examines the translation of multilingual *cinéma-monde* films into both French and English, a variable that helped considerably in narrowing down the selection of films for analysis from the broader corpus,⁹⁷ but also meant excluding films whose representations of multilingualism are well suited to the topics the thesis addresses. One such example is the film *Qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au bon Dieu ?* (Philippe de Chauveron 2014), which has dialogues in French, Arabic and Hebrew, and in which a conservative white Christian couple see their four daughters marry – to their dismay – men of Jewish, Maghrebi, Chinese, and Ivorian descent. How the numerous racial and ethnic stereotypes deployed in the film – often linguistically – were handled in translation, and in particular for the “international” audience, would certainly have provided interesting material for analysis. However, it is precisely due to the nature of these stereotypes that the film was never released in the UK, US or comparable markets such as Australia and New Zealand, and as such never subtitled into English; market research conducted by distribution company TFI found that the film would likely be ‘interpreted as politically incorrect and racist’ (King 2018: 13).⁹⁸ Other films that use multilingualism to explore national and cultural stereotypes such as Cédric Klapisch’s ‘Spanish Apartment’ trilogy (*L’auberge espagnole* 2002; *Les*

⁹⁷ All of the films mentioned thus far in this chapter were considered in the early stages of corpus definition.

⁹⁸ According to the production company behind it, English-speaking audiences ‘would never allow themselves these days to laugh at blacks, Jews or Asians’ (Mulholland 2014: n.p.).

poupées russes 2005; *Casse-tête chinois* 2013), were deemed to have almost too much of a focus on questions of European identity as opposed to francophone and were thus also excluded, despite having broken the subtitle barrier.⁹⁹

International reach is something that might be perceived as a mark of ‘quality’ in a film, although this term is avoided in the present study due to its heavily subjective nature. Popularity, on the other hand, is something that is embraced. It is important that the films have been widely engaged with both in the francophone and anglophone contexts, and even more so by scholars in French and Francophone Studies from approaches that bring together themes of multilingualism, identity, alterity and power, considering the translational stance with which this thesis positions itself in relation to the field. The films chosen for analysis might even be considered ‘canonical’ in many respects, or at least those that are becoming a part of the multilingual francophone cinematic canon; works whose reading will be essential to understanding some of the key time periods, genres and themes addressed at the foundations of *cinéma-monde*, and of which a translational (re)reading will, in turn, lay the foundation for future work in this area with texts that are even more contemporary than those selected for analysis. Some films that may be considered to fit this description are absent from the corpus for reasons of quantity: the few multilingual scenes in the films *Entre les murs*, *Intouchables* (Olivier Nakache and Éric Toledano 2011) and *Polisse* (Maïwenn 2014), for example, are all incredibly rich as far as their engagement with the key themes of thesis are concerned, yet they did not have *enough* material to stand alone as case-studies for the type of analysis this thesis seeks to conduct.¹⁰⁰

Six films have been chosen for analysis that represent a breadth of forms in which multilingualism may appear in films, and as post-2000 releases also reflect the contemporary nature of this phenomenon. Representations of multilingualism in ‘contemporary French-

⁹⁹ As were Michael Haneke’s *Code inconnu : récit incomplet de divers voyages* (2000) and Christian Carion’s *Joyeux Noël* (2005) and *L’affaire Farewell* (2009) for the same reason.

¹⁰⁰ It is of course acknowledged that, as O’Sullivan (2011: 70) argues, ‘the significance of textual heterolingualism is not necessarily a function of the quantity, but of the nature and quality, of foreign-language use in a text’, or ‘relevance’ as I would choose to frame this latter idea here.

language cinema [...] flourished' in 2005 (King 2017: 4), coinciding with 'a moment of a paroxysmal crisis in France in terms of the redefinition of the nation's rapport with respect to its own identity and to the imaginary representation of its community' (Bancel 2013: 208).¹⁰¹ In order to pursue this line of thought further and assess the ways in which articulations of multilingualism (re)define ideas about the identity of the French nation and the communities existing within it, each of the films of the corpus features metropolitan France in the narrative in some way and to varying extents. The films are paired together across three sets of case studies in terms of the ways in which they engage with the four aforementioned pillars of *cinéma-monde*, as well as in terms of factors such as genre, style, subject matter and indeed linguistic forms and combinations.¹⁰² The analysis of the films not only examines their shared elements but also teases out their differences in terms of how multilingualism functions as a plot, character and thematic device, and how these differences both shape and are shaped by their subtitles, contrasting both French- and English-language perspectives. Such juxtapositions will add further breadth and depth to the scope of analysis in this thesis, and, to use Marshall's (2012: 46) phrasing, therefore 'pluralise the whole debate.'

¹⁰¹ Bancel makes reference to the revolts which began in October of 2005 in France and proliferated in many of the nation's multicultural and socioeconomically disadvantaged *banlieues*. The protests arose in response to suspected police discrimination that led to the deaths of two teenagers of Malian and Tunisian descent. Bancel (2013: 215) highlights how long-term instability led to the social unrest: 'the riots of 2005 in France must be understood as the logical upshot of the social and economic disaster that are the French banlieues. But they also express the anger of populations – for the most part postcolonial minorities – doomed to abandonment and marginalisation, and with no mechanism for voicing their concerns.' The films of the corpus deal – both directly and indirectly – with these issues leading up to the riots, as well as those left in their wake.

¹⁰² As for the question of genre, the different subgenres outlined by Wahl (2008) were considered initially as a metric for selecting films for case study, i.e., the 'war film', which might have comprised of Rachid Bouchareb's *Indigènes* (2006) and *Hors-la-loi* (2010), for example. However, having a range of directors was important in view of gaining a wider perspective in terms of style, and other 'war films' considered for analysis with which one of them might have been studied, such as *Joyeux Noël* were deemed ultimately unsuitable for reasons outlined above.

2.2.1. Case Study One

The first set of case studies comprises of two films that depict movement within and across the regional borders of the French nation, starting in the South in the comedy *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (Dany Boon 2008; hereafter, *Bienvenue*). The film follows Philippe Abrams, a post office director who is forcibly transferred from his office in a picturesque small town in Salon-de-Provence, South of France, to Bergues, a town in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region in the North of the country and seemingly far less beautiful judging by the fact it serves as a punishment for Philippe for pretending to have a disability in order to secure a transfer further South. Abrams knows little about the region, and before going there, he consults the great-uncle of his wife Julie, who as a child had lived in the North. He describes an inhospitable region according to multiple famous clichés about the climate (cold, grey and rainy), the socio-economic environment (unemployment, poverty, alcoholism) and the language (an incomprehensible dialect called *ch'timi*). Once Philippe arrives in Bergues, things get off to a bad start: it is dark and raining torrentially, and he runs his car into his new employee, Antoine Bailleul, who speaks the strange and complicated language mentioned by the great-uncle. At first Philippe struggles to adapt, but he finds kindness in the *ch'ti* people he meets and soon integrates into his new environment, embracing the culture and the dialect, ultimately exposing the fallacies of French regionalism and the resulting stereotypes that negatively reflect those regions in the North.

The second film analysed in this set, *L'esquive* (Abdellatif Kechiche 2003), is a drama that traces the daily life of a group of adolescents living in an ethnically diverse and economically disadvantaged Parisian suburb as they rehearse for a school play. The languages used by these young people seem to be unique: one is a contemporary variety of French representing a form of suburban youth speak, and the other a form of classical French that they must learn for their school performance of a theatrical piece by French playwright Pierre de Marivaux *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard* (1730). Whilst there is much that seems to separate the French of yesteryear and that of the modern world, what unites the

two language varieties is the universality of *marivaudage*, a form of romantic banter,¹⁰³ that both are used to negotiate, in the play and the real world, and on and off the stage. The movement between cultural and social worlds in this film is thus more metaphorical than physical in nature, and metatextual in that Kechiche uses the play as a lens through which to portray the teenager's yearning for love, friendship, and community in a seemingly forbidding urban environment. Through this rather sensitive and nuanced portrayal of life in the *banlieue*, the film lays bare some of the otherwise-hidden stakes of Republican ideals that inform the model of integration favoured in France, and lead to the exclusion of some of its most marginalised communities.

The two films differ on multiple levels but primarily at that of genre, to which their respective presentations of multilingualism are inextricably linked. In *Bienvenue*, the clash between the Northern French dialect and 'standard' French spoken by the two main characters – a postal worker and his new boss – produces a number of misunderstandings, situations of confusion, and experiences of culture shock that are the basis of the film's humour. The shifts between the three codes depicted in *L'esquive* – the urban sociolect of the Parisian *banlieue*, the standard French of the school environment and the 18th century classical variety of French – have a primarily dramatic function, signalling changes – and conflicts – in relationships or between settings. Where these films overlap, then, is in their presentation of a multilingual scenario that focusses on the borders, lateral connections and languages of somewhat peripheral regional and social communities in France and their relationships to those positioned as 'central'. Both works foreground not only the clashes and conflicts between standard and non-standard varieties, but also their convergences, raising questions about – and ultimately undermining – the perceived links between language, class and place in French society, and in foregrounding the non-standard varieties in particular, interrogating the status of standard French as that which is the more dominant

¹⁰³ The noun *marivaudage* and the verb *marivauder* are used to describe the affected style and language that the protagonists in the plays of Marivaux use to speak of love (see Swamy 2007).

code. This is, as aforementioned, reflected in particular in the fact that neither film is subtitled into standard French for French-speaking audiences, and the analysis in this chapter focuses rather on how these specific language varieties are translated into English.

2.2.2. Case Study Two

The second set of case studies depict movement towards France from foreign nations, and through it in the case of *Dheepan* (Jacques Audiard 2015), finishing in the protagonists' intended destination of the United Kingdom. The film begins in the aftermath of the Sri Lankan civil war, where we are introduced to the three protagonists in a refugee camp for internally displaced peoples. The recovery of passports belonging to a family of victims means that three refugees will have the possibility to leave the camp as well as the war-torn country in search of a better life in Europe. Sividhasan, a former Tamil Tiger soldier who himself is fleeing after the defeat of his movement, bears a close enough resemblance to take the passport of the father of the deceased family, "Dheepan". A woman will be able to pose as his wife, Yalini, and to ensure their passage out of Sri Lanka she finds a young, orphaned girl to act as their daughter, Ilayaal. The three strangers board a boat that starts them on their journey to France, and the rest of the film depicts how the three refugees try to subsist as a "family" in France, where they find themselves living in another war zone, a tough gang-run housing estate on the outskirts of Paris. Through his film, Audiard exposes the harshness of the political realities of conflict, the complications of seeking asylum, and the challenges of forging a new identity to move into the future whilst simultaneously having to reckon with that which haunts the family from the past.

The journey to France in the second film *Inch'Allah dimanche* (Yamina Benguigui 2001) is framed within the context of postcolonial migration from North Africa to France in the 1970s during the *regroupement familial*, a law permitting immigrant labourers in France to bring their wives and children over to join them. The story begins in Algeria, where the protagonist Zouina bids a tearful goodbye to her friends and family before also boarding a

boat with her three children and mother-in-law to head to France to join her husband Ahmed in a small French village, where the rest of the film's action plays out. Benguigui centres the film around Zouina's experiences of adjusting to life in a new country, where she finds herself caught between maintaining the traditions of her home culture and assimilating to the modernity of the Western host society. The difficulty that Zouina faces in pursuing her interest in the culture, customs and language of France, sparked by limited interactions with a few friendly neighbours and listening to her radio, lies primarily in the fact that her abusive husband and tyrannical mother-in-law forbid her from leaving the house. That is, until she begins to sneak out on Sundays with her children to find another Algerian family, producing a series of encounters that bring into focus the complexities of (post)colonial migration, of relations between France and Algeria, and of being a Muslim-Arab woman in Western society.

Although the two films focus on vastly different contexts of migration, there appears to be some correspondence between their depictions of the issues faced by migrant communities in France, as well as the use of motifs prevalent in the 'migration film' (see Wahl 2008; Berghahn and Sternberg 2010). Mastery of the French language becomes a central device through which to map out the trajectories of the characters, who must overcome linguistic barriers in order to navigate life in their new surroundings, and their embedded cultural and social norms and practices. Surmounting these barriers thus also leads to navigations of a more metaphorical nature, in relation to how the acquisition of a new, or simply different, language and acclimatisation to a new and/or different culture and country affects how the characters experience their own linguistic, cultural and national identities as well as those of the others around them. The depiction of clashes between French and Algerian Arabic and French and Tamil respectively serves to examine conflicts and differences that arise between the immigrant characters and the host society on the one hand, and on the other, within the families themselves, notably between the women and their partners who do not seem to share the same attitudes towards navigating borders, movement,

lateral connections and language, as we will see. Moreover, the portrayals in the films reveal – both subtly and more overtly – how issues of integration, assimilation and adaptation arising in these processes affect men and women differently, the latter comparatively disadvantaged, presenting a gendered experience of migration in their narratives.

2.2.3. Case Study Three

The final case study analysed in the thesis is comprised of the road movies *Le grand voyage* (Ismäel Ferroukhi 2004) and *Exils* (Tony Gatlif 2004). The former recounts the story of a 3000-mile-long journey from France to the holy city of Mecca, passing through Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria, and Jordan before reaching Saudi Arabia. The travellers in this film are an elderly, devout Muslim man of Moroccan descent, who forces his young, secular and thoroughly Westernised son, Réda, to accompany him on the hajj, the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. Realising he will have to miss school and more importantly his girlfriend, Réda is unhappy with the request, and even more so when his father reveals that they will be travelling by car and that Réda will be driving. These initial frustrations spill over into the start of the journey, and the car soon becomes a hotbed of tension between the two travellers that exposes their conflicting cultural identities, social values and systems of belief. They barely communicate at all, but when they do, Réda speaks only in French to his father, who for his part replies only in Arabic. It is not the case that they cannot speak each other's language, they choose not to do so. The journey fundamentally reveals issues of non-communication across generations, cultures and faiths, and the rifts that arise between a father and his son over identity choices as they are reflected through language.

Gatlif's *Exils* follows two young lovers, Zano and Naïma, as they set off on a spontaneous journey from Paris to Algeria, the land that both of their parents were forced to

flee – the former as *pied-noirs*¹⁰⁴ and the latter as native Algerian – in search of their cultural identities and family history. With little money and possessions, the couple set off by train, ferry and foot towards their destination, passing through the south of France, Andalusian Spain and Morocco before finally arriving in Algeria. Significantly, their quest for roots is set against the backdrop of migratory flows towards Europe, and the journey undertaken by the pair finds them constantly heading in the opposite direction of travellers seeking the promise of a better life in European centres – migrant workers, Gypsies, refugees – amongst whom they find hospitality along the way. The people they encounter, and Arabic-speakers in particular, take great interest in Naïma, asking her why she does not speak the language as her name suggests, whether or not she is a Muslim, and why she, as an Arab woman, refuses to cover herself in Algeria as a sign of respect, interrogations that leave her with a shattered sense of self. In Algeria, there is further pain as the couple visit Zano’s abandoned family home and witness the aftermath of an earthquake that devastated the country. Yet there is also resolution, as the pair undergo a spiritual awakening in a Sufi trance ceremony, in which they are encouraged to escape their inhibitions and achieve a state of transcendence.

The directors of both films use the journey and the uprootedness it brings as a means of exploring their characters’ searches for individual and trans/national identities across time and space. Specifically, it is the journey away from France, the ‘centre’ in a reverse movement of the classical migration pattern, which triggers a questioning of the fixity of the notions of home and away and the place- or nation-bound principles upon which the young people structure their French identities. This questioning intensifies the further away from “home” the protagonists – and the spectator by extension – travel, and as they learn more about the changes and challenges of citizenship and mobility in an increasingly multicultural and transnational society, and from smaller, but specific marginalised or peripheral sites and perspectives. The journeys are fundamentally multilingual, and the question of language and language difference is foregrounded in various translational interactions in the films that

¹⁰⁴ A person of French origin living in French-ruled Algeria.

take on literal, metaphorical and even spiritual dimensions. Indeed, the journeys also present the opportunity for a new politics of language, one that not only insists on differences and specificities, but also on movement. The ‘decentring’ of the French language as it travels with the protagonists acts not only as a central narrative drive, shaping interactions and tensions between characters they meet along the way, whose otherness crucially prompts critical reflection on the (dis)place(ment) of French on the global stage.

3. Methodology

3.1. The Theoretical Framework

The methodology developed in this thesis draws on interconnected and complementary disciplinary perspectives in order to analyse the subtitling of contemporary francophone multilingual films in a way that highlights their distinctiveness. Certain motifs, themes and storylines identified in the films’ treatment of identity, alterity and power, such as social, regional, and class divides, migration patterns and related gender roles, tropes of travel and mobility in relation to spiritual quests, amongst others, have guided the selection of concepts, motifs and theories that will be used as frames through which to assess how multilingualism and translation factor semiotically and narratively into the overall artistic endeavour. Each of these framing devices, presented in the chapters to come, have also been chosen with a view of responding to the aforementioned calls to approach subtitling from perspectives outside of the discipline (Foerster 2010; McClarty 2012; 2013; Fox 2018; Romero-Fresco 2019), and to address the apparent lack of contributions within Audiovisual Translation Studies with a focus on its cultural angle (Díaz-Cintas 2012: 281). The wider impact of the films’ subtitles is discussed from a perspective that is theoretically grounded in Postcolonial Translation Studies, highlighting how audiovisual translation, in its treatment of filmic depictions of multilingualism, intervenes in the construction of narratives of identity, alterity and power in ways that are always meaningful, and never without consequences. Such a perspective also aligns well with the ethos of creative subtitling approaches,

embraced in this thesis, which views subtitles as an integral, rather than ancillary part of the film, with value beyond their linguistic dimension, and as having the potential to transform filmic experiences.

As stated in the thesis' introduction, postcolonial theories of translation have until now been uniquely applied to literary texts and are put into dialogue here with other tools that can account for the audiovisual specificities of the medium and translation modality under study. An Audiovisual Translation Studies perspective, for example, is needed to frame the analysis with an awareness of the medium-related constraints that might exert some control over the selection of subtitling strategies selected and therefore potentially influence their effect(s) on the films' diegetic and communicative uses of multilingualism. The analysis of the films and their translations is necessarily multimodal (see Pérez-González 2014; Taylor 2013; 2016; Ramos Pinto 2017), considering how multilingualism and its meanings are conveyed not only in dialogue, but across the entire network of interacting signs to which the subtitles add a further layer of linguistic and semiotic complexity. To that end, Film Studies will offer valuable insight into image composition, narrative and storytelling conventions and the aesthetic and stylistic properties of filmic texts that may influence how subtitles function in the films both in terms of their content and form (see Chaume 2004; Fox 2018). An understanding of filmmaking techniques will illuminate the relationship between the dialogue(s) and the other semiotic codes and thus help to determine how the subtitles fit – intentionally or not – into a frame whose every element has been selected deliberately, and what these elements tell us about the films' multilingual construction of narratives of identity, alterity and power.

Before making claims about the 'microcontextual' meanings of individual signs, frames, scenes or sequences, it is necessary to consider the 'macrocontextual' information surrounding each individual film. Attention to social and cultural history, in particular, is both inevitable and essential for this project insofar as the films under study use multilingualism – and indeed translation – as a means of responding to their contexts and

making them part of the very material they are working on and through. The same linguistic forms or combinations of linguistic forms will likely take on a different function from film genre to film genre, filmmaker to filmmaker and film audience to film audience, all of which can have a bearing on how these forms are translated and with what intended purposes. The project taps into the translation- and accessibility-oriented notion of Film Studies discussed in the previous chapter (Romero-Fresco 2019: 19), so as to identify the difference brought about by translation in both the ‘original’ and ‘accessible’ versions of the films,¹⁰⁵ as well as to identify the effect the subtitling decisions may have on the viewers’ experience. It is recognised that reception studies might prove useful for assessing audience responses to subtitling choices and thus determining their impact beyond the diegetic world of the film. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis, which instead takes a Cultural Studies approach to the analysis, focussing on the linguistic, cultural, historical, sociological and political contexts in which the films and their translations are produced – the latter in particular framed with a degree of technical understanding, deriving from what was discussed in Chapter One – distributed and received.

3.2. Macrocontextual Analysis

3.2.1. Metatextual

The first phase of ‘macrocontextual’ analysis, i.e., the analysis of factors external to the texts that may influence how multilingualism is represented and translated, takes place on a ‘meta’ level, considering how the worlds outside of the films may have shaped those portrayed within them. No film is made in a bubble; there are socio-cultural, -historical and -political events that surround a film’s production and may even be part of its internal subject matter, such that the characters or situations are metaphors for real people and events. As previously argued, and even if based on real-world people and events, films are themselves but ‘bubbles’ of a given “reality” constructed in order to propel a certain narrative that

¹⁰⁵ I.e., their French- and English-language subtitled translations.

comes from a director's vision. Determining the exact nature of that vision and the influences behind it is essential for understanding what messages multilingualism – and translation, where explicit – are intended to convey, with what intended effects, as well as for whom. This is not to say that there can be no objective aspects to a film's representation of multilingual scenarios: the specific contexts of migration depicted in the films of Case Study Two determine *which* languages are depicted, although the *how* and *why* are a far more subjective and less neutral matter. Indeed, we might question why the director of *Inch'Allah dimanche* chose to locate her Arabic-speaking migrant characters in a rural, predominantly white setting and not an urban, more ethnically diverse environment like that surrounding the Tamil-speakers in *Dheepan*, and vice versa.

The target audience(s) of the films, considered broadly here as 'francophone' and 'anglophone', is another 'meta' level factor considered in this thesis as having particular influence on the translation of multilingualism in the texts. Gaps in cultural knowledge will likely need to be bridged and multilingual forms reconfigured in order to ensure the coherence of the narrative for an 'international' target audience (see Delabastita and Grutman 2005; Díaz-Cintas 2011; 2012; Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2019), possibly leading to some displacement of meaning and thus alteration to the presentation of characters, themes and elements of the plot.¹⁰⁶ As for the "domestic" audience, itself somewhat hard to define (we might also consider this audience to have an "international" demographic), the intended recipient of the messages contained within the film and its multilingual discourse might be implied in its textual and translational structure, i.e., from how translation is used, if at all, and for which languages. This, in turn, can provide further information on the director's ideological positioning where this is not explicit otherwise, but equally could be the result of external pressures on the film, be these financial, institutional and/or political, for example. Such 'metatextual' forces also influence how films are bound up in the cultural

¹⁰⁶ The assessment of which thus also provides an insight into the fundamental role played by subtitles in shaping the overall narrative, as argued in the introduction.

circulation of production, distribution and reception, and which themselves provide further information about the broader structures of power within which the films and their translations take shape and are considered in the subsequent analyses.

3.2.2. Paratextual

The macrocontextual analysis also examines ‘paratextual’ materials, or materials that are attached to the films in some way that may influence whether and how the audience accesses them. It draws on the definition of paratext offered by Batchelor (2018), who has adapted Genette’s (1997) original literary conceptualisation of ‘paratext’ for use with digital media but Translation Studies specifically.¹⁰⁷ Drawing from another term used by Genette (1997), *seuil* [threshold], Batchelor (2018: 142) writes that ‘[a] paratext is a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received.’ This use of the term threshold as both a material and more figurative concept enables discussion from the perspectives of both text ‘producer’ i.e., the translator or filmmaker, as well as text ‘receiver’ i.e., the audience (ibid.), and suggests some flexibility around what can be considered a paratext. Returning to the above point, how translation is used in a part-subtitled multilingual film inarguably acts as a ‘consciously crafted threshold’ that will or ought to determine (to a certain extent, as accessibility needs must also be factored in) how the film is translated for an international audience. Similarly, the choices made by subtitlers for dealing with language varieties or cultural references might follow established trends or patterns in existing translated works of a similar genre, style or subject matter (Ramos Pinto 2017), which are consequently also considered paratextual ‘thresholds’ in the present thesis against which to analyse the films.

Paratextual information, when combined with an analysis of the ‘metatextual’ backdrop of the films, could also be essential to informing the work of the subtitler, in

¹⁰⁷ See also Mével (2020).

particular if they have no contact with the filmmaker. They might look to ‘epitextual’ materials, such as trailers, posters and reviews for the films, as well as the titles, blurbs, credits and indeed subtitling options, where applicable, amongst other ‘peritextual’ aspects of filmic texts (see Gray 2010 and Brookey and Gray 2017), which they may also be tasked with translating.¹⁰⁸ All of these elements can work as reading instructions for potential audiences and shape their expectations as to the themes, events and storylines the films deal with, as well as to the contributions made to these by multilingualism and translation. The paratexts of some multilingual films, as I have already alluded to, may be somewhat ambiguous or misleading with regards to the exact nature of their linguistic content. One can hardly argue that the title of *L’esquive* nor its English-language translation *Games of Love and Chance* communicate the film’s depiction of a non-standard linguistic variety to audiences as explicitly as that of *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* and *Welcome to the Sticks*, both of which very clearly set up the rural setting of the film and therefore its portrayal of regional cultures and languages. Whether or not the title is deliberately misleading might be determined from analysing other peritextual materials, such as interviews with the director, which will also be essential in assessing the intended functions of multilingualism within the film.

3.2.3. Textual

The third level of macrocontextual analysis is ‘textual’, focussing initially on the question of film genre.¹⁰⁹ Kozloff’s (2000: 136-138) observation that film dialogues largely

¹⁰⁸ In his preliminary observations on paratexts, Genette (1997: 5) defines the ‘epitext’ as ‘the distanced elements [...] located outside the book’ and the ‘peritext’ as that which is physically attached to the text. He states (1997: 345) further that ‘the epitext – in contrast to the peritext – consists of a group of discourses whose function is not always basically paratextual (that is, to present and comment on the text)’. The ‘peritext,’ referring to elements which ‘enable a text to become a book’ and which ‘ensure the text’s presence in the world’ (ibid: 1), is, as Batchelor argues (2018: 11) ‘always paratextual’: it always serves to ‘present and comment on the text’ (Genette 1997: 345).

¹⁰⁹ As previously discussed, this thesis does not view multilingual films as a genre in and of themselves, but rather multilingualism as a phenomenon that cuts across film genres, each of which have their own distinctive styles of production that may ultimately influence how multilingualism is employed as a diegetic and communicative device.

derive from the distinctive conventions and production styles of genre can be usefully applied to determining the specific functions that multilingual forms take in the films of the corpus. Situations of linguistic misunderstandings or miscommunication produced by the representation of non-standard or “broken” languages will likely (but not always) have a different purpose or intended effect in a light-hearted comedy film as opposed to a more serious dramatic work, for example, which could also have a bearing on whether and how they are translated. This is not to say that the same multilingual forms could not be used for dramatic effect in the former or comedic effect in the latter, nor that one effect is a more powerful means of using multilingualism to intervene in debates about identity, alterity and power than the other. Rather, it means acknowledging that the meanings of multilingualism take shape in conditions that are bound to genre, whose conventions are themselves bound to a specific culture and context (Kozloff 2000). This acknowledgement is especially important when it comes to analysing the English-language translations of the film, as the specific registers and styles of expression set by the film’s genre (see Pettit 2004) might come into conflict with the cultural and genre expectations of the audience, leading to linguistic choices that could change the overall dynamics of the film’s multilingual discourse.

Determining the precise nature of this discourse also requires paying close attention to other elements of the textual environment in which it takes shape, such as the characters, storyline and themes. Although the presentation of these elements might be determined by particular tropes, motifs or other characteristics definable to the film’s genre (Kozloff 2000), the way in which the films engage with these will depend on their overall narrative, the structure of which is also considered in the textual analysis. Following Field’s (1979) ‘three-part structure’, it considers the initial set up of the story, wherein the characters and the relationships between them as well as the dramatic premise are established. It also focuses on aspects of confrontation, or conflict between the main characters’ dramatic needs (i.e., what they want to gain or achieve) and the obstacles they encounter. Finally, it looks at resolution, where the results of the main character’s pursuit of their needs are presented. The

purpose of this is not to pinpoint where character relationships, elements of the plot or themes are manifested through representations of multilingualism; after all, the use of multilingualism as a character, plot and thematic device is an essential and primary criterion against which the films for analysis were selected. Rather, this will assist with the selection of key scenes, sequences and/or situations for close analysis at a ‘microcontextual’ level, i.e., that of the polysemiotic network within which the multilingual forms and the subtitles appear at these selected points in the film.

3.3. Microcontextual Analysis

3.3.1. Language

The microcontextual analysis takes place on three levels that draw from the four meaning-making modes of audiovisual texts identified by Pérez-González (2014: 186): language, image and sound and music. Although separated here, it is of course recognised that these different linguistic and semiotic codes mesh together and overlap in audiovisual texts, especially when it comes to ‘language’. Visually, language may appear on screen as static or dynamic writing, which could be diegetic, for example, a letter in a character’s handwriting, on signs, moving digital texts on screens (see Figure 4, Chapter One) or as added text to the film, including in the subtitles, which can also give away information about the languages being depicted on screen. Acoustically, language is typically deployed in the form of spoken dialogue, as well as paralinguistically, through elements such as intonation, pitch, volume, and rhythm, amongst others. As previously discussed, these features, along with visual and non-verbal interactional features such as body language, eye-gaze, gestures, and facial expressions, not only change the meaning of the words spoken, perhaps even providing information about a character’s social background, nationality, or level of proficiency in a given language, but may also influence the subtitling choices made. And whilst the subtitles, for their part, cannot physically change these elements of the film’s audio and visual tracks, certain linguistic choices paired with the delivery of a character’s

speech can shape the overall construction and perception of characters on a more symbolic level.

For this project, the language(s) spoken by the characters (i.e., whether the dialogue is in standard French, a non-standard variety of French or a national language other than French, for example) will also form part of the linguistic analysis. Specifically, this is understood as a paralinguistic feature because it is another way of presenting the content of the dialogue that influences characterisation and changes how a character's speech could be understood. Directors – and indeed translators – may draw on well-established linguistic stereotypes so as to ensure the easy recognition of a character's speech in terms of their social, educational, geographical and cultural background (Lippi-Green 1997; Kozloff 2000; Hodson 2014), as we will discuss in the following chapter, and therefore establish discursive situations quickly, as well encourage certain reactions from viewers, be these positive or negative. The metatextual analysis will determine the specific connotations, if any, of the languages or language varieties represented, their level of sociocultural prestige,¹¹⁰ and any defining lexical, phonetic, or syntactic characteristics before assessing the extent to which, if at all, these are revealed in the (para)linguistic choices made in the films' soundtracks as well as their subtitles. Exactly how these choices are made and with what effects on the narratives of identity, alterity, and power the films construct, e.g., to affirm or challenge stereotypes, intentionally or otherwise, also depends on other macrocontextual factors such as the film's genre, storyline and the ideological stance of the director.

3.3.2. Image

The analysis of examples from the films will take into consideration a selection of visual communicative elements contained within the *mise-en-scène*, namely the costumes, décor, props, lighting, and colours. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the ways in which

¹¹⁰ In the context surrounding the film's production, to then assess whether this corresponds to the context depicted within it or not.

characters are dressed, the physical environments in which they are depicted as well as any particular objects they interact with are particularly important in setting the multilingual scene. All of these elements can reveal information about a character's age, gender, socio-economic background and nationality, for example, and/or the specific language or language variety they speak. Distinctively 'different' features of a character's clothing might serve to demarcate them as Other within a given environment, as might their use of props to communicate with those around them.¹¹¹ Choosing to frame certain interactions with dark or harsh lighting and colours as opposed to softer or more neutral tones can serve to provide extra information to viewers about a character's personality or their interpersonal relationships, i.e., framing them as "good" or "bad" or stressing levels of amiability or animosity between characters. More importantly here, these techniques can frame not only the words spoken by the characters but also the languages they speak – and by extension cultures, value systems and beliefs they carry with them – in a positive or negative light. They might therefore directly intervene in how relationships of power are established in multilingual communication – and its translation – not only between the characters in the film but also the film and audience.

The analysis of the films' visual language will also take into consideration their cinematography, i.e., the use of framing, camera movement and positioning. Directors have at their disposal various shooting techniques to tell a story from a specific point of view, to mirror the emotional dynamics of a scene, or to establish a relationship of proximity and distance – both physical and symbolic – between the audience and the characters. For example, short shots and close ups may be used to isolate a character's face and their emotional expression, whilst the use of longer shots might emphasise a character's sense of isolation. A higher camera angle looking down upon a character may suggest that they are in a position of power inferior to that of their interlocutor in a communicative situation, or one

¹¹¹ Such elements are those whose presence has been argued as being able to compensate for the 'loss' of markers of linguistic difference or specificities in the subtitles for audiences (Taylor 2016; Ramos Pinto 2017), which might also be applied to the use of lighting and colours.

of superiority when the camera is positioned from below. In terms of movement, the use of jump cuts can be particularly effective in creating an air of detachment between characters and suggesting communicative tensions between them, which could be the result of language differences (or at least conveyed through language difference), which might then be complemented by an alternation between subtitled and unsubtitled dialogue. Indeed, subtitles can constitute a framing device in and of themselves; as we have established, their presence or absence plays a key role in helping the audience to understand the interpersonal relations between the characters on screen, but also in determining how they are to relate to the characters, if at all.

3.3.3. Sound

These visual elements of course need to be assessed alongside the films' soundtrack, comprised not only of speech and aural paralinguistic features, but also music, sound effects and even silences, which add a particularly interesting aspect to the analysis conducted here. Although on a more general level subtitlers do not have the opportunity to mediate silence, it is nonetheless important as a relational concept, insofar as it interacts with language, as well as with the broader themes of identity, otherness and power that run through the films. Characters in a multilingual film may be silent because they lack the linguistic knowledge that they require to speak to those around them, and the failure to use language or communicate clearly could itself also be considered a form of 'silence'. Silences may be symbolic of something on a deeper psychological or emotional level, such as feelings of isolation, trauma or sadness, themselves possibly arising for reasons of language contact, distance or loss (Mamula 2013). It might also be the case that characters are being silenced, either by other characters within the diegetic world or extradiegetically by the subtitles, be this through forms of linguistic censorship (Díaz-Cintas 2012) or a lack of translation altogether. In this respect, then, it is certainly true that subtitlers can create silences, and often to empower rather than marginalise; as we have established, the use of non-translation

is both a critical and crucial means of creating dynamics that upset traditional relationships and balances of power between different languages.

In terms of 'sound', there are two main types in a film: diegetic and non-diegetic. Diegetic sounds belong within the world of the story, e.g., music playing on an in car-radio, whereas non-diegetic sounds come from outside the world of the story, e.g., a song added over the top of the soundtrack. Music more generally supports and is seen as an integral part of the *mise-en-scène* and framing and has a narrative function, in creating atmosphere and heightening emotions in films but can also be used to communicate cultural discourses and connotations (see Kozloff 2000: 118; Kaindl 2005; Kalinak 2010). In terms of its interaction with the representation of multilingualism in films, music might therefore be significant in conveying the characters' moods and perspectives in their encounters with different linguistic and cultural groups, or in creating a sense of place (or perhaps displacement). Songs may contain lyrics that provide further information about the situations that characters find themselves in or their reactions to them, and therefore need to be translated so as to aid the audience's overall understanding of the plot, theme and characters. This adds a further layer of complexity to the subtitling of the film, particularly if the songs are multilingual,¹¹² but also provides a further strand to the already-broad range of creative functions that subtitles can take on in films beyond their primary function as a tool for access, which the analysis conducted in the thesis will bring to the fore.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the materials and methodology through which this thesis will examine the representation and translation of multilingualism in films. The corpus comprises of six contemporary multilingual films by different directors, of different genres,

¹¹² Romero-Fresco (2019: 65) lists songs alongside language variation and multilingualism as key challenges for subtitling (and dubbing).

styles and subject matter, and language combinations, grouped as three sets of case studies. As the thesis argues that an individualised, rather than one-size-fits-all approach to subtitling is necessary in order to emphasise its creative potential, it is well suited to the case-study method, which ‘provides highly detailed analysis of a specific case, instance, or context and can therefore lead to a more detailed understanding of a particular object of study’ (Susam-Sarajeva 2009). Three sets of case studies comprising of two films each have been selected in order to allow for a thorough and comparative analysis of the films and their translations within the scope of this thesis. Although not every subtitle will ultimately be analysed in the thesis, they will all be considered for analysis, and those selected for the final analysis will not only be studied within their respective scenes, but also in light of other subtitles within the films, compared across the French- and English-language translations. This will allow for the identification of repeated subtitling techniques employed across the films of the corpus, contrasted in terms of their interaction with the specificities of each film – genre, plot, themes, and so on – thereby creating a broad overview of the diverse contributions that subtitles make to the semiotic and narrative composition of multilingual films.

Each case is distinctive, and the observations formed from their analysis are not considered to be examples that illustrate or represent a general rule as to how multilingualism is represented and translated in films. As such, the project does not attempt to taxonomise strategies for subtitling multilingualism in films, but rather contextualises the strategies within each film and multilingual narrative constructed. The analysis of the subtitled films is both ‘macrocontextual’, referring to culture, shared knowledge, ideologies and values, target audiences, genres, and so on, and ‘microcontextual’, considering, for example, the polysemiotic networks of the text elements, technical constraints and language associations. This chapter has therefore clearly defined the meanings and parameters of the term ‘context’ within the present research before moving to the textual analysis,¹¹³ and

¹¹³ Gambier (2021: 9) notes that ‘in Translation Studies, in particular since the cultural turn in the 1980s, context has been one of those terms that is frequently used and referred to but hardly ever made explicit’.

whilst a distinction is made between the two levels of analysis, they are not seen as existing in a relationship that is mutually exclusive, but rather as existing in a continuous state of mutual interdependence. The analysis traces aspects of the films' macrocontexts, e.g., genre-bound plot devices, the director's intended vision, sociohistorical events, into the representation of multilingualism in the different modal channels forming the films' microcontexts, which are examined in relation to the subtitling strategies. The findings of the microcontextual analysis are then placed back into the broader cultural contexts in which the films are produced, distributed and received so as to draw conclusions about the ways in which the subtitles shape the meanings they themselves generate.

The analytical approach taken in this thesis is qualitative, focussing not on the number of times a specific multilingual form appears in the films or the frequency with which certain translation strategies are used, for example, although this may be addressed consequentially. Rather, it analyses specific representations of multilingualism and subtitling choices that relate significantly to the films' thematisation(s) of identity, alterity and relations of power, the broader cultural themes framing the thesis on a meta-level, through which a reading of the films and their translations will, as it is argued here, open up new perspectives on the ways in which subtitles operate semiotically and narratively in films. So too will the use of a methodological framework that crosses both intra- and interdisciplinary borders, pulling together both traditional and more novel perspectives from within Audiovisual Translation Studies (conventional and creative subtitling practices), theories of translation hitherto unexplored within an audiovisual setting (Postcolonial Translation Studies), as well as importing models seen, somewhat like subtitles, as existing both 'within' and 'outside' of the discipline altogether (Film Studies). These theoretical perspectives are brought together in the concepts chosen as lenses through which to conduct the case study analyses, themselves contributing to the overall multidisciplinary methodological approach developed in this thesis to study the subtitling of multilingual francophone films in a way that highlights their specificity. Each of these is presented in its respective case study chapter

and both developed and embedded as a fully ‘integrated’ heuristic analytical tool (to borrow Fox’s 2018 term) within the initial discussions of the film, starting with ‘heteroglossia’ (Bakhtin 1981) in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three:

Subtitling *Bergues* and the *Banlieue*: Translating Cinematic Representations of Non-Standard Varieties of French into English

1. Introduction

Non-standard language varieties such as dialects, ethnolects, pidgins and creoles, amongst others, all of which routinely feature in postcolonial, migrant and/or otherwise “hybrid” literatures,¹¹⁴ can be considered as languages “in-between.” Despite having their own distinctive lexicon and grammatical forms, as their categorisation suggests, such varieties have typically not been through an official process of standardisation and are consequently more oral, or “spoken” in nature. Representing the features of spoken language in writing is, as we have established, a practically difficult task, and even more so in the context of subtitling given the constraints of space and time,¹¹⁵ as well as the question of readability, whose interrelation with notions of translation “quality”, or rather a lack of it when subtitles are perceived as “illegible”, risks exacerbating the perceived illegitimacy of non-standard varieties (see Trudgill and Chambers 1980). It is indeed the case that the lesser prestige attributed to non-standard varieties than that of the given ‘standard’ from which they ‘deviate’ (ibid.), and the social and cultural inferiority attributed to their speakers in turn, often reveal themselves in fictional literary and audiovisual texts (see Blake 1981; Lippi-Green 1997; Kozloff 2000; Hodson 2014). However, films such as *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* and *L’esquive*, the focus of the present chapter, show how non-standard varieties can be depicted in such a way that they become associated with more positive connotations, or

¹¹⁴ See for example studies by Meylaerts (2006b), Bandia (2007; 2012) and Li (2010), all of which employ the same conceptual lens for analysis as the present chapter, but in a literary translation context.

¹¹⁵ See the edited collections by Armstrong and Federici (2006) and Federici (2009), as well as the special issues of *inTRAlinea*, such as that guest edited by Geyer and Dore (2020), and individual studies by Mével (2017), Ramos Pinto (2017) and Silvester (2018) to name but a few.

create relationships of solidarity amongst marginalised linguistic groups, as well as push back on the dominance of those that are deemed to be more powerful.

The prominent representation of non-standard varieties in both films – and their lack of translation for francophone audiences – can be interpreted as pushing back specifically on the hegemony of ‘standard French’,¹¹⁶ which has long been a symbol of Republican identity and values since its invocation as the salient element of French national, political and cultural unity during the Revolution (Lodge 1993; Wise 1997). The variety of French selected to be the ‘official language of France’ was one of high prestige, spoken only by the aristocracy and upper classes of society, and thus believed to be the variety far superior to and clearer than all others (Lodge 1993). This ‘ideology of the standard’ (Milroy and Milroy 1985), defined by Lippi-Green (1994: 166-7) as a ‘bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous language which is imposed from above’, has been upheld and spread by the implementation of language policies in France targeting powerful institutions such as the education system and the media.¹¹⁷ Film too has played a part in its legitimisation; the regional dialects once spoken by the majority of the French population (Wise 1993) have historically been as absent from the nation’s cinema (Chion 2008; Vincendeau 2010)¹¹⁸ as in official government planning. The 1980s and 1990s, however, saw a surge in representations of regionalised varieties of French in popular comedy films,¹¹⁹ a development that Chion (2008: 132) links to the trend for films set in the *banlieue* or other ‘micro-milieus ethniques’ [ethnic micro-milieus] and one that is traced further in the present chapter through its analysis of both genres.

¹¹⁶ Unlike Boon’s 2003 show *Dany Boon : à’s baraque et en ch’ti*, spoken in the local ch’ti dialect, which was subtitled into standard French (Harrod 2012: 77).

¹¹⁷ For example, the *lois Ferry* of 1881 designated standard French as the official language of educational instruction, and the *loi Toubon* of 1994 made the presence of any language (variety) other than standard French in advertisements, government publications and workplace communications illegal.

¹¹⁸ Other than ‘falsified’ versions of a generalised *midi* or Parisian accent, as observed by both authors. See also Vincendeau (2005).

¹¹⁹ Titles include *Les ripoux* (Claude Zidi 1984) and *La vérité si je mens* (Thomas Gilou 1997).

The main source of comic pleasure in Boon’s film lies in the caricatured – and yet positive – representation of *ch’timi*, a non-standard variety of French spoken in the North of France and closely related to the *dialecte* Picard, although held in much lower regard due to its own status as a *patois*.¹²⁰ This latter term has extremely negative linguistic connotations in French: *patois* are seen as ‘rude deformations of the [national] language spoken only in rural locales’ (Encrevé 1970: 532 cited in McCrea 2019: 42), and as Lodge (1993: 5) explains, ‘for many a French layperson [...] the lowest form of language life.’ Correspondingly, speakers of *patois* are situated at the bottom of the social and cultural hierarchy, and, as Pooley (1996: 6) remarks, writing in the context of *ch’timi*, often viewed as uncivilised, uneducated and unintelligible ‘country yokels.’ Such stereotypes manifest in *Bienvenue* in the aforementioned preconceptions learned and retained by Philippe about the *ch’ti* people before he moves to Bergues (Moine 2011; Lanzoni 2014), only to eventually be denounced as the southerner is welcomed and integrated – both culturally and linguistically – into the northern community. This relatively idealistic message proposed by the film, namely that shared values can be found through joint mastery of a common language speaks to – albeit in non-standard terms, and thus somewhat subversively – French republican ideals of *universalisme*, in particular those of *égalité* and *fraternité*, and seemed to resonate with much of the population, “liberating” many, if not all, of their own anti-Northern prejudices.¹²¹

¹²⁰ As a *dialecte*, Picard benefits from a higher degree of legitimation, although it is still not as prestigious as standard French, which has the designation of *langue*. McCrea (2019: 44) and Smirnova and Dawson (2019: 100) point out that for the Picard-speaking regional population, *ch’timi* is sometimes not even considered as a *patois*, but an accent, concretising the perceived inferiority and low status of the variety. In this chapter, I refer to *ch’timi* as a dialect, in order to reflect the status it is accorded in the film.

¹²¹ The evidence for this can be found in Harrod (2012: 78), who notes the boom in forum and website posts written in *ch’timi* immediately following the release of the film, as well as the rise in sales of *ch’timi* dictionaries and reference books. However, as Lanzoni (2014: 226) has pointed out, for others, the comedy unfortunately exacerbated existing prejudices, culminating in Paris Saint-Germain fans unveiling banners at a football match against the northern club of Lens in 2008 saying ‘Pédophiles, chômeurs, consanguins : Bienvenue chez les ch’tis’ (paedophiles, unemployed, inbreds: welcome to the land of the ch’tis) (Lanzoni’s translation).

As Harrod (2012: 81) has pointed out, the success of *Bienvenue* and its embrace as ‘quintessentially French’ came during a period in which French national identity was perceived to be threatened *from within* by growing numbers of ethnic minorities. The “Frenchness” and *républicanisme* of the *cités*,¹²² in particular, were called into question by the French media over several decades with constant reports on violence, crime and unrest that served only to emphasise the apparent problems of integrating peripheral multi-ethnic communities into mainstream French society. Doran (2007: 497), drawing on Goudaillier (1998: 8), has highlighted how the *fracture sociale* between the *banlieues* and the *grandes villes* is both mirrored and exacerbated by a *fracture linguistique*, in that the young people of the *cit * speak their own language, ‘a linguistic bricolage’ derived from Arabic and African influences and *le verlan*.¹²³ This latter code, a type of argot developed in the *banlieue* that inverts the syllables in a word, often belonging to standard French, is widely argued to reflect the desire of the *banlieusards* to create alternative definitions and expressions of identity and citizenship that do not revolve around *le bon usage* (see Lepoutre 2001; Doran 2007).¹²⁴ Negative responses to the language of the *banlieue* as a ‘manipulation’ and ‘violation’ of standard French (*ibid.*) are hardly surprising given the pervasiveness and promotion of linguistic purism in France (Lodge 1993), itself consistent with the long-standing republican ideology of assimilation, which views hybridity as a source of conflict and therefore as an unwelcome presence within the national linguistic, cultural, and social order.

Kechiche’s film seeks to depart from the clich d problems previously synonymous with mediatised *banlieue* narratives by focussing on the theme of adolescents and their anxieties, thus replacing them with a more nuanced portrayal. As the director puts it:

¹²² An alternative term for *banlieue*.

¹²³ The word *verlan* is italicised throughout this chapter, including in citations where it may not have been originally. The code has a long and very complex history that is beyond the scope of the thesis to discuss in great detail, although Lepoutre (2001) and Goudaillier (2002) are very good places to start should the reader wish to know more.

¹²⁴ In this chapter, I will refer to the French of the *banlieue* as a sociolect, or a variety of speech associated with a particular social class or occupational group within a society.

[...] these people who live in the projects, in the suburbs are always discussed or depicted in the French media in a caricatured way. What I wanted to do was to break that mould of representing them and replace it with another, more complex, sort of image. (Kechiche cited in Porton 2005: n.p.)

This complexity lies primarily in the film's staging of the sensitive Marivaux play, the epitome of "Frenchness" (Swamy 2007) in the tough environment of the *banlieue*, through which a more positive move towards the integration between the two cultures is suggested.¹²⁵ The ending of the film is perhaps not as 'utopian' (Moine 2018: 41) as that of *Bienvenue*; the young maghrebin protagonist Krimo, having failed to grasp the language of the school play ends up watching it through a window from outside the building, symbolic of the wider, perpetual exclusion of *banlieue* minorities from republican social and cultural institutions.¹²⁶ Indeed, to return to the previous point, Mohamed (2021) has noted that, despite being spoken by swathes of the population, very few *verlan* words have entered the dictionary of the *Académie Française*,¹²⁷ who, whilst accepting other forms of slang, have seemingly either overlooked or outright rejected the language of the *banlieues*, like their inhabitants, as a threat.

Whilst the stakes of representation – and style, as far as genre goes – for each marginalised community are undeniably different, both directors appear to share a common

¹²⁵ Kechiche's first full-length film, *La faute à Voltaire* (2000), is similarly structured around a classic French text as a means through which to thematise a Tunisian immigrant's attempts to find romance and permanent residency in an inhospitable France. Similar literary references have been appearing in more recent *banlieue* films, such as Ladj Ly's *Les Misérables* (2019) and Houda Benyamina's *Divines* (2016).

¹²⁶ One might draw some parallels here to Souleymane's aforementioned exclusion from the school in *Entre les murs*, a film in which grasping the republican linguistic and social codes is also at the heart of the interactions between teacher and pupils, as aforementioned. The perceived inferiority of *verlan* vis-à-vis the standard is also brought to the fore in Cantet's film: when the students use the code, their teacher François at one point responds with 'en français s'il te plaît' [in French please].

¹²⁷ A linguistic organisation formed in 1635 charged with regulating the French language by determining standards of acceptable grammar and vocabulary, as well as adapting to linguistic change by adding new words and updating the meanings of existing ones. Officially, Article 24 of its rules and statutes outlines that: '[l]a principale fonction de l'Académie sera de travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences' [the primary function of the *Académie* will be to work, with all possible care and diligence, to give our language definite rules and to make it pure, eloquent, and capable of dealing with art and science] (1995: 19).

goal of undermining the standard language ideology and the mythical homogeneity it propagates by exposing a sociocultural reality that is in fact heterogeneous and multiform. They do this, to return to Chion (2008: 132), with ‘une tentative de repeindre à neuf le dialogue français et d’y ajouter des nouvelles créations verbales et d’y réintroduire des personnages qui savent “jouer” avec les mots’ [an attempt to refurbish French dialogue by adding new verbal creations to it, and by reintroducing characters who know how to “play” with words], be this lexically, phonetically and/or syntactically. The analysis of both films will focus on these three areas in which the dialogues diverge from standard French, and the subsequent translation of these features into English, all of which will be guided by Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of ‘heteroglossia’ (1981), and the related notions of ‘dialogism’ and the ‘carnavalesque’. Although these concepts were originally developed as a means through which to theorise the production of meaning in the novel, each draws attention to the links between concepts of identity, alterity, and power in relation to interactional meaning-making processes between different linguistic, cultural, social, and ideological groups. ‘Heteroglossia’, in particular, is argued to represent a ‘philosophical perspective’ on varied discursive and communicative practices in a multilingual world (Bailey 2007; 2012: 500) and as the following section of the chapter demonstrates, presents itself thus as a suitable lens through which to delineate and analyse the presentation, function and translation of language diversity in *Bienvenue* and *L’esquive*.

2. Language Varieties in Audiovisual Translation: a Heteroglossic Perspective

First introduced by Bakhtin in *Discourse in the Novel* (1981), the term ‘heteroglossia’ refers to the ‘internal stratification’ of all national languages by the voices that exist among them in any given moment of their evolution. Specifically, Bakhtin writes (1981: 262-3) that these languages stratify into:

[...] social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour (each has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphases).

These languages are deeply embedded into the context and consciousness of individuals and groups, marking not only social identity, but also embodying ‘specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and value’ (ibid.: 291), meaning language is both stratified by and saturated with ideology. In his discussion, Bakhtin (ibid.: 263) claims this heteroglossia exists not only in the social world, but also in the novel, whose form allows for the incorporation of a diverse assortment of speech types, i.e., the speech of the characters, the narrator(s) and indeed the author, all of which coincide, compete, and converge within a ‘singular’ literary discourse. The two are themselves interconnected: the novel takes the raw material of variation from the society it reflects, reworking it into ‘images of a language’ (ibid.: 336), through which to represent the debates of any given place and time-period, bringing different perspectives into a fuller understanding of each other.

Under the condition of heteroglossia, ‘dialogism’ is the necessary and characteristic mode of the production of meaning, an ongoing interactional process between at least two participants, and one that is irreducibly dependent on the complex unity of their differences:

The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group; and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile. (ibid.: 276)

Meaning, in the dialogical view, does not emerge from an individual ‘utterance’, the basic unit of language for Bakhtin, be this a singular word or an entire text, but through the position of that utterance within a particular chain of communication, reflecting the unique

relationship between speakers as well as the specific set of circumstances – physical, cultural, historical, ideological – in which their interaction is situated and embedded. Bakhtin uses slightly different terminology to describe how these dialogic processes of meaning-making unfold in the novel (ibid: 262), at whose core the words and speech of characters come into constant contact, and often conflict, with the words and speech of those who have preceded them, those that exist alongside them during the same sociohistorical moment, and the words and speech with which they will come to have a future relation.

Films might also be considered ‘heteroglossic’ in that they allow for multiple and different voices to be positioned within, on top of, and against one another within a narrative, and more evidently so in multilingual films like *Bienvenue* and *L’esquive*. The juxtaposition of diverse dialects, sociolects, and accents serves to establish relationships – be these of convergence or conflict – between different groups and the worldviews they represent, through which interaction their directors seek to produce some sort of meta-pragmatic commentary about the societies the films purport to reflect, and in which they are ‘dialogically’ produced and received. Both films also shed light on how, similarly to the novel, films take the raw material of ‘heteroglossia’ from these societies and rework them into ‘images of a language’ in the fictional heteroglossic world:

In traditions passed down over hundreds of years from the stage and theater, film uses language variation and accent to draw character quickly, building on established preconceived notions associated with specific regional loyalties, ethnic, racial, or economic alliances. (Lippi-Green 1997: 81)

In other words, cinematic representations of language varieties are always embedded with a semiotic significance that takes advantage of linguistic, and by extension sociocultural, stereotypes that have been developed over time to ensure easy recognition of a character’s speech. This, in turn, can signal their role and purpose in the narrative, and the purpose of the narrative as a whole with regards to the overarching themes or messages they are intended to communicate.

Whether or not existing stereotypes and assumptions – be these positive or negative – are reinforced or challenged in such films will ultimately depend on the specific aesthetic, narrative, thematic and/or stylistic objectives of the director, and their personal, and indeed political, motivations. In Bakhtin's (1981: 277) terms:

[...] the way in which the word conceives its object is complicated by a dialogic interaction within the object between various aspects of its socio-verbal intelligibility [...] an artistic representation, an "image" of the object, may be penetrated by this dialogic play of verbal intentions that meet and are interwoven in it; such an image need not stifle these forces, but on the contrary may activate and organize them.

Nonetheless, the realisation of these objectives will require, and in fact assumes, some degree of familiarity on the part of the audience with the varieties being depicted, as well as the extralinguistic meanings and judgements attached to them, whether they hold them personally or not. Dialogue, thus, extends beyond that occurring between the multiple voices interwoven within the narrative (as in heteroglossia), but to that encompassing the interaction between the film and its 'addressee' (the viewer), whose understanding becomes a response that is crucial for the successful communication of the film's narrative message. This idea holds particular relevance to films depicting language varieties, such as those under study here, where the audience arguably plays a substantial role in terms of the production and shaping of meaning.¹²⁸

That the ways in which specific utterances have meaning depends upon the particular 'addressivity' (in terms of who, and what, is being addressed), and upon the particular meanings, or 'accents', as Bakhtin (1981: 276) puts it, that words develop within specific sociohistorical contexts, sheds light on the issues that accents, amongst other forms of linguistic variation, have typically posed for their interlingual translation. The *banlieue*

¹²⁸ It would also seem to be appropriate in examining the context of non-standard language usage and the implications of the reception of *L'Esquive* and *Bienvenue* in areas of society in which the French of the *banlieue* or the North (as the dominant language in both films) are not widely understood, at least practically, and especially symbolically.

sociolect has in fact been deemed ‘untranslatable’ by Jäckel (2001), with Mével (2007) noting that *verlan* in particular represents a major challenge for translators, since no such morphological process exists in other languages and cultures. The difficulty does not so much lie in translating the variety itself, though, and in fact, many translators opt for a ‘dialect-for-dialect replacement’ strategy (Mével 2007) in which the features of *banlieue* French, typically *verlan*, are substituted with features of African American English. Whilst subtitlers appear to take advantage of parallels that can be drawn between the *banlieues* and the American ‘projects’, as well as the linguistic stereotypes and sociocultural associations these spaces and the codes developed within them evoke (ibid.), the strategy has been perceived as particularly problematic (see above; Montgomery 2009; Silvester 2018). The ‘displacement’ of the characters on screen that emerges as a result of viewers navigating the *banlieue* via their knowledge of US street culture (Mével 2007: 53) is as physical as it is metaphorical, bringing about significant changes to the narratives of identity and power that these films produce by virtue of their otherness in relation to ‘standard’ French.

The issue, then, with translating linguistic varieties lies in the fact that the indexical categories with which their features are associated, and which they gain through their sociolinguistic relationship to other varieties, is deeply culture-specific, and rarely, if ever, commensurate in source and target cultures. Landers (2001: 117) sums the situation up as such: ‘Dialect is always tied, geographically and culturally, to a milieu that does not exist in the target-language setting. Substitution of an ‘equivalent’ dialect is foredoomed to failure. The best advice about trying to translate dialect: don’t.’ Landers’ words have a different significance in the subtitling context, given that dialect – as with other non-standard varieties – and the geographic and cultural ‘milieu’ to which it is ‘tied’ is also firmly embedded within the audio and visual fabric of the text, which, as discussed in Chapter One, can make substitution techniques even more tricky. This is especially true of *Bienvenue*, in which much of the meaning and humour of the film is derived from cultural references that are communicated via visual gags involving props, for example, as well as verbally in *ch’timi*.

Dialect aside, humour more generally appeals to ways of understanding that are socially, culturally, historically and perhaps ideologically shared, thus likely necessitating some degree of adaptation to provoke the desired response on the part of international ‘addressees’ of the film (see Zabalbeascoa 1996; 2005; Attardo 2002; Chiaro 2006; 2007). The risk of clashes between the different semiotic elements of the text is high, however, and possibly risks hindering the audience’s understanding altogether.

Film dialogues, and subtitles by extension, are thus inherently ‘dialogic’ in that their meanings derive from the complex interplay of multiple and diverse semiotic codes, something that appears to have been neglected in existing studies of ‘heteroglossia’ in audiovisual translation. Ellender (2015) and Li (2015), for example, who both apply the concept to the subtitling of linguistic variation in films specifically, focus on the transfer of verbal language from spoken dialogue to written text without taking into account the visual and non-verbal information at play. The choice to adopt an ‘essentially linguistic approach’, to use the former’s own words (Ellender 2015: 10) might therefore be considered ‘monologic’ in Bakhtinian terms, and also seems to fundamentally contradict his statement that ‘verbal discourse is a social phenomenon – social through its entire range and in each and every of its factors, from the sound image to the furthest reaches of abstract meaning.’ Bakhtin is, of course, not referring here to the audio and visual codes that make up the “language” of a filmic text, rather his understanding of language ‘not as a system of abstract grammatical categories, but [...] as ideologically saturated, language as a world view’ (ibid.: 271). This does suggest the flexibility of ‘heteroglossia’ to include, as the present study will, stratifications occurring at levels of textual structure that might not formally be considered “linguistic” as such,¹²⁹ and, as the analysis will show, whose meaning may be subject to change depending on the understanding of the ‘addressee’.

¹²⁹ Indeed, as Bailey (2007: 258) has pointed out, the term heteroglossia is conceptually more open than multilingualism, bilingualism and linguistic variation, as it makes no assumptions about whether

To adopt an ‘essentially linguistic approach’, further, is more generally bound to give a limited view of what is, or can be achieved, in terms of meaning in subtitled multilingual films, as Ellender (2015: 172) herself acknowledges. It is entirely possible for paralinguistic features, elements of costuming and the *mise-en-scène*, and even paratextual materials, to ‘stratify’ the translated text, even when this is not possible in ‘words’. Even if attempts are made in the subtitles to undertake the project of centralisation and unification, the processes of decentralisation and disunification will continue, or, to frame it in Bakhtinian terms, ‘alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their interrupted work’ (1981: 272). The opposing pull of these two forces, the former towards unification and standardisation, and the latter towards disunification and decentralisation, in which language, for Bakhtin, is in a perpetual state of tension – ‘every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear’ (ibid.) – creates a complex unity for whatever meaning ‘language’ therefore has. The environment of an utterance, according to Bakhtin (ibid.), is ‘dialogized heteroglossia,’ and hence the utterance itself – any utterance – consists of ‘a contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language.’ If it is not yet already becoming clear, it is worth highlighting here the influence that Bakhtin’s work had on that of Bhabha, which is most evident in *The Location of Culture* (1994: 142-144; 188-192) and in his conceptualisation of ‘hybridity’.

These ideas of unifying and dispersing manifest in and through the representations of multilingualism in both *Bienvenue* and *L’esquive*, and the ways in which both films use them to dialogically rearticulate monological narratives of a single, unified, collective national identity as a heteroglot ‘polyphony’ (Bakhtin 1981) of multiple voices. In *L’esquive*, for example, the blending of the ‘suburban backslang’ of the *banlieue* with the

the different signs, or systems of signs, exist as, or are labelled as, distinct languages. From the socially infused perspective of heteroglossia, Bailey writes (ibid.), ‘judgements about what counts as different kinds of forms or signs are based on the way social actors appear to distinguish among forms, rather than analysts *a priori* claims.’

‘hyper-legitimized French’ of the play, as Swamy (2007: 60) puts it, presents, on the one hand, the possibility of two distinct groups – situated at opposite ends of the prestige spectrum – coming together and making unity and similarity possible, cogent with Bakhtin’s conception of dialogue encompassing two opposing points of view. Kechiche has stated explicitly in interviews that he had no desire to ‘value one culture over the other’ but rather to show how the language of Marivaux could be ‘married’ to that of the *banlieue*, which is, in his opinion, ‘creative... intelligent... and harmonious’ (Mélinard 2004a: n.p.), and as such, ‘as cultured as Marivaux’s language’ (Planchenault 2012: 258).¹³⁰ In relativising the (perceived) differences between the two, the heteroglossic focus is also directed onto the forces that make disunity and decentralisation possible; as argued by Swamy (2007) and Blatt (2008), Kechiche appears to be insisting on an equal degree of alterity of the two varieties, and that the way young people in the *banlieue* communicate these days is as “foreign” to more mainstream spoken French as the archaic prose of classic theatre.

It is in this respect that *L’esquive* can be considered through the lens of ‘carnival’, a Bakhtinian notion closely related to heteroglossia and dialogism, characterised as the working out of a ‘new mode of interrelationships between individuals’ (1981: 123). During carnival celebrations, elaborate costumes and masks allow people to set aside their everyday individuality and experience a heightened sense of social unity, as fools disguise themselves as kings, queens disguise themselves as paupers, and so on;¹³¹ authority and hierarchy are inverted, subverted, and profaned, and social boundaries equalised and/or eliminated. The ‘carnavalesque’ spirit is firmly captured by the Marivaux play around which the film’s narrative is itself structured, whose plot questions the essential nature of social positions through an act of double deception: Sylvia, a rich bourgeois, decides to disguise herself as

¹³⁰ ‘Il n’y a pas une volonté de mettre sur une échelle de valeur une culture par rapport à une autre. Les deux peuvent se marier [...] Il y a une vraie culture de la langue. C’est très recherché, très intelligent. Il y a une musicalité, une harmonie’ (Mélinard 2004a: n.p.).

¹³¹ Bakhtin (1981: 123) further explicates that carnival ‘brings together, unifies, weds, and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid [...]’, although his choice of words are not viewed here as appropriately reflecting the nature of the carnivalesque mixings occurring in *L’esquive* nor *Bienvenue*.

her servant Lisette in order to test her suitor Dorante, who, unbeknownst to Sylvia, has the same idea, and arrives disguised as his servant Arlequin. It is in the film's staging of this play in the *banlieue*, however, and the performance of its esteemed literary language by the underestimated teenagers that 'turns the world upside down' and 'makes it possible to extend the narrow sense of life' (Bakhtin 1981: 177), namely that life lived according to the 'inevitable link between Frenchness, language [and] social class' (Strand 2009: 264). It should be noted here that the language of Marivaux, whilst prestigious, is nonetheless 'non-standard', and was in fact considered 'deviant' in its day, a point to which we will later return.

Bakhtin draws on the institution of the carnival to describe some of the more playful and subversive effects of literature, in particular novels and plays, whose 'heteroglot' language responded, parodically and playfully, to the 'monoglossia' of the language found in 'official' or 'formal' literary forms:

At the time when poetry was accomplishing the task of cultural, national and political centralization of the verbal-ideological world in the higher official socio-ideological levels, on the lower levels, on the stages of local fairs and at buffoon spectacles, the heteroglossia of the clown sounded forth, ridiculing all "languages" and dialects [...] all "languages" were masks and where no language could claim to be an authentic, incontestable face. (Bakhtin 1981: 273)

Bienvenue can undeniably be considered 'carnavalesque' in this sense, as neither Philippe's relatively neutral, accent-free speech nor the caricatured nature of that belonging to Antoine can be considered 'authentic' in relation to the Southern and Northern regions they are supposed to represent (Moine 2011; Harrod 2012; Planchenault 2012). Of course, no fictional film dialogue can be considered an authentic representation of actual speech, but in the case of Boon's film, the inauthenticity of both varieties is made patently and purposefully obvious to viewers, so as to offer a form of critical 'dialogue' and reflection on their status and their relationship to one another. The comically over-exaggerated

presentation of features of *ch'timi* deemed 'unintelligible' to outsiders, as well as Philippe's gradual acclimatisation to, and adoption of, the vernacular, work to deauthenticate the negative stereotypes attached to the region and highlight their apparent ridiculousness.

In *Bienvenue*, it is Philippe's world that is 'turned upside down', and the carnival spirit plays out further in the film in the ways in which he, the apparent symbol of authority (the boss), of everything that is held to be refined, ordered, serious or principled (from the South), and of the 'official' language (standard French), is mocked and ridiculed by those situated "beneath him", socially, culturally and linguistically.¹³² One example noted by Harrod (2012: 82) is a scene in which Philippe mistakes Antoine's familiar interjection *tizaute*, meaning *toi* [you] as a surname, referring to a passer-by as *Monsieur Tizaute* (subtitled with the archaic English 'zounds'), which is then repeated by Antoine to bring the error into focus and elicit a humorous response from the passer-by, thereby 'making Philippe the Butt of the joke.' This interaction is also a clear example of what Dubois (2009: 127) means when he states that the film depicts 'la réhabilitation de la culture populaire au détriment de la culture petite-bourgeoise',¹³³ primarily here, then, through laughing 'at' them. Laughter represents an important component of carnival festivities, and one with a complex and ambivalent nature, belonging to the people – typically subaltern – and not in response to a comic event, but from the liberation of the oppressiveness of social structures (Bakhtin 1984), which in the film eventually comes through laughing *with* Philippe, too.

If *Bienvenue* highlights the potential of carnival to remove and/or reposition hierarchies between typically marginalised groups and those who 'dominate' them, literally

¹³² The director stated on his official website that his aim was in fact to 'turn the tables on people who hold prejudiced views against the North of France' (Planchenault 2012: 261).

¹³³ [a rehabilitation of working-class culture at the detriment of the *petite-bourgeoisie* [...] the working classes made a success of the film because it allows them, vicariously, to take their revenge on the elites.]

and/or figuratively, *L'esquive* exposes its transitory nature.¹³⁴ The masters and servants in Marivaux's play ultimately fall in love with their own rank, prompting the schoolteacher in the film to explain its message to her students:

[...] on est complètement prisonniers de notre condition sociale et que, quand on est riche pendant vingt ans ou qu'on est pauvre pendant vingt ans, on peut toujours se mettre en haillons quand on est riche et puis en robe de haute couture quand on est pauvre, on se débarrasse pas d'un langage, d'un certain type de sujets de conversations, d'une manière de s'exprimer, de se tenir, qui indiquent d'où on vient. (*L'esquive* 2003)

[[...] we are completely prisoners of our social condition. When one is rich for 20 years or poor for 20 years, one can always dress up in rags if one is rich, in designer clothes if one is poor, but we cannot get rid of a certain language, a certain type of conversation, a particular form of expression, the way we behave, all of which indicate where we come from.]

The teacher's words at once enable a comparison of the structures of the film and the play and the wider social debate their juxtaposition serves to address, and also enable comparison with those of Bakhtin, who writes that:

Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (Bakhtin 1981: 294)

That Krimo slips through the cracks certainly suggests that there will always be those who find it a challenge to assimilate the codes of (an)other('s) language/s, literally and/or figuratively, or to translate it into the language that is their own.

Both the teacher's words, as well as those of Bakhtin, prompt reflection on the 'additive' nature of subtitling, as does the latter's (ibid.) description of 'language' as

¹³⁴ Carnival appears somewhat paradoxical in that it simultaneously tears down and reaffirms the official structure, so that any given work may provide a temporary release from official norms, without essentially challenging them. It could also be argued that Kechiche is defying this and telling us that it is the very idea of hierarchy between the two that does not work because they both occupy a marginal position.

something that ‘lies on the borderline between oneself and the other’ and whose ‘word is half someone else’s’, further emphasising subtitles as a ‘dialogic’ entity. Subtitled films, moreover, bear resemblance to the novel, whose ‘stylistic uniqueness’ (Bakhtin 1981: 262) consists in the combination of ‘subordinated, yet still relatively autonomous, unities (even at times comprised of different languages)’ through which a ‘structured artistic system’ is formed. The ‘style of the novel’, as Bakhtin (ibid.) writes, ‘is to be found in the combination of its styles; the language of a novel is the system of its “languages.”’ Subtitles, then, constitute one ‘language’ into which a text ‘stratifies’, it is ‘determined first of all by one such subordinated stylistic unity into which it enters directly’ (ibid.), but they are also a language in which stratification occurs: the ‘linguistic and stylistic profile’ of this element, and indeed its semiotic profile, is ‘shaped by that subordinated unity to which it is most immediately proximate.’ Subtitling, in this way, ‘figures into the style of the whole, itself supports the accent of the whole and participates in the process whereby the unified meaning of the whole’, i.e., the narrative, ‘is structured and revealed’ (ibid.). Subtitling, therefore, is a ‘heteroglossic’ practice, one that is fluid, and situated at the intersections between and within ‘languages’, creating a complex unity for the meanings generated both in and by films.

3. Case Study Analysis

3.1. Lexis

Moving now to the case study analysis, I will begin with a sequence in *L’esquive* during which protagonist Lydia is showing her friends the costume that she will be wearing for the play (Figure 13). As the examples in Table 1 demonstrate, this exchange is characterised by the distinctive range of lexical items that make up the *banlieue* French sociolect mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, namely Arabic borrowings, *verlan* and youth slang:

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
1 (Zima)	Elle est chanmée ! [It's excellent {verlan}!]	Wicked!
2 (Rachid)	Bsartek ! [Well done {slang; Arabic}!]	- Ace!
3 (Hanane)	Mabrouk ! [Congratulations {Arabic}!]	- Phat!
4 (Hanane)	Elle est stylée ! J'ai même pas de mot ! [It's stylish {slang}! I don't even know what to say!]	Real fly, that's for sure.
5 (Hanane)	Ouallah, elle est trop belle, mabrouk ! [I swear {Arabic}, it's too beautiful, congratulations {Arabic}!]	- It's phat, all right!

Table 1: Examples of the translation into English of *verlan*, Arabic borrowings and slang (*L'esquive*)

This sequence also brings into focus the 'cryptic' nature of the sociolect, as the words used by the characters do not correspond with their literal meaning, but rather the meanings that these 'utterances' gain, dialogically, from their situated use in the *banlieue* between the teenagers. The *verlan* term *chanmée*, for example, is the inverse of the word *méchant*, which in standard French terms has the negative sense of something or somebody that is 'mean' or 'nasty'. However, in this specific context, the term is used positively, to suggest that Lydia's costume for the play is 'awesome' or 'badass', which is conveyed to the target audience by the use of the term 'wicked', also used in an affirmative sense by young people in English-speaking contexts. The youthful, informal style of speech is similarly recaptured in the English-language subtitles with translation of the Arabic borrowings *mabrouk* and *bsartek* as

‘ace’ and ‘phat’ instead of their more literal meanings, provided in Table 1, thereby fulfilling the communicative and diegetic functions related to carving out character identities and the relationships between them.



Figure 13: Lydia (pictured with Krime) shows her costume to Zima (*L'esquive*, Kechiche 2003)

The more symbolic functions of the words, compounded by the lack of subtitles for the “domestic” audience, on the other hand, are somewhat downplayed, although it is important to note that Kechiche’s aim was not to alienate his audience completely. Specifically, he stated that when producing the script, the aim was to ‘ne pas aller trop loin dans le langage de la banlieue, à limiter le *verlan*, sinon le film devenait incompréhensible’ [not to go too far in the use of *banlieue* slang and limiting *verlan* so that the film would not be incomprehensible] (Lalanne 2004: n.p.). This would indeed seem counterproductive as far as encouraging a ‘dialogue’ of understanding between his audience and the community represented in his film is concerned, and even more so for the target audience, who arguably do not represent the ‘addressee’ of the film’s narrative message in terms of its more political aims, and for whom total alienation may hinder the understanding of the narrative more generally. Even if the Arabic terms were retained and then glossed – itself defeating the

object of alienation – this would be difficult to achieve for reasons of space, and in any case would not be guaranteed to provoke the intended response on the part of the anglophone viewer, in whose heteroglossic society such loanwords will undoubtedly have a different relationship to other languages and varieties, and therefore carry different meanings.

Retaining the *verlan* is out of the question, and attempting to recreate a similar system in English would be (a) linguistically very challenging, (b) practically very time consuming, and (c) ideologically very questionable, thus exacerbating the three main areas of difficulty confronting subtitlers of multilingual films identified in Chapter One.¹³⁵

This is not to say that no attempts should be made to introduce the non-standard variety to the target audience, and there is evidence elsewhere of Arabic, specifically the term *Inch'Allah* [God willing], being retained directly in the subtitles in ways that circumvent the constraints of the medium. As Silvester (2018: 202; 278) has pointed out in her analysis of the translated film, of all the Arabic borrowings that feature in its dialogue, including those aforementioned alongside *wallah* [I swear], and *bismillah* [in the name of God], for example, *Inch'Allah* is likely to be the most well-known or recognisable to anglophone viewers (or monolingual English-speaking viewers, presumably). Consequently, she argues (*ibid.*), its presence in the subtitles might go some way in signalling to audiences the multicultural and multilingual demographic of the *banlieue* that influences the identities of the characters portrayed on screen, and also serve to counteract the homogenisation that she observes elsewhere. Silvester joins Montgomery (2008: 9) in criticising the use of ‘generic slang’ words to subtitle those specific to the *banlieue* sociolect, the latter claiming that it does little to convey its socio-ideological and class connotations, nor its otherness vis-à-vis the standard language.¹³⁶ Undisputedly, this is a natural consequence of the incommensurability of linguistic varieties across national and cultural contexts, and it is

¹³⁵ It is also interesting to note that in recent years the *banlieue* sociolect has actually become more mainstream and ‘fashionable’ to speak amongst French people (particularly the young) who do not come from, nor reside in, the *banlieue* (see Montgomery 2008).

¹³⁶ Montgomery analyses the subtitles for *Bye-Bye* (Karim Dridi 1995), *Métisse* (Mathieu Kassovitz 1993) and *La Haine* (Mathieu Kassovitz 1995).

maintained here that the inclusion of slang terms, even if ‘generic’, does not equate to standardisation. It is acknowledged, however, that the ‘stratifications’ they create may be limited to those reflecting the voices of generations alone; the teenagers on screen could come from *any* environment and not the *banlieue* specifically.

The *banlieue* is itself depicted in the film; the action almost entirely takes place against the backdrop of grey, dark, concrete blocks of high-rise flats, as shown in Figure 14. For anglophone viewers in the UK, the setting may be reminiscent of suburban council housing estates (a comparison made in Tarr 2005), which are typically also associated as being the residences of demographics of a lower socioeconomic status, as well as places of ethnic and cultural diversity (Blair 2014). They are certainly also places of linguistic creativity; in inner London estates with a high second- or third-generation immigrant population, such as Brixton, Hackney or Tottenham, for example, many of the younger generations speak ‘Multicultural London English’ (Green 2014), whose usage and function presents some similarities to the sociolect of the *banlieue*. Kerswill’s (2005: 50-1) assertion that the vernacular, primarily spoken by the working class, serves to ‘link ethnicities, and forge shared identities – often around music like rap, hip-hop, grime or banga’ echoes an understanding that the “internal” foreign influences on the *banlieue* sociolect connect the varied cultural heritages of the *banlieusards*, whose language is also influenced “externally” by American rap and Jamaican reggae, ‘artistic expressions of minority cultures outside France, whom they see as sharing a similar daily reality of economic and social marginality’ (Doran 2007: 500-1). On a more fictional plane of “reality”, such ideas of cultural *métissage* immediately recall the *black-blanc-bleur* trio of protagonists in *La Haine*, and its now infamous mixing of American rapper KRS-One’s (1993) *Sound of da Police* and Edith Piaf’s (1960) *Non, je ne regrette rien*.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 14: The *mise-en-scène* of the *banlieue* (*L'esquive*, Kechiche 2003)

It is interesting to note here that it is Lydia, the only white teenager in the film, whose use of Arabic is left in the subtitles untranslated, presenting a further similarity with the language use of young people in multi-ethnic, urban settings in the UK. As Green (2014: 70) points out, 'whilst Multicultural London English is a language heavily influenced by Black culture, such as American rap, as well as by languages of the Caribbean', it is 'spoken by Black, white and Asian youth.' Had Lydia been showing her dress to friends in the UK, they might have described it as '*nang*', or 'cool', taken from Jamaican, where it means 'good' (ibid.), '*sick*', which 'switched from meaning ill to something extremely good some while ago' (Thorpe 2018: n.p.) – a phenomenon very close to what happens above with *chanmé(e)* – or 'peng', used to respond positively to just about anything (ibid.). If the emergence of online articles and resources serving as dictionaries to translate so-called 'roadman' language (ibid.) is anything to go by, lexically, Multicultural London English also appears to have a cryptic function, and may present itself as a particularly useful sociolect through which to substitute that of the *banlieue*, at least as far as evoking the playful nature of the code is concerned.¹³⁷ Such a strategy would, of course, pose the same ideological

¹³⁷ Certainly more so than the British English slang present in the subtitles of *L'esquive*, such as 'set my brother on you' (see Silvester 2018: 263), which is arguably somewhat generic.

problems as the aforementioned use of African American English when subtitling *banlieue* films with regard to the audience's understanding of the character's identities, their environment, and the issues they face, although it is hard to say precisely what the impact would be as no *banlieue* film has yet to have been translated using Multicultural London English.

These internal "linguistic" elements as well as the extralinguistic associations attached to them are, from a heteroglossic standpoint, just as essential to the construction of the film's dialogue as the words themselves and do appear to have dialogically influenced the translation choices of *L'esquive*. In particular, the use of the aforementioned 'dialect-for-dialect replacement' strategy (Mével 2007), in which *verlan* and, here, terms deriving from Arabic have been substituted with African American English. In addition to individual lexical items such as 'phat' and 'fly' (Table 1), and 'chicks' (Table 2), there is also evidence of the use of 'phonetic corruption' for words ending in -er (see also Mével 2007), as well as the inclusion of words such as 'mom' that more generally lend an American feel to the text (Table 2). Without denying the slippery nature of this substitution, it is inarguably a more preferable strategy to that of standardisation, as the parallels that can be drawn between the sociolects and the stereotypes attached to them might allow the anglophone audience to get a better understanding of the characters, themes and messages contained within the narrative; as Bakhtin (1981: 282) writes, 'orientation [...] towards the specific world of the listener introduces totally new elements into his disclosure.' Semiotically, it also creates some form of cohesion with the *mise-en-scène* and the costuming – other than that of Lydia, of course – which seemingly function as a 'hybrid construction' (ibid.: 304), namely an utterance, or here rather two utterances, that fit into more than one 'stratification,' and contain within them two speech manners, belief systems, and so on.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
6 (Rachid)	Comprenez-la, putain de merde ! Vous êtes des meufs. [Understand her, fucking hell! You are women {verlan}.]	Understand her! You're chicks too.
7 (Zima)	Déjà y'a ma grande resoeu tout à l'heure elle est passée elle m'a dit si je pouvais venir avec elle chez elle. [My sister {verlan} already came by earlier and asked if I could come with her to her place.]	My sista called by earlier to ask me to go with her.
8 (Zima)	Ma reum elle m'a fait vas-y laisse tomber. [My mum {verlan} she went come on forget it.]	Mom said no way.

Table 2: Examples of dialect-for-dialect replacement strategies (*L'esquive*)

It certainly makes for an interesting contrast with the language of the Marivaux play, whose translation into English clearly marks the presence of lexis of a more formal register, as well as archaisms, as shown in Table 3, yet whose distinctiveness similarly also seems to derive from its dialogic interplay with the other codes 'stratifying' the text. In particular, the flamboyant actions of the teenagers whilst they are performing the play, their period costumes, and their exaggerated enunciation of its words – a point to which we will return – imbue the lexical choices of the subtitles with a distinctively theatrical feel that they might otherwise lack when taken out of the wider heteroglossic context. They may even point towards a prestigious literary culture, perhaps that associated with the work of Shakespeare,

in which words such as ‘gallantry’, ‘dowry’ and ‘marquis’ do in fact all appear, perhaps suggesting a ‘dialect-for-dialect’ approach, and one that can be traced to the print translations of *Le jeu de l’amour et du hasard*.¹³⁸ Of course, these words may also function as a ‘hybrid construction’, existing as equivalents in two languages, in two time periods, and related cultures; the difference, in this case, between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Roméo et Juliette*. Yet the staging of Shakespeare in the ‘hood’, to use the translation into English of *cité* provided in *L’esquive*, that emerges by association from the dialogic interaction between the words of the bard and those from the Bronx used to represent the *banlieue* undoubtedly carries over the carnivalesque nature of the film’s representation, thereby ‘expressing authorial intentions, but in a refracted way’ (Bakhtin 1981: 324).

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
9 (Lydia)	<p>J’ai de la peine à croire qu’il vous en coûte tant d’attendre, Monsieur, c’est par galanterie que vous faites l’impatient, à peine êtes vous arrivez !</p> <p>[I’m not convinced you find waiting such torment, sir. You’re only pretending to be impatient out of gallantry. After all, you’ve only just arrived here!]</p>	<p>I find your impatience most implausible.</p> <p>It is mere gallantry that you display here.</p>
10 (Lydia)	<p>J’aurais lieu, à mon tour, d’être étonnée de la promptitude de votre hommage, peut-être m’aimerez-vous moins quand nous nous connaissons mieux.</p> <p>[For my part, I should be amazed at how promptly you’ve declared your devotion. Perhaps you will like me less when we’re better acquainted.]</p>	<p>I should be surprised in turn by your prompt homage.</p> <p>Once acquainted, it will fade away.</p>

¹³⁸ Such as that translated by Oscar Mandel and Adrienne Mandel (1968), to which the subtitles of *L’esquive* bear some reflection, although ‘in a refracted way,’ given the shift in medium.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
11 (Rachid)	<p>Avant notre connaissance, votre dote valait mieux que vous. A présent, vous voilà mieux que votre dote. Allons ! Saute marquis !</p> <p>[Before we got to know one another, your dowry was worth more than you, and now you're worth more than your dowry. Come! Jump, marquis!]</p>	<p>Your dowry outweighed you once.</p> <p>Now you put it to shame.</p> <p>Come now, jump, marquis!</p>
12 (Rachid)	<p>Il faut vous avouer, Monsieur, qu'il en était quelque chose.</p> <p>[I must admit, sir, that there was a degree of truth in that.]</p>	<p>I must admit, monsieur, that was indeed true.</p>

Table 3: Examples of the translation of archaic lexicon in French into English (*L'esquive*)

In *L'esquive*, then, it is the retention of the word *monsieur* that perhaps stands out as most 'alien', to use the word of Bakhtin (1981: 276) and is an approach more similar to that of the translation of lexical items in *Bienvenue*. The examples in Table 4, taken from a sequence in the film in which Philippe dines in a restaurant with his *ch'ti* colleagues, shows how the *ch'timi* names of local dishes on the menu have been represented in their "raw" form in the English-language subtitles. They are not, however, completely untranslated, as their nature is explained to Philippe via the other characters in more "standard" terms and in a practice akin to diegetic interpreting, and therefore to the audience via the translation of their dialogues. As a result of this process, the 'alien' words merge with those more familiar, and as for the subtitled text, whilst they may 'leave a trace in all its semantic layers' its overall expression is not especially 'complicated' (Bakhtin 1981: 276). Going even further down the dialogic chain of communication, cultural substitutions have been used for the "standard" names of the dishes in English, creating new associations between the 'words' of alien languages and familiarising them in the process, therefore pointing to another way of

introducing new elements into the discourse of the viewer, without alienating them completely. It is also interesting to note that these substitutions – ‘shish kebab’ and ‘shtew’ – also mark the distinctive *ch'timi* form of pronunciation, a point to which we return in the following section.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
13 (Fabrice)	Le chicon au gratin, <i>ch'est</i> bon. [The chicory au gratin { <i>ch'timi</i> } is good.]	I like the <i>chicon au gratin</i> .
14 (Philippe)	Le <i>shishon au gratin</i> ? [The <i>shishon au gratin</i> ?]	The shish-kebab?
15 (Fabrice)	Non, le chicon. C'est des endives avec de la béchamel pis du gratin. Pis la tarte au maroilles, aussi. [No, the chicory. They are endives with béchamel and gratin. And the maroilles pie { <i>ch'timi</i> }, too.]	No, the <i>chicon au gratin</i> . Endives in white sauce and cheese. Alsho the maroilles pie.
16 (Philippe)	La maroilles, je connais. [Maroilles { <i>ch'timi</i> }, I know that one.]	I know maroilles.
17 (Antoine)	On peut pas partir sans qu'il goûte la carbonade ! [We can't leave without him tasting the carbonade { <i>ch'timi</i> }!]	We can't leave until he tries the <i>carbonade</i> .
18 (Philippe)	La quoi ? [The what?]	- The what?

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
19 (Antoine)	<p>C'est comme eul pot-au-feu, mais avec deule bière.</p> <p>[It's like a {ch'timi} pot-au-feu, but with beer.]</p>	It's like a shtew, but with beer.

Table 4: Translation of *ch'timi* dialectal words into English (*Bienvenue*)

In the subtitled text, not only is the lexicon of the *ch'timi* dialect retained, but also italicised, which further disrupts the fluency and homogeneity of the English-language subtitles by typographically drawing attention to the Otherness of these words, yet only on their first appearance. The examples 15 and 17 in Table 4 show one such instance, as Philippe and the audience are introduced to *maroilles* at the start of the film, where it was italicised for anglophone viewers, and as Figure 15 demonstrates, explained, verbally and visually (not pictured here is Philippe's adverse facial reaction upon tasting it, adding further non-verbal distinctions to the otherness of *ch'timi*). This strategy works to integrate the subtitles into the narrative in a way that mirrors Philippe's gradual assimilation into Bergues, as well as allowing audiences to go through a similar process of 'mastering the discourse' as the '[*ch'timi*] grammar is unpacked before them in such a way that they may enjoy the sensation of having appropriated a new form of language for themselves' (Harrod 2012: 83; 81). Here is where the use of creative subtitling techniques, such as on-screen glosses of the dialectal lexicon, might serve to unpack the 'grammar' of *ch'timi* even more strikingly, in aesthetic and visual terms, and even for the francophone audience, whom Planchenault (2012: 263) remarks are likely to be less familiar with the variety than that of the *banlieue*, which is moving more and more from the margins into the 'mainstream' French parlance.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 15: Italicisation of *ch'timi* lexicon in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue* (Boon 2008)

The *ch'timi* culinary experience, and the culture shock it creates for Philippe, comes to the fore in another scene in the film in which Annabelle, one of Philippe's new employees, invites him to have lunch with the rest of the postal workers at the *baraque à frites*. The southerner misinterprets the very literal description of the eatery used by Annabelle as the kitschy name of a more classical restaurant, kitschy being a label one might in fact apply to its name *Friterie 'Momo'* and certainly its appearance (Figure 16), and is very visibly disappointed when he eventually arrives at the lunch spot (Figure 17):

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 16: The real-life food truck (*Friterie 'Momo'*) used as the *baraque à frites* in and now immortalised by *Bienvenue* (Boon 2008; La Voix du Nord 2016)

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 17: Philippe looks disappointedly at the *baraque à frites* (*Bienvenue*, Boon 2008)

Moine (2011: 62) argues that his mistake derives less from a cultural misunderstanding than from the difference in class between the boss and his workers, and if his description of the food as '*la nourriture gitane*' [Gypsy food] does not do enough to give the impression that he is particularly snobby, then perhaps his disgusted facial expression will; as Figure 17 shows, he is quite literally 'turning his nose up' at the food on offer. Again, here, creative

subtitling methods could bring these class distinctions embedded in the linguistic differences into greater focus, by using a fancier, more stylish font for Philippe’s dialogue to be contrasted with one that is plainer for that of Annabelle, for example. However, the choices made in the English-language subtitles (Table 5), while subtle, are very effective. The use of capitalisation for all three words in Philippe’s understanding of *baraque à frites* puts the words in a different ‘class’, orthographically, to the lower-case offerings of his *ch’ti* colleague, and with the italicisation, typographically also emphasises a different “understanding”.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
20 (Annabelle)	On va déjeuner Monsieur le Directeur vous venez avec nous ? [We’re going to lunch, sir, are you coming with us?]	Come to lunch with us?
21 (Philippe)	Vous déjeunez où ? [Where are you having lunch?]	Where?
22 (Annabelle)	Ben à la baraque à frites. [Well, at the French fry shack.]	The french fry shack.
23 (Philippe)	La baraque à frites. C’est un joli nom. [The French Fry Shack. That’s a nice name.]	The <i>French Fry Shack</i> . Nice name.

Table 5: Examples of typographical variations in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*

3.2. Phonetics

The idea of putting a different *emphasis* on words brings us nicely to the analysis of the phonetic aspects of *ch’timi*, in particular its deviation from the standard French

pronunciation of ‘s’ [s] to ‘sh’ [ʃ], which serves as a frequent source of humour in the film. One particularly salient example of phonetic play presents itself in a memorable and often cited scene in which Antoine shows his new boss to his rented apartment, which happens to have no furniture. Philippe, naturally surprised, asks Antoine for an explanation, but the communication between the two characters is hindered by the latter’s accent. His *ch’timi* pronunciation renders the phrase *les siens* [his [furniture]] to *les chiens* [dogs], leading to an exchange riddled with linguistic confusion and frustration on the part of the southerner (Table 6). As this scene shows, in terms of the ‘carnival’ of *Bienvenue*, the *ch’timi* accent is one aspect of the dialect in particular that ‘turns his world upside down’, linked to the idea of ‘going native’ that dominates the storyline of the film. This trope, in which a character is lifted out their typical environment and thrust into a new one, only to become part of that new world (tvtropes.org) is one that may frequently appear in multilingual films, given the very nature of the themes with which they typically deal. The genre of the film may nonetheless have an impact on how exactly this trope is deployed, and for Philippe, it is combined with that of the ‘fish out of water’ trope (tvtropes.org), through which humour and tension is created as the character adapts or does not throughout the film.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
24 (Philippe)	C’est pas meublé ? [It’s not furnished?]	Isn’t it furnished?
25 (Antoine)	L’ancien directeur il est parti avec, hein. [The ex-manager left with it, huh.]	The ex-manager took it.
26 (Philippe)	Pourquoi il est parti avec les meubles ? [Why did he leave with the furniture?]	Why?

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
27 (Antoine)	Parch'que <i>ch</i> 'est peut-être les chiens ? [Because it is perhaps the dogs [his]?)	For hish new offish.
28 (Philippe)	Quels chiens ? [Which dogs?]	What fish?
29 (Antoine)	Les meubles. [The furniture.]	The furniture.
30 (Philippe)	Je comprends pas. [I don't understand.]	I don't get it.
31 (Antoine)	Les meubles, <i>ch</i> 'est les chiens. [The furniture, it's the dogs [his]].	For hish new offish.
32 (Philippe)	Les meubles pour les chiens. Qu'est-ce que les chiens foutent avec des meubles ? [Furniture for the dogs. What the hell are the dogs doing with the furniture?]	New fish? Why would fish need furniture?

Table 6: Translation of wordplay into English in *Bienvenue*

The examples in Table 6 recall the different techniques for representing this aspect of the *ch'timi* accent presented in Table 4, the first of which is selecting words in English that also contain the sound (as in 'shish-kebab'), and the second is moulding it onto standard English (as in 'shtew'), which is more frequently employed throughout the film (see Figure 18), perhaps as it is linguistically and practically easier. Language-based humour such as that represented here is widely acknowledged to be the most challenging category of humour to translate (see Delabastita 1996 and Dore 2019 for comprehensive overviews), and maps onto the challenges of translating language variation more broadly. Linguistic playfulness is

specific to the source language, meaning that no exact equivalent could likely ever exist in the target language, and therefore in order to recapture the humour for the target audience, some degree of substitution is going to be inevitable. This, as aforementioned, becomes harder when verbal codes through which humour is produced are also embedded in the visual fabric of the text, such as in the case of cultural references, although the relatively “neutral,” or “accent-free” nature of the *mise-en-scène* in this particular scene – an empty room – seems to allow more space for play. This is something that has not been mentioned in existing analyses of this scene and its translation by Williamson and de Pedro Ricoy (2015) and Ellender (2015), although they amply demonstrate that the wordplay and humour of the scene is ‘reproduced’, in their terms, for audiences through the use of substitutions involving homophony, i.e., words that sound similar, and I do not wish to repeat their observations here.

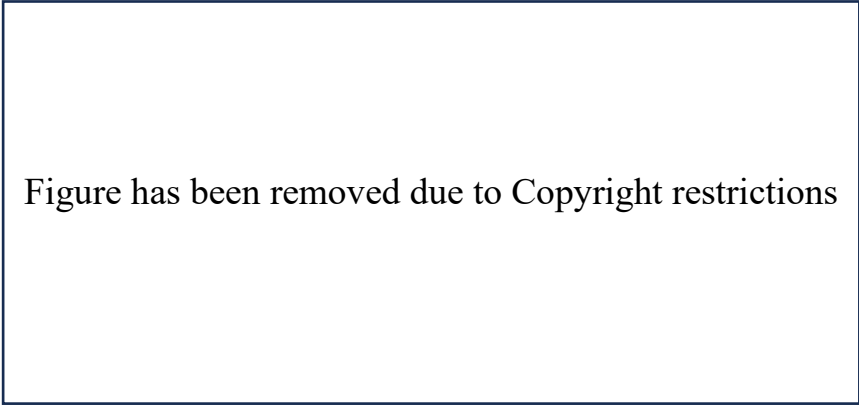


Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 18: Representation of the *ch'timi* accent in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*

It does seem appropriate to point out, however, the main *emphases* of the wordplay are fundamentally different, as the English-language subtitles appear to suggest that the confusion arises from Antoine swallowing the ‘o’ in ‘office,’ rather than as a result of the ‘sh’ sound that is far more visible elsewhere, corresponding to its aural presentation. One scene that brings this into particular focus is that showing the initial encounter between

Antoine and Philippe, the latter having just arrived in Bergues, where it is – predictably – very dark and raining heavily. The resulting poor visibility causes Philippe to accidentally run his car into Antoine, who, on his way home, stopped to flag down his new boss after spotting his “foreign” license plate, something that would perhaps not be evident to target language viewers were it not mentioned in the dialogue and subtitles, which dialogically engage with its phonetic delivery. When Philippe proceeds to check whether or not Antoine is hurt, as soon as the latter begins to speak, the ‘heteroglossia of the clown sounds forth’ (Bakhtin 1981: 273), or rather here, *fort*, as a highly exaggerated, stylised and self-reflexive accent is put on by Boon, ‘stratifying’ both the dialogue and the subtitles at once (Table 7). On the one hand, this is an example of the ways in which the polysemiotic nature of an audiovisual text, its heteroglossic structure, can facilitate the (re)presentation of otherness in writing, but represents a constraint on the other; some form of difference has to be represented, as far as semiotic cohesion (both aural and visual) is concerned.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
33 (Philippe)	Monsieur Bailleul ? [Mr. Bailleul?]	Mr. Bailleul?
34 (Antoine)	Oui, <i>ch</i> ’est mi. [Yes, it’s me.]	Yesh, it’sh me.
35 (Philippe)	Bougez pas, bougez pas. ‘Faut appeler les secours. [Don’t move, don’t move. [We] better call the emergency services.]	Don’t move. Better call for help.
36 (Antoine)	Oh, <i>cha va, cha va</i> . [Oh, I’m okay, I’m okay.]	I’m jusht fine.
37 (Philippe)	Oh là là! J’aurais pu vous tuer ! [Oh my goodness! I could have killed you!]	I might have killed you!

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
38 (Antoine)	Non, <i>ch'est</i> pas grave. <i>Cha</i> va. [No, it's not serious. I'm okay.]	It'sh all right.

Table 7: Representation of the *ch'timi* accent in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*

The main stereotype, or ‘false assumption,’ attached to the *ch'timi* dialect and its speakers being targeted here is that of its unintelligibility. In this sequence, Philippe assumes Antoine is speaking as he does because of a dislodged jaw caused by the collision, until Antoine reveals, to comic effect, that it is because he speaks *ch'timi*, or ‘sheteumi’ as it is presented in the English-language subtitles corresponding to Philippe’s response (Table 8).

Example	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
39 (Philippe)	Je vous assure, vous vous exprimez de façon très très particulière. [I assure you, you express yourself in a very, very peculiar way.]	Listen, you're talking really funny.
40 (Antoine)	Parch'que j'parle <i>ch'ti</i> , <i>ch'est cha</i> ? [Because I speak <i>ch'ti</i> , is that it?]	Cosh I talk sh'ti?
41 (Philippe)	Pardon? [Sorry?]	- Talk what?
42 (Antoine)	Bein, j'parle <i>ch'timi</i> . [Erm, I speak <i>ch'timi</i> .]	- I talk shti, that'sh ole.
43 (Philippe)	Oh putain, c'est ça le fameux <i>ch'timi</i> ? [Oh fuck, is that the famous <i>ch'timi</i> ?]	You mean that's sheteumi?

Table 8: Examples of eye-dialect in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*

Ellender (2016: 6) argues that this alternative spelling (*sheteumi*) ‘emphasises the *ch’ti* dialect’s otherness and thus serves to exoticise the target text’, a statement that warrants further exploration here. Until Antoine’s revelation, the accent is not yet completely familiar to audiences, and for the anglophone ‘addressee’,¹³⁹ who likely has (even) less knowledge of this stratification of French than a francophone viewer, the interplay of verbal and non-verbal codes in this scene may lead them to interpret Antoine as slurring and being intoxicated. This might also provide some explanation for his apparent invincibility, as he immediately gets up after being ran over by Philippe and does not look or sound as though he is in pain, nor does he express this verbally. Alcoholism is indeed another behaviour attributed – pejoratively – to the Northern regions (Lanzoni 2014), and one that does present itself – comically – at a later point in the narrative, when Philippe joins his employee on his postal route and the two get progressively more drunk with each house they visit, and Philippe consequently sounds more and more local, and even claims to be.

When the ‘sh’ sound appears orthographically in the subtitles of Philippe’s dialogue in these scenes – specifically when he is being arrested for drunk and disorderly behaviour – it is unclear whether it serves to mark the *ch’timi* accent, or drunken speech by way of ‘eye dialect.’ This term, coined by Krapp (1925: 228), and of which ‘ole’ (Table 8) is a sure example, describes a form of orthographical alteration that can evoke the sound of dialect, or spoken language, in writing, or, as he puts it (*ibid.*: 228), a tool for rendering ‘how colloquial usage appears in print; spellings in which the convention violated is one of the eyes, not of the ear.’ The use of the word ‘violation’ is an interesting one as far as subtitling is concerned, as one might argue that this strategy, whilst a useful solution for portraying characters who speak “differently”, could potentially be somewhat too disruptive for viewers and hinder their ability to read the subtitles. It could, therefore, also be considered a strategy that ‘violates’ many of the established conventions – or imposed rules, depending on how

¹³⁹ It is explained by Julie’s uncle at the beginning of the film, although no explicit reasoning is given as to why the pronunciation is as such, therefore leaving it open to interpretation, or influence, by the other codes of the text.

one sees them – of subtitling, as the fluency of the subtitles is also disrupted and attention to themselves drawn in the process, making the audience continuously aware that they are reading a translation. It might also be considered, therefore, an act of resistance towards, or subversion of, the ‘unitary language’, further reflecting the power dynamics in the film in which *ch’timi*, rather than standard French, is positioned as the main language, and the language to be mastered.

Both the first example presented in this section, and that of the initial encounter between Antoine and Philippe, are featured on the film’s *bande-annonce*, or trailer, where they are paired with a number of other devices – aural and visual – that draw attention to the otherness of the variety, its speaker and the subtitles. The first of these is ‘the sound-silence aural setup for punch-line delivery’, that is typical of comedy trailers (Deaville 2017: 248),¹⁴⁰ where the music, in this case upbeat and comical, in particular the sounds of a trombone and xylophone, stops to isolate and pull the viewers’ focus in on the dialogue, hitting the comedic action before the music re-enters. In terms of the visuals, just after Philippe poses the question ‘putain, mais tout le monde parle comme vous ici?’ [bloody hell, does everyone speak like you here?] – in ‘silence’, i.e., without music – the frame cuts to a black background against which large, animated white and yellow text display the film’s title, with its English-language translation *Welcome to the Sticks* positioned underneath it (Figure 19).¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Deaville’s discussion of the processes involved in watching film trailers bears some parallels to the complexities of subtitling as a multimodal form of translation, and represents a possible avenue for future research in audiovisual translation. Deaville writes (2017: 245) that it requires ‘the ability to process complex aural information in an extremely compressed time frame [...] is dispersed over a multidimensional soundscape of music, sound effects, and the spoken word; follows a sonically rather than thematically dictated flow and structure; and synchronises the audio track with the images according to text-specific cues.’

¹⁴¹ This emphasis on the language jokes is perhaps not unsurprising given that the film is, well, a linguistic comedy, but it is interesting from the point of view of the promotion and reception of multilingual films. Rich (2004) has observed that trailers for multilingual films are usually edited so that they are dialogue free, as if to try to dupe the audience into watching a subtitled film without meaning to. She makes specific reference to the proverbial American resistance to subtitled films, suspecting that it is ‘part of a national narcissism that sees a mythical version of its “own” culture as




Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 19: Title card as presented in English-language subtitled trailer for *Bienvenue* (IMDb, n.d.; Boon 2008)

As I have previously suggested in Chapter 2, the words ‘the sticks’, typically used to refer to the countryside, or an otherwise rural area removed from civilisation, immediately ‘stratify’ the text, embedding Antoine’s voice with a semiotic significance that is derived from the heteroglossic sphere of the target audience, therefore providing them with some idea about the social identity of the character, his worldview, and crucially, therefore, the language that he will speak.

In the English-language translation of the film, this manifests in the representation of features belonging to Southern American English in the subtitled speech of Monsieur Vasseur, one of the *ch’ti* locals and post office customers whom Philippe struggles to understand. In addition to lexicon such as ‘mighty’ and ‘dandy’, presented in Table 9, the additional ‘a’ in example 45 between ‘wash’ and ‘need’ evokes ‘a-prefixing’, e.g., a-needin’, a-watchin’, which is also a form of syntactic variation distinctive of Southern American English (Hayes 2013) and whose dropping of the ‘g’ could also be mapped on to the

primary and consigns all others to a secondary status of bothersome detritus’ (2004: 163). The film performed well internationally according to box office figures (IMDb: n.d.) and a US remake was even planned (Richards 2008), although eventually abandoned, ultimately leading us to ask whether remakes can be considered a celebration of difference, or a form of cultural ventriloquism-cum-national-narcissism.

decision to delete or elide certain letters in the words ‘[e]quipment, [in]stalment’. These techniques, moreover, produce a very spoken feel to the text, not dissimilarly from eye dialect, and reinforce the trouble that Philippe is having understanding Vasseur due to his accent, which might be considered here as ‘redneck’ (Lippi-Green 1997), as far as the linguistic construction of the subtitles is concerned. In terms of how meaning is produced ‘socially,’ i.e., how it is saturated with ideology, it is important to mention here that there is generally also a negative stigma attached to Southern American English. As Hayes (2013) has summarised, non-Southern Americans tend to associate a Southern accent with lower social and economic class, cognitive and verbal slowness, lack of education, ignorance, bigotry, or religious or political conservatism, clichés that are not too dissimilar from those that Philippe uses to describe the *ch’tis* to his wife: basic, simple, dense, rustic and vulgar.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
44 (Philippe)	Qu’est-ce que vous voulez ? [What do you want?]	What do you want?
45 (Vasseur)	J’avo acaté gramint d’matériel pour min gardin. ¹⁴² [{{ch’timi}}: I had bought a lot of material for my garden.]	I wash a need a quipment for me gard.
46 (Vasseur)	<i>Ch’est qu’y avo fort draché.</i> Eune berdoule. [{{ch’timi}}: It’s that it had rained a lot. A mud.]	Cosh it mighty mucked. A whop.
47 (Vasseur)	J’éto fin bénache, mais min livret o, i a eu des russ. [{{ch’timi}}: I was fine, but my savings account, it has had some problems.]	I wash dandy but the bankbook wash a wee shortish.

¹⁴² Transcriptions here taken from Ellender (2015: 159).

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
48 (Vasseur)	J'suis pas là pour braire, mais si vous pouviez me faire une <i>avanch</i> . [I'm not here to bray, but if you could give me an advance.]	I don't bray but I needsh a shmall advansh.
49 (Vasseur)	Jusqu'à l'prochaine quinzaine deume retraite. [{ch'timi} just until the next fortnightly payment of my pension.]	Till the next schtalmnt of my penshion.

Table 9: Examples of Southern American English in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*

Whilst not necessarily ‘phonetic’ features *per se*, the present analysis does not seek to pin language down to ‘abstract formal grammatical categories’ (Bakhtin 1981), and argues that, socially speaking, the representation of these aspects of Southern American English do, or at least can, in a roundabout way, give an idea of the *manner* in which a character speaks. This association between the lexical (and indeed syntactic) features of Southern American English to its pronunciation has in fact been made by Lippi-Green (1997: 218), who writes that in ‘an artificial view of the South, English has an indiscriminate “twang” or a “drawl” and is peppered with funny and clever idioms.’¹⁴³ Such an ‘artificial view’ might be attributed to the proliferation of highly stylised portrayals of Southern American English in fictional films, such as *The Beverley Hillbillies* (Penelope Spheeris 1993), *Forrest Gump* (Robert Zemeckis 1994) and *The Dukes of Hazzard* (Jay Chandrasekhar 2005), all of which belong loosely to the genre of comedy and all of which

¹⁴³ I am aware that there are variations in Southern American English varieties, although here I am generalising in the way that movies so often do: as Lippi-Green continues (1997: 218) ‘a North-South mental divide, a here/there that renders details of linguistic differentiation unimportant. It is certainly true that by and large, outsiders cannot distinguish an Appalachian accent from a Charleston accent, or Texas from Virginia. Of course, the reverse is also true: for the most part, Southerners are unable to tell one Northern accent from another.’

are set in the Deep South. In the same way that a film's title may facilitate a 'dialogic' interaction between the words and speech of a filmic text and the audience with whom they will come to have a future relationship, then, existing films, and more specifically existing and related genres, even those pertaining to the target cultural sphere, can similarly work to 'stratify' the text. In this case, these words reach back into those that have come before them, those that exist in the consciousness of the 'addressee', therefore provoking a response that enables them to imagine more clearly what a character 'sounds like', so to speak.

It is important to recognise that Southern American English is not the only 'dialect' of English that carries such connotations, nor is the English language only stratified by the American 'voices' that exist among it. In the UK context, the dialect of Norfolk, a county situated 'out in the sticks' in rural East Anglia, for example, is one associated whose pronunciation is considered a lower form used by those less educated (Trudgill 1986), and whose features are often represented in writing in ways that can be traced – dialogically – to Vasseur's subtitled speech. Analysing the novels of Arthur Ransome set on the Norfolk Broads, Davis (2015: 83-5) identifies, amongst other aspects, the phonological variation of verbs, such as *ope* for 'open' and *tie* for 'tied' as well as a doubling of consonants such as in *breakfusses* [breakfasts], producing a phonetic peculiarity not too dissimilar from the *ch'timi* 'sh'. Ransome's novels are but the tip of a Titanic-sinking sized iceberg of literature written in the Norfolk dialect (see <http://www.norfolkdialect.com/books.htm>), often by non-locals, whose outsider status is noticeable through the use – or rather misuse – of eye-dialect features. The rejection of *bootiful* [beautiful] by the insiders of the *bewtiful* county,¹⁴⁴ of which I am myself native, is a testament to how fiercely and immensely proud they are of their dialect, and protective over the way it is presented to others. To that end, it is probably worth noting here that Boon was himself involved in the English-language subtitling of the

¹⁴⁴ In Trudgill's article 'Dedialectalisation and Norfolk Dialect Orthography' he explains why '... the non-traditional, outsiders' spelling <bootiful> is objected to so strongly by the local community. Native dialect-speaking insiders interpret the <oo> spelling as indicating the utterly nonexistent pronunciation */bu:təfəl/ rather than the correct /bu:təfəl/. As usual, Norfolk people know best' (1999: 329).

film (see Ellender 2015).

3.3. Syntax

A similar range of techniques for lowering the register of speech through orthographical measures can be found in the English-language subtitles of *L'esquive*. The examples in Table 10 show evidence of contractions, such as *ain't* and *gonna* (instead of 'is not' and 'going to'), g-dropping, as in *fuckin'* and *goin'* (as opposed to 'fucking' and 'going') and 'them' conveyed as *'em* in eye-dialect. Silvester (2018: 177), who describes this strategy as one of 'phonetic spelling,' argues that it has 'the effect of evoking non-standard pronunciation of target language words, thus demonstrating the presence of *verlan* and other slang in the source language dialogue.' The claim to representing *verlan* is somewhat questionable, considering that the 'phonetic corruption' of 'sister' as *sista*, displayed in Table 2, a feature of African American English that Silvester claims to be 'homogenising' is not too disparate from the 'phonetic spelling' described here. However, these shorter syntactic constructions may certainly represent processes of truncation, the act of making words shorter or quicker to say, typically by removing the end of it, which are characteristic of the *banlieue* sociolect (see Vitali 2009). In the same way that this process allows speakers to speed up communication, for the subtitler, these techniques have the advantage of using fewer characters, and therefore taking up less space on screen, as noted by Silvester (2018), and are therefore certainly useful in terms of keeping up with *le style speed* (Doran 2007) through which the film's dialogues are delivered.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
50 (Voice 1 – off-screen)	J'vais y aller, j'vais niquer leur mère ! [I'm gonna go, I'm gonna fuck their mother!]	I'm gonna get those fuckers!

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
51 (Voice 2 – off-screen)	De toute façon, leur quartier, c'est pas l'Bronx ou quoi, j'vais y aller et j'vais tous leur niquer leur mères ! [Anyway, their estate is not exactly the Bronx is it, I'm gonna go and I'ma fuck all of their mothers!]	This ain't the Bronx, right? I'm gonna get the motherfuckers!
52 (Fathi)	Ce sont tous des fils de putes ! [They're all sons of bitches!]	- They're fuckin' losers.
53 (Fathi)	On leur met des coup de massue, sur la vie ma mère ! [We'll knock them out, on my mother's life!]	We'll blindside 'em, straight up.
54 (Slam)	Moi j'y vais. Si vous êtes partants, vous venez. [I'm going. If you're up for it, you're coming.]	I'm goin'. You guys can come too.

Table 10: Examples of orthographical and syntactic alteration in the English-language subtitles of *L'esquive*

Despite these advantages, not every subtitler is always prepared to employ such a technique, including that of *L'esquive*, Ian Burley:

There's always the likelihood of the audience thinking that the translator has made a mistake or doesn't know how to write properly. If it can be done from the outset and consistently through the film, then I go for it. (Burley in Silvester 2018: 180)

The frequency with which such features appear throughout the film does likely negate the possibility that the audience would interpret their presence in the subtitles as errors, yet Burley's words draw attention to the potential ramifications of reproducing incorrect grammar and syntax for the audience's understanding of the characters. Of course, the

subtitling choices do “accurately”, for want of a better term, convey the “inaccuracies” in grammar and syntax made by the characters, such as the dropped ‘ne’ from *ce n’est pas* [it is not] to produce *c’est pas*. This type of construction is inarguably not specific to the *banlieue* but a common feature of everyday, informal, spoken French, even by users of the standard, whereas “ain’t” could be perceived as “bad English” in the minds of the target ‘addressee’ in a manner more akin to the assumed “corruption” of the French language by *verlan* and other forms of *banlieue* speak (Mohamed 2021).¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, one could argue that ‘isn’t’ *ain’t* as “street” and as such conveys a lesser sense of otherness, and perhaps had Burley have chosen it, we might have thought of him, to uses Nornes’ (1999) term, as ‘corrupt’.

There are further examples in the English-language subtitles of the film in which shifts in the syntactic construction of the dialogues play into negative stereotypes about the *banlieusards*, such as violent behaviour. In a sequence towards the end of the film, the teenagers are being accosted and verbally and physically abused by the police, and when Lydia is being treated particularly roughly by a female officer, Fathi shouts out ‘Putain, mais calmez-vous!’ [Fuck’s sake, calm down!]. The expletive ‘*putain*’ [fuck] is used here as an interjection, expressing Fathi’s frustration at the situation he and his friends find themselves in.¹⁴⁶ In the subtitled text, which reads ‘Fuckin’ calm down!’, it takes on an adverbial function, which makes Fathi’s imperative command seem much more aggressive and as though he is swearing at the police directly, and consequently, as Silvester (2018: 238) points out, could lead to the viewer misinterpreting his behaviour. The dialogue, however, could indeed be this deliberately literal, suggesting rather that Fathi is expressing the idea of ‘calm the fuck down’ in which ‘the fuck’ is an intensifier. In another example, it is the shift

¹⁴⁵ Here another potential parallel with MLE emerges, as well as problem with using it as a substitution technique. Green (2014: 69) writes that conservative commentators in the UK had claimed that Multicultural London English, and its culture, had ‘corrupted susceptible members of the white underclass, the so-called “chavs.”’ He cites David Starkey, who referred to their adoption of the vernacular as having ‘integrated into pervasive black “gangsta” culture: they wear the same clothes; they talk and text in the same Jafaikan patois; and, as their participation in recent events shows, they have become as disaffected and riotous’ (2011: n.p.). After the London riots of 2011, triggered by the police shooting of Mark Duggan, the variety also became associated with violence and crime.

¹⁴⁶ Not unlike the swearword-laden exchange presented in Table 10 as the rage of the young male characters stems from one of their friends being jumped on the estate.

from the conditional tense to the imperative mood that intensifies the language of Nanou, who tells Frida (who is shouting at Lydia through the intercom to her apartment) to chill out with the figurative phrase, ‘Toi, on dirait que tu vas agresser l’interphone, respire!’ [You look like you are going to attack the intercom, breathe!]. The resulting translation ‘You lay into her on the intercom!’ conversely gives the impression she is inciting violence, although this is one example in which the speed of the dialogue makes it very difficult to interpret, which may have thrown the translator off.

We do, of course, see a more sensitive side to the teenagers when they perform the Marivaux play, whose ‘floral prose’ (King 2017: 7) – both in the metaphorical sense, as well as in the metaphorical language it employs – repeatedly causes Krimo to trip over his words. In the Marivaux text, Arlequin likens Lisette’s words to flowers that must be picked, and her lips to an orchard where such tender words bloom, themselves also beloved objects that the lover kisses, as a sign of recognition and adoration (Table 11):

Speaker <i>(Source)</i>	Line
Arlequin (<i>Le jeu de l’amour et du hasard</i>)	Je voudrais bien pouvoir baiser ces petits mots-là et les cueillir sur votre bouche avec la mienne. [I wish I could kiss those little words and pick them from your mouth with mine.]
Krimo (<i>L’esquive</i>)	Je voudrais bien pouvoir baiser ces petits mots-là et les cueillir sur ma bouche avec la tienne. [I wish I could kiss those little words and pick them from my mouth with yours.]
Subtitles	I would seize those words on your lips...

Table 11: Different renderings of the same metaphor from printed text to film dialogue to subtitled translation

As Table 11 shows, Krimo creates a chiasmus with the last part of the sentence, which causes Lydia, who is clearly very attached to the text, to scold him not only for changing the words but also saying it makes no difference ('c'est pareil'). With Lydia's running commentary, the ensuing repetitions of the sentence Krimo is forced to carry out under her instruction, his mistakes and her corrections emphasised with speech marks (Figure 20), and the use of ellipses after almost every line the boy recites in this scene, the anglophone audience gets a clear picture that Krimo is struggling to appropriate the syntax of the play, as well as the codes of Marauvidian gallantry. As Oster (2018) points out, it is not a coincidence that Kechiche chose this line for their rehearsal: it is from the mouth that words come out, but it is also the mouth that kisses, errantly in the case of Krimo. Completely under the spell of Lydia, he winds up making a misguided attempt to kiss his crush, knocking her to the ground and ruining her stage costume.

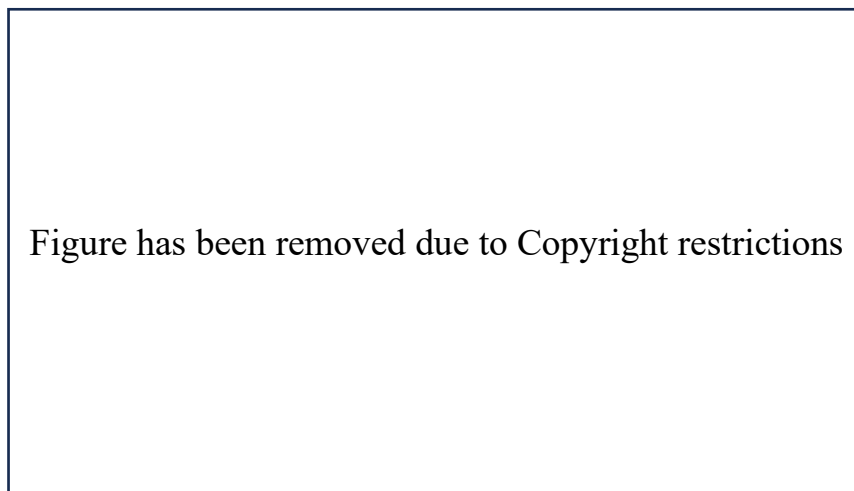


Figure 20: Lydia corrects Krimo during rehearsals (*L'esquive*, Kechiche 2003)

Krimo's clumsy behaviour is what eventually pushes Lydia to her decision to *vesqui*, a *verlanisation* of the verb 'esquiver' [avoid] that features in the script of the play, and one which brings into focus the alleged similarities between the two varieties. Swamy (2007: 60) and Shea (2012: 1145) both argue that the 'perceived illegitimacy' of Marivaux's

language in eighteenth-century France mirrors that of the *banlieue* in the present day, the pair ‘deviant, rich in neologisms and departures from standard French’, suggesting this as a further reason for which Kechiche chose the play for the film. For instance, Marivaux is credited for coining the expression *tomber amoureux de quelqu’un* [to fall in love with someone], deviating from the locution that was ‘standard’ of the time, *se rendre amoureux* (ibid.). Needless to say, whilst both varieties are non-standard, the language of the *banlieue* is undoubtedly seen as less legitimate than the language of Marivaux by the relevant governing bodies, reflected in the fact that Marivaux’s neologism is now ‘standard’, if by nothing else. And whilst the *banlieusards*’ expression of infatuation, *kiffer mortel* (Table 12), perhaps does not sound as romantic, it is just as creative, and still conveys a sense of ambiguity with the double meaning of *mortel* (deadly) as its Marivaudian counterpart does with *tomber* (fall); does the idea of liking someone ‘to death’ suggest an everlasting love, or signify rather something more destructive? Does one fall into a ‘trap’, or an unexpected surprise?

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
55 (Slam)	Il la kiffe mortel. [He likes her to death.]	He’s dead hot for her.
56 (Slam)	Il kiffe grave une meuf. [He seriously likes a girl.]	He’s wicked hot for a chick.
57 (Zima)	Elle est grave belle. [It is seriously beautiful.]	Seriously. It’s fly.

Table 12: Translation of transposition into English (*L’esquive*)

The use of *mortel* in this construction is a form of transposition, another phenomenon characteristic of the *banlieue* sociolect (Vitali 2009: 11) in which words

undergo a shift in lexical class and grammatical function by means of syntactic variation. In the above given example, the adjective *mortel* [deadly] is converted to an adverb to signify liking someone ‘to death,’ or more simply, ‘a lot.’ Similarly, the adjective *grave*, meaning ‘serious’, is also used in the adverbial sense of *beaucoup* [a lot] and *vraiment* [really] (Table 12). These syntactic stratifications of ‘standard’ French are for the most part closely marked in the English-language subtitles, and in whose language the adjectives ‘dead’ and ‘wicked’ can serve the same adverbial purpose, the latter of which also appeared in adjectival form in the scene presented in Table 1.¹⁴⁷ The same cannot be said for those that are more overtly ‘non-standard,’ such as the *verlan* word *meuf*, a transposing via inversion of the syllables in the word *femme*, as well as the verb *kiffer*, which can also be considered a form of transposition, although one that is inter-, rather than intralingual, and whose meaning of ‘to like somebody’ (or indeed something) derives from the Arabic noun *kif* and its figurative sense of pleasure or amusement (the supposed sensation brought by its literal meaning of ‘hashish’). When both are “transposed” into the target text, they are not only done so only linguistically, but also semiotically, as once again Americanisms are used to ‘stratify’ the text, embedding it in a different place and time.

This notion of ‘transposition’ recalls Jakobson’s seminal essay ‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’ (1959), in which the term is employed specifically to describe three forms of ‘creative transposition’ – interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic – apparently required to deal with poetry, whose traditionally verbal form, much like non-standard varieties, has typically rendered it ‘untranslatable’. Of course, as the attitudes towards the *banlieue* sociolect described in the introduction make clear, non-standard varieties might not necessarily be considered as particularly ‘poetic’ in the heteroglossic societies in which they operate, nor in the Bakhtinian conceptualisation of ‘heteroglossia’. According to Bakhtin, poetry is the one literary form in which ‘heteroglossia or even a foreign language is

¹⁴⁷ If situating it in the context of the UK, and using Multicultural London English, *grave* could be substituted for *bare*, an intensifier used to mean a lot, as in ‘Krimo thinks she is bare peng’ [Krimo likes her a lot].

completely shut out’, although he does concede that ‘a certain latitude for heteroglossia exists only in the ‘low’ poetic genres, in the satiric and comic genres and others’ (1981: 286–87).¹⁴⁸ To return to Section 2 of this chapter, then, when Bakhtin is distinguishing between the novel and poetry, he is not necessarily discussing differences in form *per se*, but rather how form is used to make sense of identity, otherness and the societal structures of power in which they are formed. From this perspective, it becomes evident that the *banlieue* sociolect, for all of its heteroglossia, also has a fundamentally ‘poetic’ syntax, whose form serves to linguistically and socially consolidate and ‘unify’ some form of cultural, political and indeed national identity, in which the ‘standard’ language is “shut out”, and its resulting untranslatability a cause rather than effect.

This is, as aforementioned, compounded for francophone audiences – monolingual, standard French-speaking audiences at least – through the lack of subtitles, although as in *Bienvenue*, some of the non-standard structures are explained contextually by the different ‘voices’ in the narrative. After Lydia and Frida have a particularly fiery bust up during their rehearsal, Hanane tells Frida that the latter *a le seum*, an idiom meaning ‘to be angry’ that draws on and syllabically transposes the Arabic noun *summ* (poison), before reformulating it to produce the same idea with a different combination of words: *avoir la rage*, which gives the impression of someone being ‘rabid’ with anger (Table 13). Frida, keeping the same sense, then uses another form, *vénerè*, which is the *verlanised* form of the verb *énerveé* (annoyed), before repeating the initial locution. This exchange captures the essence of dialogism, showing how language is not a fixed entity, but one that is dynamic and evolving with each interaction in which it becomes situated and uttered, although when resituated in interaction with the international addressee the intensity of their anger is not ‘verbally’ all that clear. In this example, it is the paralinguistic features embedded within the dialogues that convey the intensity of the characters’ anger; the raised pitch and volume of the girls’

¹⁴⁸ As such, it is reasonable to assume that Bakhtin is taking about ‘authorial’ poetry i.e., in its written form, rather than delivered orally.

voices as they scream and shout over one another, their confrontational body language and gestures, and their fierce facial expressions all suggest that they are at least a little more than ‘heated’ or ‘pissed off’.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
58 (Hanane)	T’as pas vu, elle a le seum contre toi, c’est pas bien, elle a la rage. [You didn’t see, she’s angry with you, it’s not good, she’s raging.]	Lydia’s really heated at you now.
59 (Frida)	Moi aussi, j’ai le seum. T’as pas compris que j’étais vénère ? [I’m angry too. Didn’t you understand that I was annoyed?]	I’m heated too. She pissed me off big time.

Table 13: Translation of idioms into English (*L’esquive*)

The final element of syntactic variation that I wish to present in this chapter is the number of idioms used interchangeably by the *banlieusards* to mean ‘jurer’ [to swear] in the sense of ‘to promise’, which I shall term “Arabisms”, in the view that they reveal the attachment of the young people to their Arabic-speaking heritage, yet without really using Arabic at all. An exchange between Rachid and Krime, presented in Table 14, is but one example of the ways in which these constructions point to the family bond (*sur la vie de ma mère* [on my mother’s life]; *sur la tombe de ma grand-mère* [on my grandmother’s grave]), their religion (*sur la Koran de la Mecque* [on the Qur’an of Mecca]), and elsewhere their ethnicity (*sur la tête d’arabe* [on the Arab’s head]), which might also be understood by viewers by virtue of the characters’ names; Krime’s full name ‘Abdelkrim’ is used by his mother in one earlier scene in the film.¹⁴⁹ These examples are particularly interesting from a heteroglossic perspective, as they ‘stratify’ the language of the text, despite being by and

¹⁴⁹ See Lepoutre (2001: 366-73) for a discussion on the importance that names (individual, familial) have to the codes of ‘l’honneur et réputation’ in the *banlieue*.

large in standard French, and standard English, as far as the subtitles are concerned, thus bringing into focus the dual interaction between centripetal and centrifugal forces operating in any given utterance. It could be argued here, even, that for the anglophone viewer these ‘centripetally’ presented aspects of the text give a better overall understanding of the Arabic influence on the *banlieue*, merging with the alien word – *Inch 'Allah*¹⁵⁰ – to inflect the street slang discussed previously with its otherness, thereby further reflecting ‘authorial intentions,’ but in a similarly refracted way.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
60 (Rachid)	J'te promets. [I promise you.]	I promise. Go on.
61 (Krimo)	Tu jures ? [You swear?]	Swear.
62 (Rachid)	Ouallah, je le dis pas. Vas-y. [I swear to God, I won't tell. Go on.]	I won't tell, okay. What is it?
63 (Krimo)	Sur la vie de ta mère ? [On your mother's life?]	On your mom's life?
64 (Rachid)	La vie de ma mère, j'le dis pas. [On my mother's life, I won't tell.]	On my mom's life, I won't. Well?
65 (Krimo)	Non, rien. [No, nothing.]	- It's nothing.
66 (Rachid)	T'es sûr, c'est bon ? [You're sure it's okay?]	- It's okay, then?
67 (Krimo)	Rachid! [Rachid!]	Rachid...

¹⁵⁰ *Inch 'Allah* has similarly been translated elsewhere more literally as ‘God willing’.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
68 (Rachid)	Sur le Coran de la Mecque, j'le dis pas. [On the Qur'an of Mecca, I won't tell.]	On the Koran of Mecca... I won't tell.

Table 14: Translation of Arabisms into English (*L'esquive*)

4. Conclusion

A source text in an audiovisual translation context, in many ways, can act as a kind of 'authoritative discourse', in Bakhtinian terms, the assimilation of which takes on an even deeper significance in an individual's social and ideological 'becoming', as its history is already established:

[t]he authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher [...] It is a *prior* discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it from among other possible discourses that are its equal. (Bakhtin 1981: 342; emphasis in original)

Authoritative discourses are typically in a state of conflict with those that are 'internally persuasive', more akin to a retelling of a text in one's own words, with one's own accents, gestures, and modifications, as the former 'permits no play with the context framing it, and no play with its borders [...] [o]ne must either totally affirm or totally reject it' (ibid.). The struggle between these two discourses that Bakhtin puts forward – an attempt to assimilate discourse more into one's own system, whilst simultaneously freeing one's own discourse from the authoritative word – is perfectly encapsulated by subtitling, which functions as internally persuasive, because its themes and language are familiar: 'half ours and half someone else's as one of those creative border zones upon which new meaning is produced'

(ibid.). It is this creative potential of subtitling, specifically in the context of linguistic variation, that the present chapter has illuminated by employing a heteroglossic perspective.

The tensions between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses map closely onto those existing between centripetal and centrifugal forces respectively, although the fundamentally heteroglossic nature of the ‘authoritative discourses’ dealt with in the analysis call into question the idea that any can be ‘fixed’ or ‘unitary’, including that of the subtitles. The retention of *ch’timi* dialectal lexicon and phonetic features in the English-language subtitles of *Bienvenue*, in particular, demonstrate the potential of centrifugal forces – verbal, visual, non-verbal – to pull the language of translation towards decentralisation, fundamentally pushing back on claims to homogenisation and loss that have typically functioned as the ‘authoritative word’ in Audiovisual Translation Studies discourse. Undeniably, presenting this degree of heterogeneity in the subtitled text would likely have been far more difficult, linguistically, technically, and practically speaking, had the rest of the semiotic information in which it was dialogically embedded not been as overtly ‘heteroglossic’, nor would it perhaps be possible to employ creative subtitling techniques as was also suggested in the analysis. The emphasis of the genre on the comedic aesthetics of non-standard discourse and indeed of (mis)translation more broadly, as evidenced in language learning tropes and representations of diegetic interpreting, appears to lend itself well to experimental subtitling techniques. We might even consider the film’s multimodal presentation of multilingualism a ‘constraint’ insofar as it essentially forces the subtitler’s hand to represent, as far as possible, the non-standard discourse, furthering the ideological challenge posed by the film to ‘standardised’ narratives of identity, alterity, and power in the francophone world.

To return to Chapter Two, and the “‘Francophone purview’” (Marshall 2012: 45) of these narratives that is at the heart of *cinéma-monde*, we might consider how the film ‘asks new questions of the diagram and the relations between its elements, widening and multiplying perspectives’ not only on the francophone stage, but on shaping the perceptions

of 'French' cinema more globally. In the anglophone context, Lucy Mazdon writes, the 'dominant conception of French cinema in Britain is its status as "art cinema" [...] intellectually stimulating, slow-paced with an emphasis on narrative rather than action' (2001: 4). *Bienvenue* presents itself as the antithesis to this description, and as far as the English-language subtitles are concerned, their humorous, dynamic and ludic display of language both reflects and makes possible for international audiences the 'minorising position of francophone cinema' by 'call[ing] into question fixed positions of mastery in language in favour of creative, unpredictable proliferations of new mobile forms' (Marshall 2012: 44). Although the use of italicisation and play with capitalisation might be more 'minor' and 'predictable' forms of marking otherness in subtitles, they nonetheless had a big impact as far as 'putting the accent back' is concerned (ibid.) and also in creatively emphasising the parallel journeys of decentring and assimilation – linguistic and cultural – undertaken by Philippe, and the audience by extension and in tandem. Besides, as Marshall (ibid.: 46) argues, 'parts' of 'wholes' are themselves significant in the ways in which they 'yield fruitful comparisons' and consequently, through their multiplication of perspectives, 'pluralise the whole debate.'

Fruitful comparisons were indeed yielded in the subtitling of both films through the employment of dialect-for-dialect translation strategies, embedding the texts with a semiotic significance that demarcated social identity as well as worldview, although this did have the effect of 'carnivalizing' the narratives somewhat and turning the world of each film upside down. The *banlieue* became the Bronx, and the North of France was stratified by the Deep South, or East Anglia, depending on the location and perspective of the 'addressee' on the part of whom the film is dialogically received. Dialogism is a fundamental aspect of the carnival, a plurality of 'fully valid consciousnesses' (Bakhtin 1981: 9), each bringing with them a different point of view and a different way of 'seeing' the world so that it is perceived through both the time/space of the self and through that of the other. This points to the tricky nature of trying to define an audience for multilingual films, and therefore an

‘addressee’ towards whom to orient the translation, and for what purpose: the natural condition of dialogism means that there are always multiple possible voices with which any text can come to have a future relation, and through which ‘new’ meaning can be produced. In this respect, a retranslation of *L’esquive* using Multicultural London English presents a possible avenue for later research, practical as well as empirical, in order to contrast the ‘responses’ provoked with those concerning the use of African American English, and therefore understand the impact this may have on the semiotic and narrative shaping of the film.

It goes without saying that the ethically and politically challenging aspects of using a dialect-for-dialect approach have been acknowledged here, and it is maintained that, regardless of any benefit they may bring concerning marking variation in a subtitled text, they should be used with care, so as to not risk obscuring the symbolic value of their heteroglossic construction. The subtitling of these more ‘challenging’ scenes in *L’esquive* – both in terms of their semiotic construction and their role in the narrative – amply demonstrated the ways in which the subtitles enter into a mutually self-defining process of dialogue with the other codes of the text, becoming one more voice through which the text becomes ‘stratified’, and through which the ‘utterances’ of characters, and the ways in which they communicate with one another, as well as the audience, are not only shaped, but possibly skewed.¹⁵¹ To that end, we might also consider that use of more experimental subtitling techniques would have a similar effect, ‘populating’, or rather ‘overpopulating’ the text with intentions that clash fundamentally with those of the director, but also the social-realist aesthetics of the film, and tone with which its narrative message is consequently delivered. This is a line of thought continued in the next chapter, in which migration films will be at the heart of the analysis, and through which the interaction between subtitles and concepts of ‘voice’ will be further explored from a gendered perspective.

¹⁵¹ With all of that said, it can be argued that Kechiche himself does play on some of the negative stereotypes pertaining to the *banlieues*, and those who live there, as well as their language, and it is therefore unsurprising that these may be reproduced, even if erroneously, in the subtitled text.

Chapter Four:

Woman, Native, Other: Subtitling Gender and Minority in the Multilingual Migration

Film

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I continue my investigation into how multilingual narratives of identity, alterity and power are constructed and disseminated in audiovisual translation by analysing the films *Inch'Allah dimanche* (Benguigui 2001) and *Dheepan* (Audiard 2015), both of which focus on the lives of migrant communities living in France. The former is a development of the conversation initiated by director Yamini Benguigui in her documentaries *Femmes d'Islam* (1994) and *Mémoires d'immigrés : l'héritage maghrébin* (1997), both of which sought to unveil the often untold and unheard experiences of North African and Muslim women living in France (see Tarr 2003; Fauvel 2004; Caporale 2009 and Kealhofer-Kemp 2013 for summaries) in the decades following the Second World War. As for *Dheepan*, director Jacques Audiard stated that he wanted to give 'a name, a face [and] a shape' to the Tamil refugees depicted in his film, the situation of whom in France is little known altogether by the French population (Romney 2016: n.p.). Making the Algerian and Tamil characters 'speak' French by way of translation – extradiegetically – plays a necessary role in achieving each director's respective goal of giving visibility to these communities and allowing their stories to be told and heard by the wider French-speaking public. Within the diegeses themselves, being able to speak French is also posited as a chance for the migrant protagonists to move from periphery to centre, to be seen and heard, and find their place in a foreign society, a process which, as I have stated in Chapter Two, presents different challenges for the men and women.

For the character of Zouina in *Inch'Allah dimanche*, the barrier to integration presented by the French language appears at first insurmountable. Unlike her husband, who

has been living and working in France for many years already, and her children, who are receiving a French education, Zouina is denied such opportunities to improve her French. She is forbidden to leave the house and interact with French-speaking society by her husband, Ahmed, instead expected to stay at home and fulfil her duties as wife, mother, and upholder of cultural traditions, which includes speaking Arabic. The guarding and bullying behaviour of her husband, Ahmed, and mother-in-law, Aïcha, whose nasty and particularly gendered treatment of Zouina in the film also render her relationship to her mother tongue particularly problematic. In fact, what is perhaps most striking about Zouina's character – at least for the first half of the film – is not the difficulty she has communicating in French, or her use of Arabic (as she does not initially communicate in her mother tongue either), but her near-silence and lack of voice at all (Planchenault 2010: 105 provides a detailed statistical breakdown of Zouina's dialogues, or lack of them). Zouina's inability to speak – both literally and figuratively – seems to exacerbate the sadness that she is shown to feel at being torn away from her mother and motherland to move to an unwelcoming foreign country in which she is isolated and lonely, living with an equally unwelcoming man with whom she has three children, but, as McCullough (2015: 89) phrases it rather tersely, 'barely knows'.¹⁵²

As the narrative progresses, and with the help and encouragement of French women with whom she comes to form close friendships – the young, feminist divorcée Nicole and Madame Manant, the widower of a French soldier who died in the Algerian war (or its aftermath) – Zouina is eventually able to learn French and obtain with it an increased sense of power that enables her to find a voice through which to go up against the seemingly unchallengeable and authoritarian voices at home (Planchenault 2010). When she finally speaks out against her husband and mother-in-law in the final scene of the film, it is

¹⁵² Fauvel (2004: 149) comments on the enormous bars that separate Zouina and her mother as they say goodbye at the harbour in Algeria, stating that it is 'as though the mother were a prisoner and condemned to a life's term while Zouina gets on a boat headed for France,' although in the scenes that follow, it appears more that this is felt from Zouina's perspective.

therefore appropriate that she does so in French; looking her husband in the eye but speaking to her children, Zouina states ‘Demain, c’est moi je vous emmène à l’école’ [sic] [Tomorrow I will be the one taking you to school]. This statement marks the culmination of the process of emancipation Zouina goes through in the film that is ‘common to all female migrants who choose to rise above their conditions of subordination to both male and (post)colonial power’ (Caporale 2009: 36): no longer will she stay silent and submissive, or be hidden away from the public space, and the quintessentially republican space of the school at that. Zouina’s visibility and voice in this respect, as Fauvel (2004: 147) has pointed out, makes *Inch’Allah dimanche* unique amongst temporally adjacent films on Maghrebi migration to France, being one of the first to place a mother as the main protagonist, and crucially, for its critique of existing power structures and gender roles within the Muslim-Arab patriarchal system.¹⁵³

In *Dheepan*, gender stereotypes seem to be reinforced rather than challenged, although it ought to be noted that Audiard has a tendency to privilege masculine characters (see Dobson 2016; Sellier 2016; King 2021) when ‘structur[ing] his plots around a protagonist who goes through a learning process’ (Vanderschelden 2016: 255).¹⁵⁴ This is certainly true of his eponymous hero Dheepan, who, ‘despite the odds, does everything in his power to adapt to his new environment and improve it’, which includes learning French (Köksal and Çelik Rappas 2019: 257). Yalini, on the other hand, is portrayed as making no effort to learn the language and actively resisting Dheepan’s efforts for the family to integrate at every step of the way, instead sulking, refusing to work and laying around the house reading women’s magazines whilst Dheepan is at work, which leads the “husband” to

¹⁵³ See Tarr (2003: 325).

¹⁵⁴ The linguistic trajectory of Dheepan is very similar to that of Malik in *Un prophète* (Audiard 2009), discussed in the introduction. Both films display motifs typical of Audiard’s work identified by King (2021: 72-73) of an ‘initially oppressed protagonist [who] rise[s] through the ranks’, as well as being ‘immoral or amoral protagonists [...] whose violent actions, while often committed under duress or against corrupt others’ – the Corsican mob in the case of *Un prophète* and the gangs of the *banlieue* in *Dheepan* – somewhat ‘undermine their claim to heroism and cast them as flawed antiheroes, even villains.’ See also the characters Albert in *Un héros très discret* (Audiard 1996) and Tom in *De battre mon cœur c’est arrêté* (Audiard 2005) the latter of which is multilingual.

declare to his “wife” that he feels he is ‘looking after two children’. Gendered practices linked to patriarchal structures that place men in the default position of power go from infantilisation to sexualisation in the film, particularly when Yalini is eventually pressured into a job as a nursemaid for Monsieur Habib, the disabled uncle of the *banlieue* drug-lord and gang leader, Brahim, with whom she comes to have a quasi-erotic relationship. Their interactions are few and far between, often brief and, as I will discuss later, not even completely in French, and the fact that Tamil becomes the primary language of her work with Monsieur Habib means that her grasp of the host language is somewhat slow to be mastered.

Whilst the character of Yalini may be somewhat sidelined in the overall narrative – we see most of the action through the eyes of Dheepan, the ‘bearer of the look’ (Mulvey 1975), as well as other male characters – she is not altogether silenced, and in fact has more of a voice than most women migrant characters in *banlieue* films typically do.¹⁵⁵ From the outset of the film, Yalini is depicted as being vocally very assertive and self-assured (at least in Tamil), and unlike Zouina, is not afraid to speak up to her partner. For example, in an early scene of the film she complains to Dheepan that people stare at her whenever she leaves their apartment, and upon his suggestion that she wear a headscarf to “fit in” like many of the other women migrants we see in the film, Yalini flippantly replies (in Tamil) that she is not willing to do so as it is ‘not a part of her religion nor her identity’.¹⁵⁶ And

¹⁵⁵ A genre to which *Dheepan* belongs, to a certain extent, and with regard to its setting in particular (see Dobson 2017). *Banlieue* films have typically been quite male-centred although, like *L’esquive* (2004), more and more films focussing on life in France’s *banlieues* have started to place female protagonists, or groups of female protagonists, in the foreground: *La Squale* (Fabrice Genestal 2000), *Regarde-moi* (Audrey Estrougo 2007), *Tout ce qui brille* (Geraldine Nakache 2010), *Bande de filles* (Céline Sciamma 2014) and *Divines* (Houda Benyamina 2016). Common threads between the films, which all include some degree of multilingual representation, include ‘the tension between female solidarity and social constructions of femininity, the *banlieue* as space of the policing of femininity and female desires and the reductive options of projected adult femininity’ (Tarr 2012: 193). See also Tarr (2005) and Dobson (2017) for discussions on representations of women in *banlieue* films.

¹⁵⁶ Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret point out that this is the ‘ultime décalage ironique où cette question des signes ostentatoires de religion est vue en France par le landernau politique comme un signe évident de non-intégration républicaine’ (2016: 6) [the ultimate ironic discrepancy where this question of ostentatious signs of religion is seen in France by the political proponents of the culture wars as an obvious sign of republican non-integration].

despite the fact that veiling will eventually come with its benefits, as will become clear in the case study analysis, “fitting in” in the long term is not as much on Yalini’s mind as is “blending in” in the short term; she never intended on going to France in the first place and nor does she wish to stay. Of this fact is the viewer frequently reminded, both in her verbal threats and physical attempts to run away to England, where she hopes to eventually settle with her cousin, leaving Dheepan and “their child” Ilayaal, two people with whom she has formed a family yet ‘barely knows’, behind.

Although seemingly unbothered about learning French, therefore, this is not to say that Yalini’s character does not also suffer the same disadvantages that come with not speaking the language as Zouina, nor does the latter wish to completely lose her identity, here as Algerian Muslim, in order to assimilate into French secular society. Both films address, subtly and more overtly, the ‘essential question of the voice of female immigrants’ who must learn how to, as Caporale (2009: 33) puts it, figuratively and/or literally, ‘speak a new Western language, without renouncing their own non-Western language and culture.’ In the translation process, and in particular the subtitling of each film into English, one might expect that the markers of this linguistic inbetweenness – “broken” French, translanguaging and code-switching, around which the analysis is structured – may become literally homogenised, thus forcing them to figuratively ‘speak’ a different language altogether. Films on migration and their ‘polyphony of voices’, to refer back to Bakhtin (1981), are generally argued to make communication and translation issues all the more visible (Cronin 2009; Şerban 2012) and invite a reconceptualisation specifically of subtitles as one further means through which the voices of the characters within them are constructed. The concept of ‘voice’, itself intertwined with the key themes of the thesis and discussed in the following section, will be used as the lens through which to conduct the analysis of the films and their translations, and how these shape our understanding of the female protagonists’ experiences as women, natives and others.

2. Can the Subaltern be Subtitled?

In *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (1994), Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones write that the idea of ‘voice’, or more specifically, the concept of the *woman’s* ‘voice’ as it has been employed in Western feminist discourse is typically understood as being closely related to the concepts of subjectivity, representation, and agency, ‘all of which have been historically denied to women’ (1994: 1). Consequently, ‘voice’, as they argue, ‘has become a metaphor for textual authority, and alludes to the efforts of women to reclaim their own experience through writing (*‘having a voice’*) or to the specific qualities of their literary and cultural self-expression (*‘in a different voice’*)’ (Dunn and Jones 1994: 1, emphasis added). Such a definition provides a useful starting point for understanding how the concept can be used to engage with issues of identity, alterity and power relations within a gendered frame.¹⁵⁷ Yet, as Dunn and Jones (*ibid.*) argue, discussions about ‘voice’ in feminist criticism or in relation to women should consider this concept not only on a metaphorical level but also in terms of ‘the concrete physical dimensions of the female voice upon which this metaphor was based’. This is especially relevant to the present study, which seeks to determine how the symbolic expression of the characters’ ‘voices’ in the films is tied to the ways in which they use physically and audibly (although not always) use language, and which languages in particular, and whether these ‘voices’ change when they are linguistically reconstructed in the process of translation, if they are even translated at all.

It should be noted here that a good deal more critical attention has been paid to the subject of the woman’s ‘voice’ in literary translation than in audiovisual translation,¹⁵⁸ and

¹⁵⁷ It has also clearly informed early critical feminist thinking in Translation Studies. The work of feminist translators and translation theorists (see Arrojo 1994; Chamberlain 1988; de Lotbiniere-Harwood 1991; Godard 1990; Santaemilia 2006; Simon 1996; von Flotow 1991; 1997) has been devoted to identifying the absence of women’s voices and representations in literary production and translation, as well as theorising the processes involved in acquiring agency or in ‘finding a voice’ in these processes, including through gendered methods of writing and translating that seek to disrupt conventional practices, to name but one of the many areas of study.

¹⁵⁸ Similarly, to Postcolonial Translation Studies, ‘Feminist Translation Studies’, which also emerged around the same time in the 1980s, has gained significant currency in the literary translation context.

more specifically in subtitling,¹⁵⁹ in which gender-aware criticism is still growing. Of those existing gender-based or feminist lines of enquiry in audiovisual translation,¹⁶⁰ the vast majority of studies focus on how feminist, sexist, queer and/or otherwise “gendered” language is treated in the translation of Anglo-American texts into Romance languages (see von Flotow and Josephy-Hernández 2018: 300 for an overview). As such, discussions of which cinematic tools and translation strategies make women ‘speak’ or silence them, and how, are typically framed by the patriarchy, where the power of men and the male ‘voice’ are seen as limiting a woman’s speech, thought and work, and consequently her subjectivity, representation and agency. With the exception of some individual studies (Hiramoto 2013; Josephy-Hernández 2017), there are very few works that investigate the audiovisual translation of non-Western and/or minority gendered ‘voices’ into Western and/or dominant languages, and none, as far as I am aware, that consider questions of gender and translation within an explicitly multilingual audiovisual setting. Such contexts produce very different constraints, both literal – having to do with technicalities of the translation process when faced with multilingualism or – and metaphorical – having to do with unequal relations of power between cultures and languages – that may impact on the expression of the character’s voices, both diegetically and extradiegetically.

This largely Anglocentric (or indeed Eurocentric), monolingual approach to the woman’s voice in Audiovisual Translation Studies is perhaps unsurprising given that leanings in (feminist) Film Studies towards the topic are much the same. The work of de Lauretis (1987), Silverman (1988), Lawrence (1991) and Sjogren (2006), for example, all analyse female vocalicity in anglophone cinema within the same patriarchal framework mentioned above, although in concluding that there is some possibility for feminine

¹⁵⁹ Bosseaux has addressed the concept directly in her (2008; 2019) work on the dubbing of female characters in film and television has also stressed the importance and meaningfulness of the physical properties of ‘voice’ and sound as elements of translation and their impact on character construction, although not from an explicitly gender-based or feminist perspective. See also De Marco’s (2006) work on the transmission of gendered and sexual stereotypes in dubbing.

¹⁶⁰ See Baumgarten (2005); Chiaro (2007); Bianchi (2008); Bosseaux (2008; 2019); De Marco, A. (2013); De Marco, M. (2006; 2012; 2013); Feral (2011a; 2011b).

discourse and agency in classical Hollywood film, they ultimately challenge notions of film only offering male subjectivity that stemmed largely from Mulvey's (1975) work on the 'male gaze' in her now-canonical essay 'Visual Pleasure in Narrative Cinema'. It is for this reason that Kealhofer-Kemp opts for the term 'voice' in her book *Muslim Women in French Cinema: Voices of Maghrebi Migrants in France*, one that is of particular interest to the present chapter, stating that it 'has fewer negative connotations and is less limiting' (2015: 14), although it is the adaptations she makes to ensure that the concept is even 'less limiting' that are of utmost importance to the present analysis. She draws on Dunn and Jones' aforementioned conceptualisation of 'voice' – and its 'audible' aspect in particular, a deliberate move towards 'speaking' and away from 'looking', thus – but develops upon it in line with Black, Third World, and postcolonial critiques of 'Western' feminism, and of ideas that 'voice' and its link to representation, subjectivity and agency lies in Western notions of individualism.

Following Kealhofer-Kemp, then, when analysing the dialogues in *Inch 'Allah dimanche* and *Dheepan*, it is necessary to consider gender difference as but one among a wide range of other 'intersecting' pressures such as race, class, religion and nation (Crenshaw 1989) that may be reflected in their language use. For example, Zouina's limited proficiency in the French language is the product of her status as both postcolonial migrant as well as Muslim woman in the patriarchal system (see Kealhofer-Kemp 2015), both of which deny her a formal education in France. Such is a common fate for first-generation women migrants of varying minority cultural backgrounds, and in particular mothers, who are so often confined to the domestic sphere and cut off from French society, unlike their male and second-generation counterparts (see Tarr 2005; Fauvel 2013; Kealhofer-Kemp 2013; King 2017; Planchenault 2020). Even if Yalini's lack of interaction with the host culture is one of choice, she too still endures a 'double lack of agency' (ibid.), as migrant and woman, and the nature of her work similarly sees her condemned to invisibility and relative inaudibility in the French language. It is interesting to note here, however, that the

language of her work Tamil, is never subtitled into French (or English) when she uses it to “converse” with Monsieur Habib, which raises questions as to her visibility and audibility from the point of view of the audience experiencing a noticeable non-translation strategy – one that is frequent and prolonged – that will be further pursued in the subsequent analysis.

Yalini, like Zouina, is often (although perhaps not as often) silenced and devoiced by her “partner” (perhaps no more of one than Ahmed is to his wife) Dheepan in their home language, and in front of speakers of the host language. For example, Dheepan tells Yalini to ‘shut up’ in Tamil after she accuses him of making her ‘look dumb’ in front of two French-speaking characters after there was a problem with the mail that she had been asked to sort into their letterboxes, causing her to storm off in anger. The issue is not so much that she feels silly for making a mistake, but rather that it is actually Dheepan’s fault that it happened: he was the one who relayed to her, in Tamil, the instructions that he was initially given in French. Clearly, then, he did not understand what he had been told, nor does he seem to understand what the residents are saying to him as they explain how to rectify the mistake, and in not taking responsibility allows Yalini – deliberately, so it would seem, for the sake of his male ego – to take the blame. Her resulting position of linguistic inferiority is not helped by the fact she calls after Dheepan to come and help when the residents speak to her, immediately suggesting to them that he has a greater proficiency in French, which is not entirely untrue at this early stage, but the position of linguistic authority he is afforded as a result is also not unsurprising in light of Audiard’s aforementioned penchant for privileging the masculine.

Here seems thus an appropriate moment to bring in the concept of a woman’s ‘double alterity’, both as woman and as Other, which has been covered most notably by Spivak in her essay ‘Can the Subaltern Speak’ (1988), in which she considers the relationship between gender and agency in the context of the colonial power structure. She argues that within this structure of power, the subaltern female is marginalised and silenced to an even greater degree than the subaltern male, because of her gender. As she writes: ‘if,

in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow' (Spivak 1988: 287). Spivak is concerned with the question of who gets to speak for the subaltern woman, and argues that we cannot 'give voice' to Others but rather we need to create the conditions that allow diverse Others to speak for themselves. One essential component within this task is to recognise that the Other does not speak in a singular 'voice': '[t]he colonized subaltern subject is irretrievably heterogeneous' (Spivak 1988: 284). Hence, Spivak discusses how academic attempts to 'give voice' to the Other – particularly those of Western feminists – have always been doomed to fail because they typically assume a homogeneity among the subaltern, e.g., that there is a singular 'Tamil female voice', to frame it as such here, that can be represented, rather than considering the divides in religion, class, and dialect, for example, that do not allow these 'voices' to stand in unity.

Spivak's questioning is clearly continued in the 'The Politics of Translation', where she states in her critique of Western (feminist) translation practices that 'the subaltern as female cannot be heard or read' (1993: 104) and also clearly influences her subsequent recommendations for allowing the Other to 'speak' in translation. Apart from pointing to the need for language skills and to learn the language of the Other, which we might consider an 'unlearning project' on the part of the Self (Spivak 1988: 295), Spivak argues that the task of the translator is to 'surrender herself' to the original text in an act of intimate reading that can hold 'the agency of the translator and the demands of her imagined or actual audience at bay' (1993: 181). Specifically, this means rejecting the Western preferences for fluency and transparency in translation and making room, instead, for the third-world woman's agency. For Spivak, 'surrendering' to the text and its individual linguistic and cultural specificities 'means most of the time, being literal' (ibid.: 192), which she argues is ethical in that it allows both translator and reader to see commonality through difference by foregrounding 'areas of difference and different differentiations' instead of obliterating them (ibid.: 193). This is, as Spivak (1993: 179; 183) states, not the same as 'taking translation to be a matter

of synonym and syntax’ or adding ‘local colour’ to the text, of which she is both critical and wary, given its potential to produce exoticising effects on the voices of non-Western women that may obscure their subjectivity, representation and agency.

It is not my intention to approach the analysis as if the films contain “authentic” or “real” representations of the ‘voices’ of the women (or indeed men) they depict. In fact, as King (2021: 128) has pointed out with regard to *Dheepan*, ‘one of the most problematic questions around the film was the authenticity of its representation of Tamil migrants’ as Audiard ‘did not start from a place of curiosity about the Tamil language and culture or the effects of the Sri Lankan civil war on its citizens’ but rather ‘started sketching out the characters based on the fact that they would be immigrants, specifically ones who did not speak French, so that they would encounter a language barrier in France.’¹⁶¹ Yet Audiard is not alone in deploying ‘exotic’ and gendered archetypes – that of the ‘Oriental’ woman as ‘voiceless Other’, which can be traced back to Western literary and artistic production of the colonial era (Kealhofer-Kemp 2015: 15) – to conserve narrative space and establish tensions between characters in his film. Indeed, and as Fauvel (2004: 150) has noted, Benguigui’s Zouina shares this same ‘personality trait’ with the sister in *Le gone du Chaâba* (Christophe Ruggia 1997), as well as Ismaël and Mouloud’s aunt in *Bye-Bye* (Karem Dridi 1997), or indeed Madjib’s mother in *Le Thé au harem d’Archimède* (Mehdi Charef 1985), to which I would add more recent works such as *Fatima* (Philippe Faucon 2015), in which the mother struggles with isolation due to her inability to speak French.¹⁶²

The fact that the subaltern can be ‘seen’ as well as ‘heard’ – although not always understood, be this by characters or the audience – in an audiovisual translation context, to

¹⁶¹ *Dheepan* does not lack cultural authenticity entirely: the actors are native Tamil speakers and Audiard also employed a native Tamil-speaking consultant to advise on the script and filming process (King 2021: 128).

¹⁶² Of course, the prevalence of these representations does show that they are rooted in social realities: each film’s respective thematic foci of the woman’s experience of immigration, (Arab-Muslim) patriarchal culture, raising children in a foreign country and the search for independence were all issues discussed by the Maghrebi women Benguigui interviewed (Benguigui 1997; Kealhofer-Kemp 2013). See also Planchenault (2020) for a related discussion and linguistic analysis of *Fatima*.

return to Spivak, may even dictate that features deemed as ‘exotic’ that are present in ‘speech’ are then (re)presented in writing to be ‘read’. Of “broken French”, the first representation of multilingualism to be analysed, one must consider that it would be incongruous to present the speech of the characters as ‘fluent’ in the subtitles, given the contextual, visible and even audible cues that mark their non-nativeness. Yet, in ‘attending’ to this ‘special call of the text’, to quote Spivak (1993: 183), and marking its ‘rhetoricity’, its ‘fraying’ of language in the subtitles risks making them hard to read, and the voices of the women speaking harder to understand. As the voice-over in Trinh T. Minh-ha’s *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* (1989), itself an exploration of the construction of identity at the intersections of gender and nation, reminds us:

Translation seeks faithfulness and accuracy and ends up always betraying either the letter of the text, its spirit, or its aesthetics [...] grafting several languages, cultures and realities onto a single body. The problem of translation, after all, is a problem of reading and identity.

Resolving the problem of ‘reading’ with ensuring ‘fluency’, conversely, would no doubt constitute an ‘operation of *suture*’ (Minh-ha 1992: 102, emphasis in original), one that collapses the multivoicedness of the Other into a singular ‘language’, the ‘invisible cinematic code’, thus allowing them only to be read, not seen and not heard.

Of course, given the polysemiotic nature of subtitling, and when it concerns multilingual texts in particular, as we have established, there will always be those who do not need to ‘read’ the subaltern to understand their voice. Audiard tells Romney (2016: n.p.) in an interview that at the Toronto Film Festival screening of *Dheepan*, in relation to this, that Tamil audience members were ‘cracking up over certain lines’ for reasons unknown to him. Ironically, in one scene, Dheepan tells Yalini that he does not understand French humour, to which she replies, in Tamil, that ‘it’s not about language. It’s about a sense of humour, period. You’re not even funny in Tamil’, although other than this assertion, the French- and English-language subtitles do not tell jokes of any explicit kind. Apart from

raising further questions about fidelity, accuracy and language power that I in turn pursue further in the analysis, this metalinguistic comment also raises some issues as to the relevance of Spivak's line of questioning to subtitling analysis. For all of the ways in which a 'with-it translatese' can make 'the literature by a woman in Palestine begin to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan' (Spivak 1993: 371-2), the 'with-it' coexistence of dialogues and subtitles mean that, even when the words of the latter resemble the words of a man in Taiwan, in the sound of their recital, they will always remain those of the woman in Palestine, or here, Sri Lanka.

The vulnerability of subtitling, then, as an 'additive' practice, means that subtitles are only really capable of 'speaking nearby', a term coined by Minh-ha in her book *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (1989), from which this chapter draws its title. For her, 'speaking nearby' is:

[...] a speaking that does not objectify, does not point to an object as if it is distant from the speaking subject or absent from the speaking place. A speaking that reflects on itself and can come very close to a subject without, however, seizing or claiming it. A speaking in brief, whose closures are only moments of transition opening up to other possible moments of transition – these are forms of indirectness well understood by anyone in tune with poetic language. (Minh-ha 1999: 218)

This statement concerns her own practices as both filmmaker and translator, and the discourse of female authorship she moves in that allows the voice of the subaltern woman to speak, as much as possible, for herself; *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* explores the difficulty of translation and speaks aloud its 'unspoken' politics, as the voice-over makes clear. It also neatly touches on the above-mentioned peculiarities of subtitling as a mode of audiovisual translation: subtitles are a 'speaking in brief' both temporally and spatially, moments of transition – through semiotic and narrative time and space – from which they draw and with which they create their meaning, 'speaking' thus as a form of 'indirectness' that is in many ways its own poetic – and indeed creative – language.

On that note, it must also be stated that in the present context, ‘voice’ is not to be understood in a narrowly literal sense as referencing only what is said in words, but rather as denoting the expression of a person’s subject position by whatever means, including but not limited to ‘speech.’ For much of the first half of the film in *Inch’Allah dimanche*, for example, the viewer is invited to understand Zouina’s ‘voice’ almost exclusively through means other than language in its most formal sense. In one scene shortly after the family’s arrival in France, she cries loudly and sinks to the floor whilst clutching a photograph of her mother, echoing the latter’s screams as her daughter was departing (Fenner 2007), her sadness and anguish emphasised by the initial close-up shot of her face, before the camera is then positioned further away, to observe the woman sat on the floor from the doorway, which highlights her isolation and confinement (Hollis 2012). In line with Kealhofer-Kemp (2015: 12), my analysis of the migrant womens’ voices ‘goes beyond considering what is strictly audible in the films’ – and visible in the subtitles by extension – and will ‘attend equally’ to communicative actions, body language, facial expressions and other visual and non-verbal elements that communicate meaning, including objects. These latter elements may, as discussed in Chapter One, be used by characters and indeed subtitlers to overcome barriers to communication, on horizontal and vertical levels, sometimes rendering verbal forms of translation ineffective or unneeded altogether.

The final aspect that must be considered before moving to the analysis is the notion of “silence”, whose metaphorical association with submissiveness, passivity or a lack of agency (Kealhofer-Kemp 2015), as well as its physical presentation as audible “nothingness” or at least scarcity is somewhat problematised by the films, and in *Dheepan* in particular. For Yalini, acting the ‘servante effacée et silencieuse’ [unobtrusive and silent servant] (Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret 2016: 8) rules her out as a threat to her dangerous boss Brahim, allowing her to mix with him and his criminal associates and gather information that will ultimately help to save the Tamil migrants’ lives at the end of the film. When a gang fight breaks out in the *banlieue* and Brahim and his father are shot, the former

holds a gun to a terrified Yalini's head, telling her to call Dheepan and summon him to take them to hospital. The information she actually relays to her husband – in their native language – is rather different, and enables him to move strategically through the estate, killing everyone in his path and eventually rescuing his wife, whose boss lays completely unaware because he does not speak Tamil. In this situation, “speaking” paradoxically creates silences that enable the character to exert control, and also shows how ‘having a voice’ does not necessary equate with speaking a majority-language. In fact, as I have already mentioned, Yalini's refusal to speak French is an act of rebellion against the proxy patriarch Dheepan, and a deliberate one that serves to assert the character's voice, her subjectivity, and her agency.

It is interesting to note that the ‘refusal’ to translate also extends to the children in the film, and in *Inch'Allah dimanche* to the detriment of Aïcha, who is widely regarded as a ‘proxy patriarch’ in her own right (see analyses by Fauvel 2004; Caporale 2009; Hollis 2011 and McCulloch 2015). In one scene, Ali, one of the boys, tells his grandmother that she is ‘*méchante*’ [mean]¹⁶³ to which she responds in Arabic: ‘What is “mean”? I don't understand’ as the English-language subtitles put it, and ‘C'est quoi méchante ? Je ne comprends pas’ for speakers of French. The latter language is employed by Ali in this situation to deliberately marginalise his grandmother, and he refuses to explain the word to her in Arabic, despite his brother Rachid's suggestion – seeming to stem from fear – that he must. In many respects, this act also defies Rushdie's famous idea that migrants are like ‘translated beings’ who are constantly engaged in ‘translating and explaining themselves’ (1983: 49), later explored by Bhabha (1994), and prompts reflection on whether refusing to translate, or to leave words ‘untranslated’ in the subtitled text is perhaps the best way to allow the Other to ‘speak’ as Other. Of course, in this context, without the presence of the in-between code, the viewer would not be aware of the translational power plays happening within the ‘third space’ of the

¹⁶³ Here in its more literal meaning, as opposed to its *verlanised* form discussed in the previous chapter.

film, namely that Ali is taking advantage of the fact his grandmother does not share the same level of proficiency in French, which brings us to the first part of the case study analysis.

3. Case Study Analysis

3.1. "Broken" French

Mastering the French language, as aforementioned, is presented as important for the families in both films, on practical if not symbolic levels, although these are very much interconnected. Traditionally, migrants are perceived as voiceless, as argued by Planchenault (2020: 203) who summarises the reasons for their silence as the consequence of linguistic deficiency, of unequal power relations that see their own linguistic repertoire, or 'home' language as having little value, or put simply, and in the Bourdieusian terms (1991) upon which she draws, the lack of any sort of 'linguistic capital' that would otherwise give them the symbolic power, or 'cultural capital' to participate legitimately in the host society. It is therefore unsurprising that language learning is a common trope in films about migration, whose narratives, as Wahl, who classifies the 'migration film' as one of the five subgenres of 'polyglot cinema' (2005), argues, typically 'emphasise the process of adaptation or integration, whether successful or not, to a foreign society and language' (2008: 340). The French spoken by these characters is marked primarily by a lack of fluent and idiomatic delivery, be this in terms of lexical errors, hesitations or even stutters, as well as by phonological and grammatical features such as accents and non-idiomatic syntactic structures that would widely be recognised as "non-native" and show a form of interference from a foreign language, or the characters' mother tongues. The representation of "broken French" is both non-homogeneous across the two films, as I will discuss, but also within them, showing individual differences by character and by scene (not necessarily relating to the amount of dialogue).

The differences in the extent of this linguistic variation that is ultimately seen in the dialogue of the women characters, or the ‘mother’s tongues’, should I perhaps say, in comparison to the objectively “better” proficiency in French of their partners and children is a very powerful way of communicating their double alterity (Spivak 1988) and their comparative marginalisation and disempowerment. This is particularly the case in *Inch’Allah dimanche*, due to the gatekeeping – physical, cultural, linguistic – of Zouina by her husband and mother-in-law, which is touched on by the protagonist directly in an exchange with Malika, an Algerian woman for whom Zouina spends most of the film searching and with whom she wishes to celebrate the Muslim holiday of Eid al-Adha. This is a significant plot structuring device, and one from which the film gets its title: Zouina sneaks out of the house with her children on three consecutive Sundays after Ahmed and his mother leave to make preparations for the celebration. This particular scene, moreover, is a pivotal one with regard to the development of Zouina’s character and narrative arc: it comes at a moment when she symbolically, or metaphorically, has more of a ‘voice’ than at the start of the film, which is also reflected in the increased dialogue for her character, thus also showing the progress she has made with learning French. Despite her improved mastery, the physical composition of her character’s ‘voice’ is still somewhat “broken”, or at least non-native, as shown in the following extracts:

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
69 (Zouina)	Tout suite je sais que tu habites ici tout suite je vais venir. [Right away I know that you live here right away I will come]*	As soon as I learned you lived here, I wanted to visit you.
70 (Zouina)	Malika... ça fait trois dimanches je te cherche, je cherche, je cherche, tu sais... je traverse les prés, la	Malika... I’ve been looking for you for three Sundays.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
	<p>route... je cherche je cherche, je trouve pas.</p> <p>[Malika... it's been three Sundays I look for you, I look, I look, you know... I cross fields, the road, I look, I look, I don't find.]*</p>	<p>I've been looking, looking all over.</p> <p>I've crossed fields, roads - -</p> <p>I looked and looked, and I couldn't find you!</p>
71 (Zouina)	<p>Toi tu parles toujours le mari. Il sait rien le mari.</p> <p>[You always speak the husband. He knows nothing the husband.]*</p>	<p>You always ask about my husband.</p> <p>My husband doesn't know anything.</p>
72 (Zouina)	<p>Toi tu caches pas ? Tu caches pas le mari ?</p> <p>[You don't hide? You don't hide the husband?]*</p>	<p>You don't hide things from your husband?</p>

Table 15: Translation of broken French into English (*Inch 'Allah dimanche*)

Whilst some of the non-standard features present in Zouina's dialogue may appear to express a degree of informality typical of spoken French, as discussed in the previous chapter, such as dropping the 'ne' part of the negation structure *ne... pas* in the sentences 'il [ne] sait rien' [he knows nothing] and 'tu [ne] caches pas?' [you do not hide] (examples 71 and 72), when taken into the context of other signs of difference they become more explicit markers of her non-native grasp of the language. Amongst these are the absence of the preposition 'de' in the phrase *tout de suite* [right away] (example 69) and *parler de* [to speak about] (example 71), which shows a lack of grammatical knowledge, and the repetition of *le mari* [the husband] instead of *mon mari* or *ton mari* [my husband, your husband] (example 71), which produces syntactically awkward or unidiomatic sounding sentences and suggests her range of expression in French is limited, reflecting, somewhat ironically and in many ways poignantly, the way in which Zouina's *mari* has limited her exposure to the French

language. The subject matter of the conversation actually causes a point of tension between the two women, as I will discuss later, and their exchange is highly emotionally charged; for Zouina, in particular, a mixture of excitement, nerves, sadness and relief seemingly also affects her ability to ‘get her words out’, so to speak.

Indeed, it is not Zouina’s lack of fluency in French that ultimately hinders communication between the two women, but rather its cause, which is perhaps conveyed more clearly for francophone audiences, for whom the “broken” French is left unsubtitled, than for audiences of the film’s English-language translation. The subtitles displayed in Table 15 are grammatically, syntactically and lexically closer to a “correct” or “normative” usage of English than the dialogues in French to which they correspond, suggesting that a strategy of standardisation has been applied in the translation process. As may be expected, this does very little to convey Zouina’s linguistic alterity: the clear and concise sentences of the translated text elevate the register of her speech, giving the impression that she has a better command of the target language and consequently more of a ‘voice’ than she actually does within the world of the film. Of course, it is still very evident to anglophone viewers from the content of the dialogues in this particular scene that Zouina’s journey to finding her voice, and certainly finding Malika, has not been a straight-forward one. Yet the interplay between content and form in the dialogues that emphasises the significant role that learning French has played, and continues to play, in that journey all but disappears in translation, smoothing over the gendered cracks in the pavements – literal and metaphorical – the character has walked to reach this point in the narrative.

The fluent rendering of Zouina’s speech for anglophone viewers might not be completely incongruous with the rest of the narrative and semiotic information provided in the film, considering her gradual appropriation of the language is depicted quite explicitly, be this listening to French radio programmes or reading books in French (Figure 21). The books may be what Zouina is referring to when she asks Malika whether or not she hides things from her husband (Table 15, example 72); in an earlier scene, Aïcha reveals to

Ahmed some gifts that Zouina has received from her friends, including a book on Algeria given to her by Madame Manant (and makeup from Nicole),¹⁶⁴ upon seeing which Ahmed flies into a fit of rage and screams at his wife, in Arabic, ‘you know how to read now?’, before proceeding to violently beat her, rip the book up in front of her face, and stamp furiously on the remains. As Turek (2010) has argued, he considers the book to be a provocation, as he himself is illiterate, something that is made clear to viewers (via translation) when Aïcha tells her grandchildren that their father is learning to read and write like them, to which end I would argue emasculation plays a key role in his reaction. The fact he uses Arabic to scold Zouina, therefore, is a purposeful means of asserting linguistic authority, and linguistically reinforcing his patriarchal dominance over his wife (a point to which I will return in a later section). Her new-found mastery of French in the English-language subtitles becomes somewhat symbolic in this respect and could perhaps emphasise the inferiority of her husband’s voice, at least in the linguistic sense.

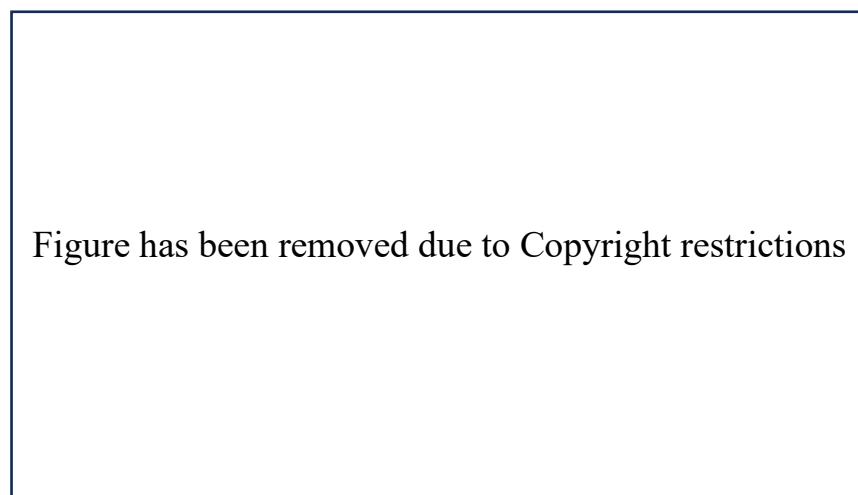


Figure 21: Zouina listens to the radio (*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

¹⁶⁴ Nicole and Madame Manant play a significant role in Zouina’s trajectory from silent object to not only speaking subject, but supposedly reading subject too. It is no coincidence that Nicole offers to loan Zouina a copy of the feminist text *Le Deuxième Sexe* by Simone de Beauvoir (1949). However, as Fauvel remarks, implicitly criticising the feminism of Nicole’s character, ‘she has only retained the word “sex” and the phrase “my body belongs to me”, thus reducing Beauvoir’s text to a call for sexual freedom’ (2004: 151).

A parallel can be drawn here to a scene in *Dheepan* in which ‘reading’ and ‘speaking’ the host language inside the home seems to cross symbolic boundaries and results in physical violence, although in this instance the conflict is more so between generations than genders *per se*. Ilayaal is sat at her desk reciting a poem ‘about friendship’, as she explains to her “mother” in Tamil, whose questioning of the girl is delivered with an air of suspicion that she is being mocked by the words being recited. In fact, the rhyme is more so about a lack of friendship – ‘sans des amis tu es stupide, sans des amis tu es moche, sans des amis tu comprends rien’ [without friends, you’re stupid, without friends, you’re ugly, without friends, you understand nothing] – and despite the fact that Yalini cannot understand what the girl is saying, she sees her suspicions as confirmed, and acts upon them, screaming at Ilayaal in Tamil – ‘you think you can make fun of me?’ – and smacking her clean off the chair, causing the young girl to cry and run away, shouting in Tamil that she ‘hates’ her. This interaction, and Yalini’s reaction, are similar to that discussed above with Dheepan in the post room, with a slightly different consequence, but nonetheless the same root cause: once she has pushed Ilayaal out of the room she looks at the book from which the young girl had been reading, leaving it plain to see that her frustration is not with the girl herself but with her own feelings of isolation and linguistic alienation (Figure 22).

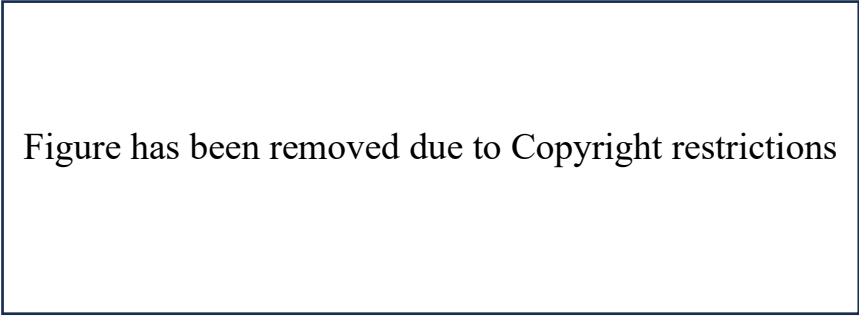


Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 22: Yalini sits with Ilayaal’s school books (*Dheepan*, Audiard 2015)

Yalini’s lower levels of proficiency are very much evident in the English-language subtitling of dialogues featuring markers of “broken” French, where a range of strategies that tend towards a more literal approach can be observed (Table 16). For instance, where verbs are missing in the source-language dialogue, such as *avoir* [to have] (example 73), they are also absent in the translation, producing a sentence that is equally as grammatically incomplete – in ‘correct’ usage of French, this sentence would be ‘Monsieur Habib a fini [de manger]’ which translates into standard English as ‘Mr Habib is/has finished [eating]’ – therefore signalling her non-native linguistic competencies; the same expression is similarly translated into English as ‘finish eat’ elsewhere. This is complemented by the decision to translate *fini* as ‘done’ rather than ‘finished’, which, despite being idiomatic elsewhere, has the effect here of evoking a lower register and more simplified use, or grasp of the language she is speaking (in particular due to the missing auxiliary verb). The translator has also made new modifications to the English-language in the subtitles to convey Yalini’s Otherness, such as leaving out pronouns where they were present in the original dialogue (‘tu’ [you] in example 73) and producing sentences that are even less complex than those in the source language dialogue. Finally, the inclusion of ellipses in the English-language subtitles (examples 75 and 77) convey the hesitancy that is audibly clear from Yalini’s speech, but also visually reinforces in the written subtitled text the lack of fluency in her speech and the difficulty she has communicating in French in this exchange with her boss Brahim, as well as in the rest of the film.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
73 (Yalini)	Monsieur Habib fini. Tu veux manger ? [Hi. Mr. Habib finished. You want to eat?]* (Yalini mimes eating)	Mr. Habib done. Want to eat?
74	Vous venez d’ou ? Inde, Paki...	Where are you from?

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
(Brahim)	[Where are you from? India, Pakistan...]	India, Paki...
75 (Yalini)	umm... Sri Lanka [um... Sri Lanka]	umm... Sri Lanka
76 (Brahim)	C'est où ça ? [Where's that?]	Where's that?
77 (Yalini)	umm. Inde... ici... Sri Lanka... là. [India... here... Sri Lanka... there.]* (<i>Yalini uses a plate as a "map"</i>)	India... here. Sri Lanka... here.
78 (Brahim)	Pareil que l'Inde alors. [Same as India then.]	Same as India then.
79 (Yalini)	No, dessous de l'Inde. [No, below India.]* (<i>Points to the bottom of the plate</i>)	Below India.

Table 16: Subtitling of broken French into English (*Dheepan*)

It is reasonable to assume that the lack of linguistic complexity in these examples of the non-standard variety as well as the sparse amount of dialogue altogether aided the subtitler's approach, which in itself is made up of simple, yet effective distortions to the translated text that communicate the Otherness of the character's voice without compromising on accessibility. The decision to translate *ici [...] là* as 'here...here' might even be said to give the impression that Yalini has a *lesser* grasp of the language than she

does in the film's diegesis and dialogues, thus having the opposite effect to the strategy employed in *Inch'Allah dimanche*. The use of ellipses, further, has the opposite effect to the use of contractions examined in the previous chapter, not only in terms of giving an indication of the speed of delivery – arguably evident from the soundtrack, if not the visuals – but also in terms of suggesting a certain type of 'accent', or a specific accent at least, perhaps suggesting rather that the character is 'accented', in Naficy's (2001) sense.

Although contractions are used in the subtitling of Zouina's dialogues, as shown in Table 15, I would argue that they do not quite produce a level of difference comparable to those in the translation of *L'esquive*. The contractions 'ain't' and 'gonna', for example, are clearly more identifiable to a distinctively non-standard manner of speaking than 'doesn't' and 'don't', featured here, which convey a more generic informality that is also present in the standard spoken variety of English.

As for the representation of accents and their phonetic features, and similarly to the presentation of multilingual comedy in *Bienvenue*, the mispronunciation of "foreign" words, specifically foreign names (foreign to their respective speakers), is also a source of humour in *Inch'Allah dimanche*, and marked in the English-language subtitles on two occasions. The first concerns the mother-in-law, Aïcha, who routinely mispronounces Zouina's friend Nicole's name as 'Nicol' (Figure 23):

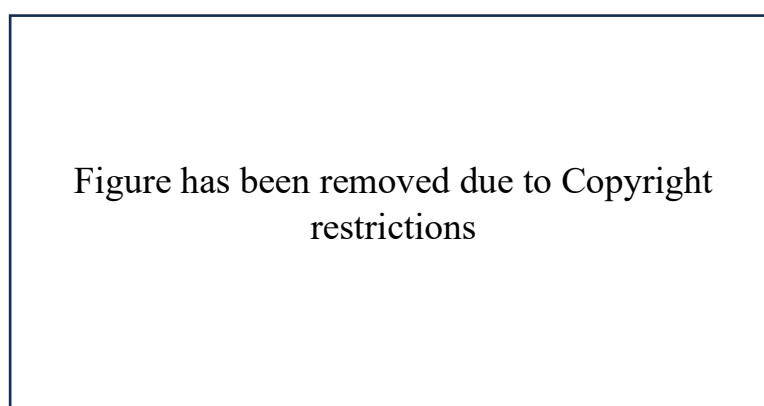


Figure 23: Representation of mispronunciation in English-language subtitles (*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

The second refers to the mispronunciation of Zouina's name as 'Zouino' by a white, French shopkeeper (Figure 24), which from a gendered angle is all the more interesting; the shopkeeper's addition of 'Monsieur' before 'Zouino' suggests that her question for a name implicitly presumed that Zouina would give that of her husband, a subtlety that Zouina either does not pick up on or chooses not to. From the perspective of the audience, even if viewers do not themselves aurally "pick up" on these phonetic peculiarities, the anomaly of these respective renderings in the subtitles alongside each of those that are written in their correct forms make it plainly and visibly clear that there has been an error along the way. In the same vein, it is also obvious from both the soundtrack (for francophone audiences) and the subtitles (for anglophone audiences) that such misunderstandings are never represented in Zouina's character, who seems to have a better 'understanding' of the Other to the Selves of both Aïcha and the shopkeeper. The former's disdain for French women is marked in the fact she deliberately and persistently addresses French-speaking characters such as Nicole, or Nicool, in Arabic. For the latter, it is perhaps a reflection of the newness with which migrants from the Maghreb were being welcomed into the area at that time, her exchange with Zouina a mutual process of learning about and how to communicate with the Other.¹⁶⁵

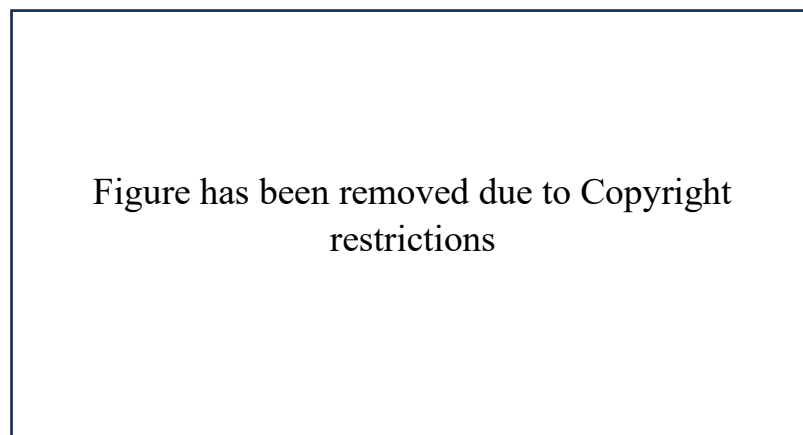


Figure 24: Representation of mispronunciation in English-language subtitles (*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

¹⁶⁵ Not all of the locals are as hospitable towards the family, however; they are subject to numerous bouts of discriminatory and xenophobic behaviour from the Donzes next door (see Fauvel 2004; Hollis 2012 and McCulloch 2015).

Looking at the literal translations provided in Table 15, it is perhaps preferable that the subtitler of *Inch 'Allah dimanche* did not 'surrender' to the text in the same way as that of *Dheepan*, nor add 'local colour' as with these humorous representations of multilingualism. Although the lexical and grammatical inaccuracies of Zouina's dialogue present her question to Malika as one asking whether she "hides her husband" rather than hides things *from* her husband, to render this so literally in the translation would risk producing a style of migrant-inflected speech more similar to that in films such as *Borat* (Larry Charles 2006),¹⁶⁶ undermining the seriousness of the message that her dialogue in this scene is supposed to communicate. Of *Borat*, Cronin (2009: 72) writes that 'the unidiomatic and ungrammatical English signals what might be termed a translation effect, namely, the sense of a text which is clearly translated by virtue of the fact that it is clearly beholden to the syntax or lexicon of the source language.' Such a 'translation effect', whilst not aiming for the same "overall effect", is nonetheless present in Zouina's dialogue, and the more 'literal' rendering of translated speech it produces is in fact how the dialogue is presented audibly to francophone audiences. It is difficult not to wonder, therefore, as Turek (2010: 568) postulates, whether 'even the slight approximation of [her] non-standard discourse in the subtitles would have better preserved the Otherness of her character' for Anglophone audiences.

As for comparing this strategy to the 'literalness' of that displayed in *Dheepan*, we must consider that the distance or proximity of the migrant's home language to that of the host country could also have some bearing on how their proficiency is represented in speech and writing. The Algerian family in *Inch 'Allah dimanche* appear to have more prior knowledge of the French language than the Tamil refugees in *Dheepan*, who do not have the same (post)colonial connections to France and must learn French from scratch upon their arrival. This was Audiard's aim: as he states in an interview with Romney (2016: n.p.), 'I had this idea of people coming to France who had no connection with the old colonial empire, so had no reference points in terms of language or culture.' The same cannot be said

¹⁶⁶ Full title: *Borat! Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*.

for the anglophone sphere in which the film would come to arrive in translation into English, a language and culture with which Tamils do have (post)colonial connections (see Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret 2016 for a useful summary), and where audiences have a different set of shared and related references. The thus perhaps unfortunate inclusion of a racial slur to refer to a person originating from Pakistan in the English-language subtitles (at least in the British anglophone context) could prove especially problematic for audiences in the UK to digest, to hear, see and read, and also suggestion that Brahim, an Arab character played by a Frenchman of Polish descent who is ‘quite visibly white’ (Mason 2022: n.p.), is being ‘racist’ rather than ignorant, as it would seem he is portrayed here.¹⁶⁷

3.2. Translanguaging

The subtitler of *Dheepan* is consistent in their close, literal approach to translating representations of the non-standard variety of French, even when it appears in the dialogues of characters who (we are led to believe) are native speakers. These characters often modify their speech to accommodate the linguistic competencies of the Tamil families, as shown in an exchange between Yalini and Karine, the former nursemaid of Monsieur Habib who is providing the former with an induction to her new job. Noticing Yalini’s silence and blank and confused facial expression whilst she is explaining, suggesting her words are not quite being understood, Karine adapts her speech in French accordingly. As can be seen from the below extracts (Table 17), she uses short, simplified sentences, non-verbal actions (with accompanying sound effects) as well as English, a seemingly shared *lingua franca*:

¹⁶⁷ Although, in one scene, and in response to Yalini speaking in Tamil, he asks his uncle ‘tu comprends le chinois maintenant ?’ [You understand Chinese now?]. With regards to the relationship between Brahim and Habib, and the casting of Vincent Rottiers for the former, Mason (2022: n.p.) writes that his ‘appearance is so distinct from that of his uncle, played by Moroccan-born actor Faouzi Bensaïdi, that it would be difficult to determine how the two are related without explicit comment.’

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
80 (Karine)	<p>Là, tu frappes si t'as besoin de quelque chose. Et eux, ils te disent "entrez". Tu comprends ?</p> <p>[...you knock if you need something. And they tell you enter. You understand?]</p> <p><i>(Pointing to the door)</i></p> <p>La porte, tu frappes, toc-toc.</p> <p>[The door, you knock, knock-knock.]</p> <p><i>(Mimes a knock at the door)</i></p>	<p>You knock.</p> <p>If you need something, and they tell you to come in.</p> <p>Understand?</p> <p>The door, knock knock.</p>
81 (Yalini)	{Eng} knock... the door?	(unsubtitled)
82 (Karine)	{Eng} Yes, yes. <i>(Nodding)</i>	(unsubtitled)
83 (Yalini)	{Eng} Okay.	(unsubtitled)

Table 17: Subtitled exchange between Yalini and Karine presenting modifications to French dialogues and translanguaging (*Dheepan*)

When translating this sequence, the subtitler could have potentially opted for fuller sentences for Karine's speech, which are more simplified in the English-language subtitles than they are in the source dialogue, to emphasise the lower level of linguistic proficiency of Yalini by comparison. However, this is already very much clear to the audience by the tone of her voice and the pace of delivery of speech (louder and slower), as well as the accompanying gestures for her instruction (Figure 25), all of which suggest a language barrier between the

two characters that needs to be overcome. To have standardised to a greater extent would have thus been somewhat visually and indeed narratively incongruous.

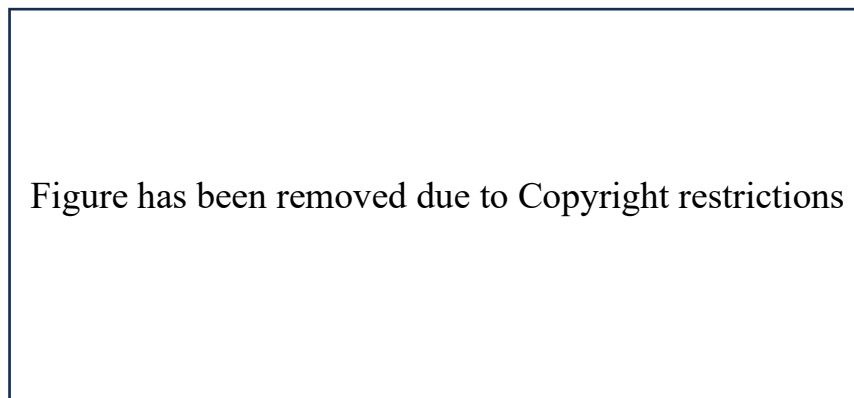


Figure 25: Karine gives Yalini instructions (verbal and non-verbal) (*Dheepan*, Audiard 2015)

The exchange between the two women could be described as a form of ‘translanguaging’ (Wei 2011; Garcia and Wei 2014), which refers to the ‘multiple discursive practices in which bilingual speakers engage, as they draw on the resources within their communicative repertoires, to make sense of their bilingual worlds’ (Garcia 2009: 45). These resources are ‘semiotically diverse’ (see Pennycook 2017) including not only individual (named) languages and words, but also the visual, the gestural, and what can be communicated with the body, or to be more precise, by the body (ibid.). In other words, translanguaging reconceptualises language as a multilingual (or bilingual), multisemiotic, multisensory and multimodal resource for sense- and meaning-making, which has clear links to audiovisual text production and translation in that the ‘communicative repertoire’ is not limited to spoken interactions and written, or ‘verbal’ texts, but also includes a multiplicity of other semiotic resources. In the case of *Dheepan*, there is clear evidence in the examples provided so far that the subtitler has drawn on these resources to facilitate the reproduction of Yalini’s “broken” French and stress her limited proficiency in the language and the communication issues this causes in the translated text without compromising the

understanding of the audience. The resulting ‘semiotic assemblage’ (Pennycook 2017) is one that responds directly to that constructed by the character’s own use of translanguaging in the film; Yalini often utilises objects (Figure 26), mime and gestures, as well as her knowledge of English in order to fill in the gaps and communicate when her competencies of French fails her.

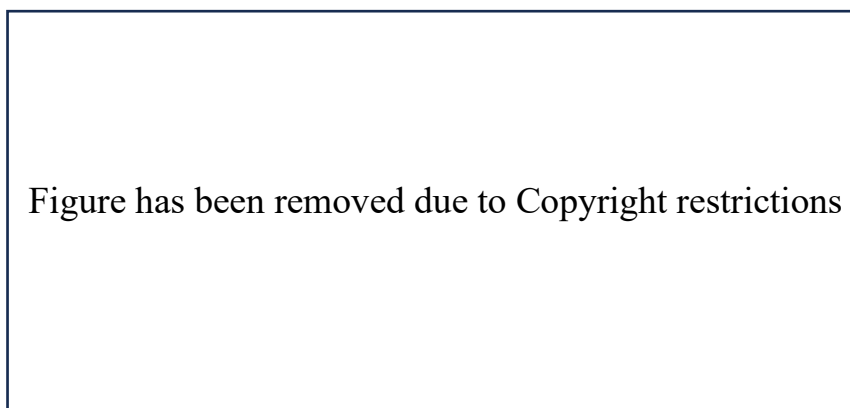


Figure 26: Yalini uses objects to aid communication (*Dheepan*, Audiard 2015)

Another pertinent example of this in the film follows a tense exchange between Brahim and Yalini, where the former tells her that he will not hesitate to kill Dheepan – in English, too: ‘I kill him’ – for interfering in his criminal business. In this scene, upon hearing Brahim enter his apartment, we see Yalini pacing up and down the kitchen rehearsing the words in French she has taught herself in order to plead with the criminal not to hurt her “husband”. As the example (84) in Table 18 shows, despite her practice, she still relies on gestures and recourse to English where she cannot find the words to express herself in French, which has once again been conveyed through a close, literal style of translation for anglophone viewers. The translation is in fact so close, and so literal, that the English word ‘disturb’ has been retained directly in the English-language subtitles. This could be to ensure clarity where English is spoken by the character with an accent and to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the audience, which is ethically somewhat problematic in terms of the “real” and could be argued to symbolically ‘devoice’ a non-native speaker of a given language (see Martínez-Lorenzo 2020). In the fictional context, however, this very

much works to make Yalini sound (or, rather, look) unintelligible and linguistically deficient – we might note that the verb has not been presented in the translated text in the past tense, as ‘disturbed’, which would be grammatically correct – whilst therefore also emphasising the role that English plays in this sequence in overcoming a language barrier in the diegetic context, as well as stressing her alterity in a communicative sense.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
84 (Yalini)	<p>J'ai... je voulais te dire. Mon mari n'est pas un mauvais homme. C'est un homme bon. C'est... c'est la guerre qui... elle a... {Eng} disturb.</p> <p>[I have... I wanted to tell you. My husband is not a bad man. He's a good man. It's... it's the war that... {Eng} disturb.]*</p> <p>(Yalini gestures to her head)</p>	<p>I wanted to tell you.</p> <p>My husband is not a bad man.</p> <p>He's a good man.</p> <p>It's the war that... disturb.</p>

Table 18: Representation of an English word spoken in dialogue in English-language subtitles (*Dheepan*)

English has a greater significance for the character in the film than French, which represents in turn what King (2017; 2018; 2021) has termed a ‘*langue de passage*.’¹⁶⁸ The *langue de passage* describes, as King (2018: 42; 44-5) writes, ‘the experience of learning and speaking a Western European language for moving figures whose international journey is not yet complete at the time when the film is set’, and as a result is one of ‘passing use, of temporary value [...] a linguistic tool that is only relevant, important and useful for a finite period of time in these characters’ lives.’ This phenomenon thus ‘decentres metropolitan

¹⁶⁸ King’s (2017; 2018) term draws inspiration from the ‘*type de passage*’ discussed by characters in *La graine et le mulet* (Abdellatif Kechiche 2004), used to refer to economic migrants who work seasonally or temporarily at the port featured in the film.

France' and indeed metropolitan French from its position of power,¹⁶⁹ which certainly comes through in Yalini's minoritising of the language in the film through her translingual practices; standard French is othered (through its "brokenness"), silenced (in her use of non-verbal communication), and ultimately rejected for another, apparently more powerful code, English. This is 'voiced' in both translations of *Dheepan*, through the decision not to subtitle these elements of Yalini's translingual communicative repertoire for francophone audiences, and correspondingly to leave the English elements in the subtitles 'untranslated' for anglophone viewers, reflecting how translanguaging itself seeks to 'wipe out hierarchy' by calling into question any clear-cut boundaries between the "languages" that people draw on as they interact with each other (Garcia 2009). In rejecting the hegemonic patterns of translation discussed earlier in this thesis and tendencies to 'homogenise' otherness, moreover, Yalini's 'voice' never becomes fully assimilated, just as the character intended.

That French represents little more for Yalini than a form of purpose-driven communication necessary for short-term survival is concretised in one of the final conversations she has with her boss. Sat around the table in the kitchen, Brahim is talking in French about his criminal affairs to Yalini, who sits opposite, silently listening and observing unobtrusively. Brahim picks up on her silence, asking her why she never says anything, and whether she even understands anything he is saying, before questioning her on her style of communicating, which is clearly somewhat mysterious to him (Table 19). Here, Yalini not only refers explicitly to her translanguaging practices, explaining how she connects her basic knowledge of French with specific facial expressions and gestures to communicate with those around her, but more importantly demonstrates how the communicative repertoire from which she draws is a 'voice' that she puts on to ensure she remains as incognito to them as possible; as Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret correctly predict, 'ce silence et cette incomprehension affichée ne seraient-ils que des stratégies de survie ?' [is this feigned silence and incomprehension as a strategy for survival?] (2016: 8). Brahim is

¹⁶⁹ If French represents the *langue de passage*, France is the *pays de passage* (King 2018; 2021).

totally ignorant to what Yalini is saying, evidenced by the way he mimics her and laughs at the end, and very much aware of it; prior to this, after asking about Dheepan and Ilayaal, thus clearly also aware that all is not as it seems with the “family”, he tells her ‘[...] tu peux me le dire, je ne comprendrai rien’ [you can tell me, I won’t understand anything], to which she begins to confess in Tamil, a point to which I will shortly return.

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
85 (Brahim)	Et ça veut dire quoi quand tu fais... comme ça ? Ça veut dire oui... non ? {Eng} Fuck ? [What does it mean when you do... like that? Does it mean yes... no? Fuck?] <i>(Mimics Yalini nodding and smiling)</i>	What does it mean when you... This thing. Is it yes, no? Fuck off?
86 (Yalini)	Tamil	Where we’re from... you fall, you smile. You’re in pain, you smile. Here... if you smile too much, people think you don’t understand. Or that you’re making fun.
87 (Yalini)	Tamil	(unsubtitled)

Example (Speaker)	Film Dialogues	Film Subtitles
88 (Yalini)	<p>Vous allez bien ?</p> <p>Il fait beau.</p> <p>[How are you? The weather's nice.]</p> <p><i>(Repeating the head nodding and smiling action)</i></p>	<p>How are you.</p> <p>Nice weather.</p>

Table 19: Subtitling of an exchange between Brahim and Yalini with examples of non-translation (*Dheepan*)

Yalini's response leads us to think about whether and the extent to which she disguises herself with a 'veil of monolingualism', a term proposed by King (2017: 99) to refer to the 'strategic monolingualism' displayed by the male protagonist Dheepan, specifically in reference to his persona as the 'gardien' [caretaker]. As she explains (ibid.), by pretending to understand, or to be able to use, less French than he actually can, Dheepan is able to infiltrate the dangerous spaces he has to clean in the *banlieue* whilst gathering information that keeps himself and his family protected. His 'veil of monolingualism' becomes especially important in the last scenes of the film; when he is warned not to pass through a firing zone by gang members, who have control of the whole block, currently on lockdown, he simply responds with a feigned ignorance: 'gardien, je suis le gardien' [caretaker, I am the caretaker], to which they wave him through, not knowing that the caretaker's trolley he is pushing is concealing weapons he will ultimately use to fight and kill everyone who stands between himself and Yalini. This does create somewhat of a 'damsel in distress' narrative for his wife, reducing her to a plot point as a source of motivation for Dheepan to assert his masculinity through violence and killing; to this Mason (2022: n.p.) remarks that the 'trading of violence for a woman's love is a perilous – and

admittedly tired – narrative strategy.’ Significantly, here, it is also one that strips Yalini’s use of Tamil in the phone call leading up to her ‘rescue’ of the same power and the same violence.

Even if her use of Tamil does not appear to be strategic, no viewer of the film would ever really know for certain, even those that speak Tamil: as she speaks to Dheepan on the phone, her dialogue on the other end is muffled, as one might expect, leaving only Dheepan’s subtitled assertions of ‘who is going to kill you?’ and ‘where are you?’ to fill in the gaps in our knowledge. What is decidedly strategic here, then, is the choice not to translate, which manifests in the presentation of Yalini’s dialogue: unintelligible to the human ear, or the audience at least, her ‘phone voice’ becoming an additional element in the communicative repertoire bestowed upon the character by Audiard. From the two pieces of information that Dheepan then throws into the mix alone, in fact, it is evident that Yalini is revealing information to Dheepan that is unlikely to persuade him to want to help Brahim, to which end we might consider her somewhat of a ‘treacherous interpreter’, to return to another of King’s terms (2014) first mentioned in the thesis’ introduction. And, in light of the observations made in the time since, moreover, it becomes apparent that this is a role seemingly only performed by male characters in multilingual francophone cinema: Malik (*Un prophète*) and Souleymane (*Entre les murs*), to name those already discussed. This observation in itself is interesting from a translation theory perspective, considering that it is typically women to whom translations have been likened as ‘unfaithful’ (although beautiful) throughout history (see Chamberlain 1988; de Lotbinière-Harwood 1991 and Arrojo 1994, for example).

Treacherous interpreting does indeed seem more explicitly to be the game of *les beaux infidèles* rather than *les belles* in *Dheepan*: in the very opening scene of the film, the “family” recount the story of how they came to be in Europe and why they deserve to be granted asylum to a French immigration officer by way of a male interpreter of Sri Lankan origin who, and predictably in the context of this discussion, does much more than translate

speech from Tamil into French. To put it bluntly, he interferes: as Dheepan begins to speak, stating (in Tamil, subtitled into French and English, presented here) ‘I was working for an NGO. I was a journalist and peace activist. The Sri Lankan government accused me of ...’ he is interrupted by the interpreter. ‘I know your story. The one about you being a peace activist. Did your smuggler feed you that story?’ he says, in Tamil, before warning Dheepan that this is a ‘tired’ narrative strategy, and one that is unlikely to convince the officer, who has heard it a thousand times before. Although, at this point, the officer has not really ‘heard’ anything at all, at least nothing that he understands anyway. In response to the lengthy, untranslated exchange the French officer interjects and asks what is being said. The interpreter pretends that he does not understand what Dheepan is saying, implying differences in dialects of Tamil (as has been suggested by King 2017). Whilst the exchange is subtitled for the French- and English-speaking audiences, the lies that subsequently unfold in front of their eyes may have them questioning the ‘accuracy’ or ‘fidelity’ with which they ‘speak’.

The validity of Dheepan’s story, and its potential for success is questioned by Yalini prior to even entering the interview room, although once inside she barely plays a role in the exchange at all. She does not say a word, and instead is shown only to react inaudibly with disbelief to the story the interpreter concocts for Dheepan: ‘[s]ay that the Tigers recruited you by force, that the Sri Lankan army captured and tortured you and that they tried to kill you.’ It is indeed surprising that the officer does not pick up the expressions she makes, her eyes wide with angst and confusion, and question them, suggesting that his ‘gaze’ is in fact only fixated on the two men. So too is that of the viewer, in particular through the use of a non-translation strategy at the very start of the sequence, before we are granted “privileged” access to their secret conversation in which the particularly complex vision of masculine identity that Audiard will construct (and redeem himself somewhat) with regard to his male protagonist emerges. The interpreter’s story foreshadows the core aspects that will carve out Dheepan’s character arc: a man who struggles with the memory of violence, as Yalini tells

Brahim, through an aforementioned translingual approach (as presented in Figure 27 below), who battles with determination to resurrect who he was before that violence (see Romney 2016), and who, despite his own acts of violence, is, in Yalini's words, a 'good man' and one who does not depend on a 'good' woman to redeem him.

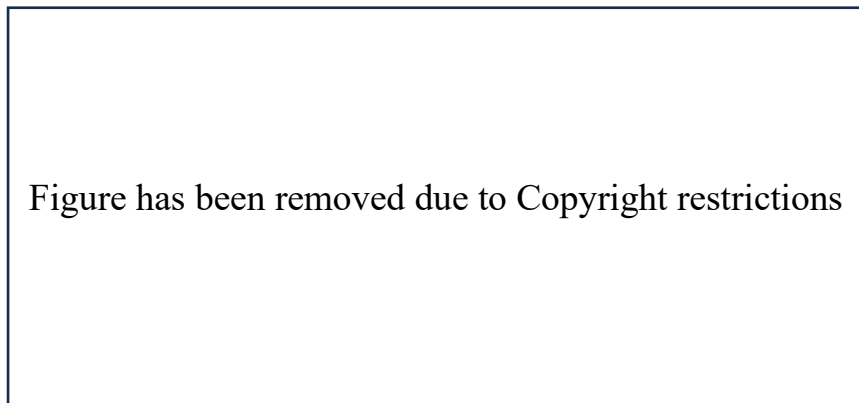
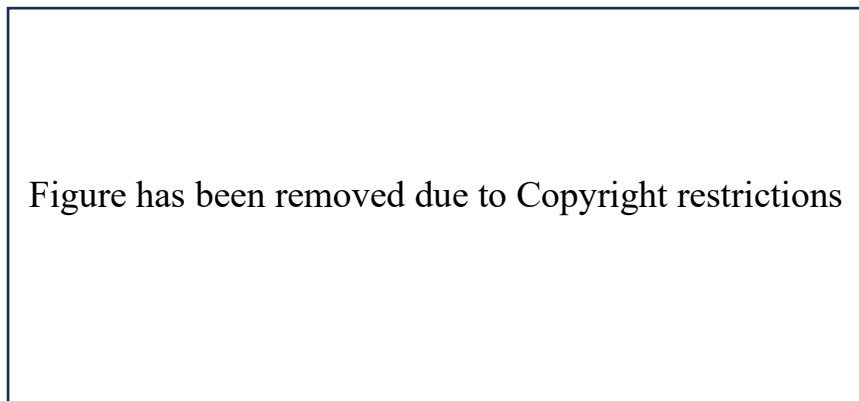


Figure 27: Yalini tells Brahim, through translanguaging practices, that Dheepan suffers from war-related trauma (*Dheepan*, Audiard 2015)

To say here that Yalini is not a 'good' woman is not to stereotype her as a 'bad' woman, a point to which I shall return, but certainly brings into focus the way in which Audiard presents the maid in a sexualised manner, as a woman who one might therefore describe as *la bonne* in multiple senses. As aforementioned, Yalini is shown as desiring a romantic or sexual connection with Brahim, a 'mystery' that Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret

(2016: 6) attribute to either a ‘fascination pour la violence et pour cette figure d’Al Capone de troisième zone’ or ‘séduction trouble’ [fascination for violence and this knock-off Al Capone or murky seduction]. Such tensions seem only to be heightened by the fact that the two do not really converse, or share a language; this, as King (2017: 100) states, allows the latter to ‘experience a measure of intimacy without crossing a line.’ The linguistic ‘veil’ with which Yalini seemingly cloaks herself therefore takes on a new strategic purpose, and through her physical veil, her headscarf, emerge also a range of non-verbal messages through which she communicates her desires: ‘her smiles, increased attention to her hair and jewellery and the silk shirt she sews for herself’ (King 2017: 100). Whilst Yalini and Brahim may be able to ‘rester sur le seuil d’une relation érotique’ [remain at the threshold of an erotic relationship] (Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret 2016: 6), such codes are those that ‘cross the threshold’ of the subtitles, transcending altogether the need for translation, which here quite literally becomes, in Spivak’s terms (1993: 183), ‘the most intimate act of reading’.¹⁷⁰

Veiling, then, can be ‘liberating’ in ways not immediately understood by Yalini, as suggested in the introduction to the chapter, and yet hiding her identity and keeping quiet is something that she has clearly been struggling with throughout the film. As she confesses to Brahim – in Tamil (and subtitled for the anglophone and francophone audiences) – that Ilayaal is not her daughter, Dheepan is not her husband, and that ‘it’s all fake’, a palpable sense of relief shows on Yalini’s face. As King (2017: 100) writes, the ‘translingual exchange with Brahim is therapeutic in ways no other exchange could be’; by speaking in her mother tongue, she is able to free her ‘voice’ from the constraints that it has been held under and speak aloud all that she has been unable to say. Staying silent has been crucial for her own safety, not only in the context of her work, but also to ensure that the truth about her family is not unveiled, in which circumstance they risk being sent back to the very place

¹⁷⁰ It is perhaps no coincidence here that Goreau-Ponceaud and Veyret (2016: 6) also write that Brahim ‘joue devant elle le petit dur à la redresse’ [plays the little tough guy in front of her], as Spivak (1993: 183) argues that ‘no amount of tough talk can get around the fact’ of translation’s inevitable intimacy.

they have sought to flee. Tamil, in this respect, acts not only as ‘camouflage’ but here also ‘catharsis’ (King 2017: 100), and the use of non-translation in this sequence (Table 19, example 87) serves a similarly dual function, in both the French- and English-language translations of the film. On the one hand, the absence of subtitles enables the character to use her ‘true voice,’ – both physically and metaphorically¹⁷¹ – to which Brahim, and the non-Tamil-speaking viewer by extension, are denied access – both literally and symbolically, on the other.

3.3. Code-switching

Yalini’s use of language in this last scene might also be considered an example of code-switching, which is closely related to translanguaging but involves movement between more clearly defined and/or distinct linguistic forms. Specifically, code-switching refers to ‘the phenomenon of a bi- or multilingual speaker in communities in which two or more languages are in contact, shifting from one language to another in the course of a conversation’ (Milroy and Muysken 1995: 7).¹⁷² In multi-ethnic or migrant communities, these shifts typically occur between the “we-code”, the mother tongue, and the “they-code”, the language of the host society, and by selecting a code, or indeed moving between them, speakers express – deliberately or otherwise – allegiance to community-specific behavioural, cultural and social norms and values that the respective codes embody (Auer & Wei 2007). Language, and language choices, play an integral part in the establishment of “in-group” identities on the one hand, whereby the use of the “we-code” reinforces a shared cultural, ethnic, religious identity, and so on, and the determining of “out-group” boundaries on the other (ibid.), and thus also intersect with navigating relations of power within communities. The representation of code-switching in migration films, therefore, can serve as a useful

¹⁷¹ This is further emphasised by the close-up shot of the character’s mouth as she is talking.

¹⁷² Code-switching does not only occur between ‘named’ or ‘official’ languages but may also include ‘the selection [...] of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation’ (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3).

narrative device for setting up and exploring contrasting perspectives and tensions between characters, and for permitting the viewer to distinguish the assimilated from the unassimilated, first and second generation (as we will see in the next chapter), fathers and mothers, and indeed mothers from mothers.¹⁷³

This is not to say that there is no degree of ‘neutrality’ involved in code-switching, at least on the surface, as it may also occur when speakers borrow from a second language where no word or concept is linguistically possible in the first language. As Turek (2010: 561) has pointed out with regard to *Inch’Allah dimanche*, francophone audiences will aurally recognise French words interspersed within the Arabic, signifying concepts originating in or more common to the French culture than that of Algeria (at least at the time, perhaps): school items, such as *école* (school), *stylo* (pen), *cartable* (book bag), certain clothing and house hold items: *chaussure* (shoe), *manteau* (coat), *jupe* (skirt), *placard* (cupboard); and words associated with industry and regulations: *usine* (factory), *interdit* (forbidden), *danger* (danger). One cannot discuss this without mentioning the legacy of French colonialism on Other languages, and the effects that the imposition of not only the coloniser’s language but also culture on that of the colonised nations has had on their ways of ‘speaking’ ever since. Code-switching, like translation, can thus never truly be neutral, and Aïcha’s use of some of these French-language terms is worth examining here as it suggests her disdain for the ‘values’ that Westernised concepts carry with them. As Zouina is helping the children with their homework, their grandmother bursts into the room, her rhetorical question as to whether *stylos* [pens] and *papier* [paper] are on the menu for that evening (Figure 28) is not simply a denouncing of Western culture, but a ‘devoicing’ of Zouina through criticism of her as a ‘bad’ woman, and one made clear, even if indirectly, in the subtitling of her dialogue for non-arabophone audiences. It is also interesting to note that the translation ‘paper and pens’ sounds less idiomatic than ‘pens and paper’, perhaps deliberate as far as reinforcing Aïcha’s

¹⁷³ See Monti (2009; 2014; 2016) for case studies on code-switching in films about migration and/or depicting multi-ethnic communities.

proficiency in French, or apathy towards it is concerned.

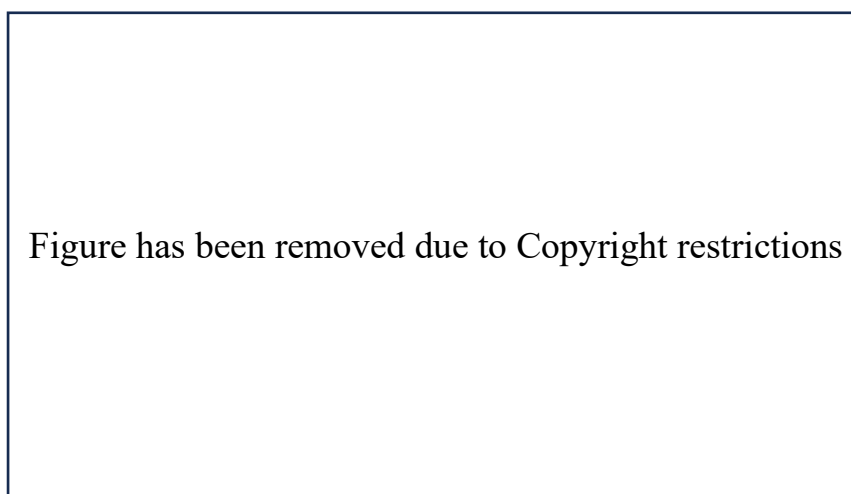


Figure 28: Aïcha criticises Zouina in front of the children
(*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

Both Zouina's husband and mother-in-law perceive Zouina's increasing use of the "they-code" as an act of rebellion and failure to uphold the traditions of the home culture. For example, after Aïcha accuses Zouina of being lazy (in Arabic), when the latter responds in French, the old woman angrily makes the accusation that she has 'forgotten Arabic', before criticising her in a particularly gendered way to her children, telling them that their mother is 'always yakking with the French women' as though they are to blame. Aïcha's remark draws attention to how the French language becomes implicitly associated with ideas of liberation, personal independence, and equality, things that Zouina finds in France through her relationship with French women and the French culture they help her to discover (Planchenault 2010). Learning French not only enables Zouina to find physical freedom and the ability to insert herself into the public realm, but, as previously suggested is also presented as an opportunity for a more symbolic release from her husband, the Muslim-Arab patriarchal system and its view of gender roles, all of which are embodied within the "we-code" Arabic. Whether or not one agrees that 'appropriating the voice of the Other to find

one's place' (ibid.), and here specifically the 'voice' of the coloniser for a place in their country, is as much of an emancipatory storyline as analyses tend to suggest, the juxtaposition of French and Arabic is inarguably an effective structuring point for the gendered power dynamics around which the plot revolves.

One particularly salient example of code-switching in which such tensions manifest in *Inch'Allah dimanche* occurs during the sequence in which Zouina meets Malika. Their exchange begins in Arabic, where the two isolated women seem relieved to have found each other, and seemingly someone with whom they are able to identify, reflected by the familiar and familial use of the "we-code" as they greet each other, embrace and introduce themselves. Zouina soon stops speaking in Arabic and lapses into French when she wants to discuss the radio program she likes with Malika. As the topics discussed on the show are taboo and considered especially unacceptable for Muslim women to speak about, this lapse into French is, symbolically, a necessary requirement in order to be able to discuss them, but also shows Zouina's affinity to the Western culture from a linguistic point of view, reinforced by her animated expressions as she speaks. From here, differences start to emerge between the two women, and Zouina quickly discovers that despite having been there for 15 years, Malika has not adapted to life in France and is nowhere near as emancipated or modernised. Instead, she has remained subscribed to a 'strictly patriarchal' and traditional code of behaviour, as well as an ideology that 'promotes complete obedience and submissiveness to the husband, belief in arranged marriages and anti-feminism' (Caporale 2009: 38). This is reflected not only in her insistence on speaking in Arabic throughout the exchange, but significantly in her reaction to Zouina's dialogues in French.

Malika is visibly shocked and offended by what Zouina is talking about, telling her – in Arabic – that it is shameful, spitting at her, and becoming completely furious when she learns that Zouina has come to visit her without her husband's permission. This reaction is the reason for which Zouina asks Malika whether or not she too hides things from her husband, as discussed in a previous example (Table 15). Clearly, she does not, and she

expresses fears to Zouina – in Arabic – that she will become an accomplice in her *haraam* (sinful) behaviour, or at least guilty by association, and with potentially grave consequences at the hands of her husband. Her use of Arabic to scold Zouina, according to Hollis (2012: 205) emphasises her religious fundamentalism and rejection of both the French language and the ‘liberal’ French womanhood it represents, culminating in the physical rejection of Zouina from her home. Despite Zouina’s tearful and desperate pleas to be let in as she bangs on the closed door, pronounced in the “we-code”, Arabic, in a painful and desperate attempt to reconnect with the woman standing behind it, it is of no use, as the barrier that Malika has created to exclude Zouina from her life cannot be overcome (Figure 29). The presence of subtitles (in particular for the French-speaking audience, a point that I will address shortly) becomes a symbolic, semiotic manifestation of this literal barrier, one that Zouina attempts to smash down, physically and metaphorically, in actions and with words, with her body and her voice.



Figure 29: Zouina begs and pleads with Malika (*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

Malika’s use of language, and more specifically her weaponisation of Arabic to attack and silence Zouina – both physically and metaphorically – is similar to that of the other Arabic-speaking characters in the film. The words she chooses i.e., ‘mad woman’ and

‘the devil sent you’, to name but a few, are reminiscent of those used by Aïcha to criticise Zouina throughout the film, whose loud and authoritarian voice quite literally and audibly drowns out that of her daughter-in-law. Further, as Kealhofer-Kemp (2015) rightly observes, Zouina and her husband rarely exchange words, and in the rare event that Ahmed is not threatening or shouting at his wife – in Arabic – and asks her a question, he will often beat her before she is given the chance to respond, resulting in her character crying or cowering in fear below him. The interplay between the verbal, visual and non-verbal codes in these scenes effectively frame Zouina’s character as particularly powerless and marginalised, and simultaneously associate the Arabic language with violent behaviour, one encoded with patriarchal values and cultural traditions that oppress and stifle her capacity for self-expression, deny her of agency, and the opportunity to ‘use her voice’. The (intentional) alignment of the audience’s sympathies with Zouina is aided by the presence of subtitles for the dialogues in Arabic, which places Aïcha and Ahmed at a distance, positions their code as Other, and as one embodying values that are not, or at least should not, be compatible with those of the (implied) majority French speaking audience.

To return to the introduction of the chapter, Benguigui’s ideological critique is both dual in nature and aimed at two audiences – the metropolitan French audience, but also speakers of Arabic, and more specifically Algerian Arabic – which complicates the use of code-switching – and its subtitling by extension – as a means of distinguishing between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ identities (cf. Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2019: 73-74). So too does the bilingualism of her characters: Zouina, the protagonist with whom the audience is supposed to connect, also speaks Arabic at certain parts of the film, and is therefore subtitled, although the language does not intersect with a negative portrayal of her character in the same way as it does her husband and mother-in-law. The same applies to instances throughout the film in which Aïcha and Ahmed are also shown to speak French; despite the absence of subtitles for their speech, they become no closer to the audience because of their actions towards Zouina. This is not to suggest that for both francophone and arabophone

audiences of the film, the more symbolic effect of the presence and absence of subtitles on compounding the already complex focalisation of the film is altogether lost. Rather, it is to acknowledge that subtitles – or the lack of them – can only be ostracising or inclusive to a certain extent, and that any focalisation produced through them owes at least in part to their interplay with the rest of the semiotic information used to make the characters “speak” (or not), i.e., the tone of the characters’ voices, their actions, expressions, and body language.

As for Zouina’s use of Arabic in the film, and in the above-discussed scene with Malika in particular, it primarily shows how her character finds herself conflicted between the traditions and values of the home and host societies, as well as their expectations of women, which is also reflected in her dialogues for French. Planchenault (2010: 107) notes the example of Nicole inviting Zouina to join her at a group for divorced women that she attends, to which the latter tells her that it would be *péché* [a sin], indicating that she does not wish to go for religious reasons, even though her expression suggests that she is somewhat curious about it deep down (see Hollis 2012).¹⁷⁴ Just because Zouina’s dialogue becomes subtitled less and less, it does not necessarily mean that the character is any “freer” nor closer to the francophone audience, as it seems she does she wish to completely renounce those parts of her gender identity that intersect with her identity as Algerian and Muslim. As far as the subtitling is concerned, then, it might be argued that the fluctuations and lack of fixity that occur as Zouina moves in and out of translation draw attention to the permeability of the salient symbolic and social boundaries upon which the character makes sense of her identity, and uses her voice, or rather *voices*, to express. For those around her, on the other hand, code-switching serves as a mere communicative practicality, although it is hard to say whether this would be obvious from the subtitling patterns alone, as Ahmed and Aïcha move ‘in’ and ‘out’ of translation extradiegetically too.

¹⁷⁴ McCulloch (2015: 88) also discusses how the radio is used to channel this conflict: ‘it serves as the link to what lies beyond her domestic space’ but she does not act on finding it until much later in the film. Whilst this may show how Zouina finds herself conflicted, it might also be due to the fact that the spatial – and symbolic – boundaries could not be transgressed without acquiring the linguistic skills first.

Here, I am inclined to argue again that it is more so in the non-verbal expressions of these voices that Zouina's use of code-switching becomes distinguishable from that of the other Arabic-speaking characters. Her experimentation with Western fashions and make-up styles, to draw parallels with Yalini's alternative communicative practices, and of which Fauvel (2004: 153) provides a useful summary, is a case in point. The reaction of her patriarchal superiors towards this behaviour, moreover, usefully creates with it two distinctive 'languages' spoken by the respective factions that might aid the anglophone audience's understanding of the multilingual scenario. For them, the subtitling situation is somewhat different: both French and Arabic are subtitled into English, with no differentiations made between them linguistically, i.e., through the use of labels, or graphically, i.e., by using italics or two different colours. Despite the position I have put forward above – although not in spite of it – it is undeniable that Zouina's identity becomes more static in the transition from part- to single-language subtitles. Grafting the 'multiple' voices of the text, to return to Minh-ha (1989), onto a single body, means that they become somewhat levelled, and the power relations between speakers less (para)linguistically charged – in the choice of verbal code itself, rather than non-verbal delivery – than they are for francophone audiences.¹⁷⁵ Conversely, such an effect may – and coincidentally – afford Zouina the avoidance of being 'gazed upon' as woman, native and other, argued to be a product of the 'hybrid' identity she develops (Fauvel 2004: 154), although here because *everyone* becomes a 'translated (wo)man' in the eyes of the viewer.

There is one scene in which non-arabophone English-speaking viewers are granted a more privileged access to the expression of Zouina's 'voice' than those who only speak French, as Turek (2010: 567) argues in reference to the translation of music in the film. In particular, she refers to the lyrics of the song *Djebel* (Baaziz 1996), sung in Arabic and subtitled into English as presented below, which she argues to provide a 'fitting subtext'

¹⁷⁵ This is largely to be expected when instances of code-switching are subtitled for an "international" audience, i.e., beyond the original country of distribution (see Monti 2016 and Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2019).

(Turek 2010: 567) to Zouina's desperation and the flashbacks to her tearful departure from Algeria she experiences as the song plays extradiegetically:

I have a secret that only I know.

I am hiding a sadness, an eternal love.

An eternal love, an eternal love.

My eye is crying, my heart is broken.

To my country I'm going back to see my friends and family.

Turek is right to point out that the subtitled lyrics play an important role in setting the mood of the scene, providing 'additional' information to that conveyed by the sounds and the actions that accompany the lyrics – Zouina's anguished expression, and her cries for her mother that are interspersed with the images of her family in Algeria (Figure 30) – the visual, non-verbal and dialogic elements whose contribution she fails to acknowledge. Nor do I wish to ignore that the lyrics neatly summarise the 'purpose' of the scene, so to speak, but evidently, they cannot 'speak' for how Zouina feels alone; although it is somewhat surprising that the lyrics are not presented in italics, as is more common with subtitling songs in films, almost suggesting a form of integration that presents the words as though they are coming from her own 'voice'. Taken out of context, it is difficult to assume that one would read the lyrics and immediately think of someone in the same situation as that of Zouina in the film. This is especially true of the 'secrets' that she is keeping, which, as far as subtext is concerned, is as important to the film as the themes of migration and exile upon which the song touches.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 30: Images of Zouina crying are interspersed with flashbacks and accompanied by subtitled song lyrics (*Inch'Allah dimanche*, Benguigui 2001)

On a non-dialogic auditory level, the inclusion of music in the film serves a code-switching function in itself, in that songs sung in both Arabic and French have lyrics that shed light on the ways in which Zouina is making sense of her identity and experiences in France. To take an example from the French side, in one scene the song *Le premier bonheur du jour* by Françoise Hardy (1963) plays on the radio, the lyrics ‘reinforcing Zouina’s anguish over her loveless marriage’, as Turek (2010: 568) puts it, with the unofficial translation she provides here:

<i>Le premier bonheur du jour</i>	The day's first happiness
<i>C'est un ruban de soleil</i>	Is a ray of sunlight
<i>Qui s'enroule sur ta main</i>	Which wraps around your hand
<i>Et caresse mon épaule</i>	And caresses my shoulder
<i>C'est le souffle de la mer</i>	It's the breath of the sea
<i>Et la plage qui attend</i>	And the beach that awaits
<i>C'est l'oiseau qui a chante</i>	It's the bird that sang
<i>Sur la branche du figuier</i>	On the branch of the fig tree
<i>Le premier chagrin du jour...</i>	The first sadness of the day...

That the lyrics are not subtitled into English, moreover, Turek argues is an 'unfortunate omission, since the song serves as a cultural touchstone to orient the source language viewer in time and to lend a certain mood' (ibid.). As for the former point, and in view of the fact that music and its meanings are by and large determined by the cultural environment to which they respond and in which they are received (see Kaindl 2005: 243), to the point we might consider songs as 'extralinguistic cultural references' (Pedersen 2005), we have to ask whether the associative and affective concepts produced by music as cultural and contextual artefacts will be shared in the same way by addressees in a realm where such references are not necessarily shared. This is something that Turek (2010: 568) does go on to acknowledge, drawing on Fenner (2007: 108) to state that the patriotic and nationalist sentiments of the Arabic song *Ageggig* by Idir (1993) that plays later on in the film might be lost on French-speaking viewers, regardless of whether they are translated or not.

Regarding the second point, on the creation of 'mood', we are once again left wondering why the value of the other elements that make up the song's semiotic and textual fabric – here, the soft, slow and objectively melancholic melody – have been left out the

discussion. Such features are those we might consider to be musically somewhat ‘universal’ in terms of external reference, and are certainly those that lend themselves to setting tone and conveying emotion (Kalinak 2010: 1), thus helping audiences to understand how Zouina feels. Turek’s mention of Aïcha abruptly entering the scene and turning the radio off just after the line ‘le premier chagrin du jour’ is sung, which she maintains provides ‘subtle shading to the narrative’ that is ‘unavailable’ (2010: 568) to English-speaking audiences is hugely important here, precisely for the fact that Aïcha’s behaviour is not subtle at all. As McCulloch (2015: 88) explains of her reaction, the radio is both ‘a symbol of rebellion, feminine solidarity, empowerment, and solitude’ for Zouina and consequently ‘an increasing threat to Aïcha’s hold on her daughter-in-law.’ Considering the ‘shading’ that is provided within the rest of the narrative, i.e., the conflicts caused between Zouina and Other ‘native’ women because of the content she is consuming on the airwaves, and what we see, hear and read as such conflicts play out, then it must at least be somewhat clear to the anglophone audience that the music playing is in a language that Aïcha does not wish to understand, for cultural reasons, even if a linguistic barrier is also present.

4. Conclusion

‘Do you translate by eye or by ear?’ This question, posed by Minh-ha’s disembodied voice in *Surname Viet Given Name Nam*, is especially relevant to this question of whether and how to translate music, but also to those questions pertaining to subtitling women’s voices explored in this chapter. Do translators depart from the aural codes with which voices are constructed and through which they are performed, or do they look to those visual qualities of voice that may serve to speak with, or through, the subtitled text? Does the ‘operation of suture’ performed by subtitling (Minh-ha 1992: 102) and its ‘collapsing’ of activities to ‘protect the unity of the subject’ mean that they are neither heard, nor even seen, but simply read, and therefore do not really ‘speak’? This is not to say that ‘verbal language cannot capture with accuracy what lies on the other side of the discursive border’ (Minh-ha

1999: xi) – the translation of song lyrics is in fact a case in point – nor that its function ‘proves to be inadequate when the realm of activity involved is that of looking and hearing rather than of speaking and deciphering’ (ibid.); the contribution that translated song lyrics make to the polysemiotic exploration of Zouina’s identity are not denied here either. Yet, ‘if seeing and sounding isn’t saying, it’s likely because words work best in relationships when they are taken to the very threshold of language – at once bound to and freed from external reference’ (ibid.), or here, their polysemiotic embeddedness.

These words, written by Minh-ha in the foreword to the aptly titled collection *Cinema Interval* (1999) sum up that which is specific to subtitling, the cinematic ‘interval’ positioned inbetween languages, cultures and codes. The following summarise further the function of subtitling as an ‘indirect language’, whose words have the potential to:

[...] deploy their own logic to indicate a direction, to bring into relief a landscape through which a film moves, and when treated as a sound world of their own, they render audible and readable the multiplicity of the interpretive process itself. (Minh-ha 1999: xi)

This is very much true of the use of ‘words’ in Yalini’s case, her translanguaging practices themselves producing a form of ‘indirect language’, one that allowed her to navigate the *passage* and bring into ‘relief’ the landscape through which she moved, whilst less ‘indirectly’ deploying their own logic to indicate ‘desired’ directions of a different nature. The ‘interval’ here, in Minh-ha’s words, was ‘creatively maintained’ (ibid.): from the visibility of her lack of fluency, to the presence of “foreign” words and to their absence altogether, a sound world was created, visually, and in writing. Of course, ideas of ‘creative maintenance’ cannot be contained to one single interpretation. Is there no possibility that the standardisation of Zouina’s broken French was one of a multiplicity of interpretative choices, selected deliberately to afford the character the ‘voice’ she desired – as the diegesis suggests – and render it both audible and readable, thus, as Minh-ha (1999: xi) phrases it, ‘allow[ing] words to set in motion dormant energies and to offer, with the impasse, a passage from one space [...] to another’?

In this respect, we might also question whether explicitly “creative” subtitling techniques would serve a purpose in emphasising the interplay between the language use of the characters and the behaviours associated with their voices in the context of code-switching. Ahmed’s dialogue in Arabic, for example, when he is berating his wife and she cowers below him, could be subtitled with the text at a higher position within the frame to reflect both his physical and symbolic positioning and dominance over Zouina, thus complementing the camerawork. Subtitles in a larger font could be used similarly, to reflect the position and power of louder characters, such as Aïcha, or for dialogue that is harder to hear or quieter, as is often the case with Zouina, whether she is whispering purposefully or out of fear, and may be usefully reflected through subtitles with a lowered textual opacity; McClarty (2012: 144) has argued this technique is one that can evoke the emotions of characters and invoke emotional responses from viewers in turn. McClarty has no empirical data to back this claim up, however, and to return to one of the questions posed in Chapter One in response to her work, ‘who is to say that “creative” subtitling techniques would be suitable for all films?’ Would grafting multiple subtitles of all different shapes, sizes and colours onto an already polyphonic and visually somewhat ‘plain’ body ‘speak over’ the voices within it, physically if not metaphorically, and stylistically, therefore, “betray” the aesthetic of the text, its spirit and its letter?

And what if betrayal *is* the aesthetic of the text, its spirit, and its letter? If, as Goreau-Ponceau and Veyret (2016: 8) write, ‘[l]es échanges en français renvoient sans cesse Dheepan, Yalini et Ilayaal à leur étrangeté radicale et « hors-langue », comme si leur expérience était irrémédiablement perdue et littéralement intraduisible’ [exchanges in French constantly send Dheepan, Yalini and Ilayaal back to their radical and ‘outside-language’ strangeness, as if their experience were irretrievably lost and literally untranslatable], this is because it *is* ‘untranslatable’, and purposefully so, a wilful ‘loss’, a withholding of truth, a *refusal* to “translate”. The reference they make here to Derrida’s *hors-texte*, or rather his statement that ‘il n’y a pas de hors-texte’ [there is no outside-text], perceived to have been

mistranslated by Spivak (1974) no less,¹⁷⁶ is a fitting nod to the use of non-translation in the film. To return to the “official” act of treacherous interpreting, the decision not to translate the first utterance in Tamil – the interpreter translating the officer’s initial question into French – set up a crucial position of linguistic vulnerability for the asylum officer, as well as that of dependency, which multilingual films ultimately configure for monolingual audiences, something that is further exploited in subsequent scenes. As spectators, particularly Western spectators, in these moments we are ultimately scrutinised by the characters on screen and their non-Western languages, and our viewing pleasure is dismantled; we encounter the gazes and voices of numerous storytellers who challenge our preconceived notions and established epistemologies of translation, disrupting our sense of certainty – deconstructing the coherence of the *texte* is something encouraged by Derrida (1974) – even if only for brief, fleeting moments in time.

In much the same way as the *type de passage* gave King ‘the vocabulary to unpack the language dynamics of a number of contemporary films which focus in on these figures’ (2018: 43), her *langue de passage* gives us the vocabulary here to unpack those of a number of (contemporary) conceptualisations of translation as process and product. Translation as *langue* represents a *passage*, of course, one of transition and transference, of voices through time, space, culture and context; it leads to transformation and transgression, whether intentionally or not, of voices and the stories they tell, and never without some form of consequence; and often, it is equated with traitors and treachery. Despite its ‘vulnerability’ as a mode of translation, subtitling is seen not as a ‘victim’ of treason, but as a perpetrator precisely because of its simultaneous presence alongside the other ‘voices’ operating within an audiovisual text. The term *langue de passage* in French also captures the temporal and spatial dimensions of subtitling, in this respect, and its transience in particular; subtitles are a language in flux, they move in and out of the screen, they are there to help the viewer navigate a foreign space for a finite period of time. And yet, even the shortest of journeys, as

¹⁷⁶ As ‘there is nothing outside of the text’. See Deutscher (2014).

we will see in the case of the Maghrebi-French road movies to be studied in the next chapter – can leave the longest lasting impressions on one’s understanding of identity, of alterity and the conditions of power under which they are (re)produced.

Chapter Five:

Lost in Audiovisual Translation: Decentring Subtitles in the Maghrebi-French Return Road Movie

1. Introduction

The road movie is largely considered to be a symbol of American culture, as Laderman (2002: 7) explains in *Driving Visions: Exploring the Road Movie*: '[t]he very birth and adolescence of America seems crucially founded upon the notion of the journey, which thus becomes an essential feature of American cultural identity.' His inclusion of 'the flight of persecuted Europeans coming to colonize the New World' as one of the 'historical chapters constitut[ing] America's national-self-definition in terms of movement and expansion' (2002: 7) is telling of the differential connotations and cultural significations with which the concept of travel has been invested in the two contexts. Travel along the straight, boundless highways and open roads of the US have come to be synonymous with the chase of the American dream (Cohan and Hark 1997; Mazierska and Rascaroli 2006),¹⁷⁷ whereas the 'lack of space and predominance of borders' with which so-called "European" road movies 'specifically engage' bring into focus how travel in Europe has traditionally been tied to 'the traumatic experiences or consequences of migration, exile and conflict' (Everett 2009: 166-7). It is not the case, however, that those 'hitting the road' in Europe never experience the same leisure, freedom, joy and sense of opportunity to reinvent one's life as those in the US.¹⁷⁸ Arguably, the metaphorical evocation of the road as a space for self-exploration is one of a number of consistent, generic and formal traits that appear across variations of the road movie globally, albeit one that is grafted onto local geographies,

¹⁷⁷ Reflecting the projection of dominant symbols of American Western mythology such as the frontier and the Wild West onto the landscape in the Western (*Stagecoach*, John Ford 1939 and *The Searchers*, John Ford 1956), a genre that appeared many decades earlier (see Laderman 1996: 43).

¹⁷⁸ Laderman (2002: 250) references *La Strada* (Federico Fellini 1954) *Wild Strawberries* (Ingmar Bergman 1957) and *Ariel* (Aki Kaurismaki 1988) as road movies that 'trace symbolically "American" characteristics through a distinctively European imprint.'

histories and anxieties.

In *Le grand voyage* and *Exils*, the films under study in this chapter, the road serves as a means through which to trace the meaning of citizenship as a journey from France to Saudi Arabia and Algeria respectively. Both films belong to a subcategory of the ‘Maghrebi-French road movie’¹⁷⁹ in which second-generation Franco-Maghrebi protagonists explore the country and/or culture of origin of their parents or grandparents,¹⁸⁰ sometimes narrating the ‘return’ of the filmmakers themselves (see Mielusel 2018). The journey depicted in *Exils* is certainly one that merges fiction with reality, marking its Algerian-born, French director Gatlif’s own return to his native Algiers after a forty-three year absence (Abderrezak 2016: 103).¹⁸¹ My definition of the director by his spatial and ethnic origins here parallels the way he defines his protagonists in the film’s press kit: ‘Zano, 26 years old, of Mediterranean type [...], Naïma 23, of Algerian origins, born in France’ (Gatlif 2004b: n.p). Their exact identities are revealed – both to themselves and the audience – progressively over the course of the film’s journey, the closer they get to Algeria, and therefore the further away from “home.” Of course, Algeria can also be described as their “home,” ancestrally, and one with which they are thus less familiar in terms of geography, culture and certainly language. For this reason, the direction and destination of travel is significant: the route towards their roots in effect ‘uproots’ many of the place-based principles upon which their identities, and their understanding of these identities, are based.

¹⁷⁹ A basic list of these films and their individual variations might include those which depict journeys across France (*Jeunesse dorée*, Ghorab-Volta 2001; *Drôle de Félix*, Ducastel and Martineau 2000), histories and memories of migration from the Maghreb to France (*Vivre au paradis*, Bourlem Guerdjou 1998) and contemporary narratives of illegal migration to France (*Salut cousin !*, Merzak Allouache 1996; *Adieu*, Arnaud des Pallières 2003), for example.

¹⁸⁰ See also *Cheb* (Rachid Bouchareb 1991), *Ten’ja* (Hassan Legzouli 2004), *Bled Number One* (Rabah Ameur-Zaïmeche 2006) and *La fille de Keltoum* (Mehdi Charef 2011).

¹⁸¹ The director also has Roma roots, to which he weaves references in his film through the depiction of Roma travellers whom his protagonists encounter on their journey. In an interview with Mélinard (2004b: n.p.), Gatlif expanded on comments made in the press kit for *Exils* (2004) that he is a filmmaker ‘from everywhere and nowhere’, stating that: ‘Je m’exprime par le déplacement, le voyage. Je suis un metteur en scène itinérant. J’aime être nomade’ [I express myself through displacement, travel. I’m an itinerant director. I like being a nomad.]

The journey away from France also represents a chance for filmmakers to break with the familiar though sometimes reductive aesthetic, thematic and narrative languages used to explore questions of Maghrebi-French identity in the *cinéma de banlieue* and so-called *cinéma beur*.¹⁸² Swiftly, in the case of *Exils*, as the high-rise building bordering the Parisian *Boulevard Périphérique*, ‘the symbolic fault line of the *fracture sociale*’ (Gott and Schilt 2013: 7) in which the narrative commences is only allowed to appear for mere minutes before the voyage to Algeria is staged. In *Le grand voyage*, any association with peripheral cityscapes and related clichés of marginality, crime and violence are noticeably absent; the fact that Réda is not depicted as hanging out with male friends or belonging to any recognizable subculture leads Rosello (2011: 258) to refer to him as ‘Ferroukhi’s atypical *beur* hero’. Réda is certainly not always depicted as a hero, and as we will see, the film unequivocally plays into some of the *fractures* – religious, cultural, linguistic – between first- and second-generation Franco-Maghrebi immigrants that have come to be commonplace in films exploring their relationships (see Tarr 2005; Johnston 2010). Yet, the typically binary and seemingly rigid structures of West-East, secularism-Islam, and French-Arabic are ultimately nuanced and made more flexible by the journey, not least by the fact that the Maghreb is *not* their final destination, but also by the many stops that are made along the way to Saudi Arabia, recalling Marshall’s (2012: 50) discussion of the types of ‘mobile and minor cinema[s that] undercut the fixity of myth, whether of Europe, North Africa, or identity in general’.

Both films, and the road movie genre more broadly, appear to perfectly encompass the concept of *cinéma-monde* and drive home its potential to decentre and complexify mappings of the *francosphère*. Marshall’s line of thought is firmly traced in Gott and Schilt’s (2013: 3) discussion of the adoption of road travel in francophone cinema, who argue that it

¹⁸² A term that is itself not unproblematic: Tarr (2005: 2) describes the apparition of *cinéma beur* as ‘a set of independently released films by and about the *beurs*, that is, second-generation immigrants of Maghrebi descent’, marked by the release of Mehdi Charef’s (1985) *Le Thé au harem d’Archimède*, and herself opts for the term ‘of Maghrebi-descent’ to speak about the filmmakers/subjects of these films. See also Bloom (1999) and Oscherwitz (2010) for further explanation of the *cinéma beur* movement and its historical, political and spatial significances.

has offered ‘nuanced perspectives [...] on French identity as well as on France’s position vis-à-vis its own shifting identity, its former colonies, a new “borderless” Europe, and the rest of the world’.¹⁸³ For this reason, they (ibid.) propose the term ‘French-language road movie’ so as to ‘acknowledge the sometimes-peripheral positioning of the Hexagon in these films’, although such a definition does not seem to account for the often-peripheral positioning that the Hexagonal French language assumes as a result, symbolically if not practically. This categorisation does give some insight into how many of these films, including the two under study here, are typically treated from a translational perspective, namely that they are subtitled – for the most part – into standard French for an assumed majority French-speaking audience. Archer’s (2013: 1) definition of “French” road movies as those that feature both multilingualism and multiculturalism, but which are also typically ‘made in France, generally with French money, in French and with French actors’ similarly points to the tensions between the local and global that define the production, distribution and reception of multilingual films, as discussed in the thesis’ introduction, and the consequences that this may have for translation.

Indeed, if we approach the term *cinéma-monde* from the perspective of the audience, its latter component may refer not only to the many multiple constellations of different national, cultural and linguistic origins depicted in the former, but also those of the multiple and different spectators these films may reach, either with or without translation.¹⁸⁴ As Ferroukhi suggests of *Le grand voyage*:

[w]hen in Serbia, one hears the Serbian language; when in Slovenia, one hears the Slovenian language. When in Turkey, etc. I wanted the languages used to be the authentic language of the country, not nonsense. I wanted it to be so that if a Serb or Turk saw the film, he would recognize his country. (cited in Toler 2007: 35)

¹⁸³ See Tarr (2009) and Higbee (2013) for adjacent discussions on the Maghrebi-French return narrative, and the ‘dialogues in/between French, Maghrebi-French and Maghrebi Cinema(s)’ they initiate.

¹⁸⁴ In much the same way as ‘the very essence of the “world” in “world cinema” assumes the interaction and interrelation of different communities and texts’ (Eleftheriotis 2010: 178).

Despite the fact the film ‘implicitly caters to a French or English monolingual spectator’ (Rosello 2011: 258), and in spite of the presence of subtitles for only one of the film’s two “main” languages, French and Arabic, as it is presented to francophone audiences, Ferroukhi’s statement implies that the range of nations, cultures and languages encountered by the protagonists produces no-one distinct position of familiarity or alignment within the diegetic world that can be clearly demarcated extradiegetically along translational lines. One might reasonably assume, therefore, that further complexities are likely to arise as the film itself travels in translation, and these lines – the subtitles – have to be redrawn – i.e., from ‘part’ to ‘single-language’ – to meet the needs of an “international” audience, a process that the previous chapter has established as one in which displacements of meaning are likely to occur.

It is somewhat surprising that translation has yet to be discussed in the context of the road movie, considering the wealth of scholarly examination of its representation in adjacent film genres, such as the migration film, that thematise different types of mobility.¹⁸⁵ As Simon (2018: 97, emphasis added) points out, ‘the idea of the journey has been *abundantly* mined as a way of thinking about translation’, simultaneously referencing the metaphors of ‘carrying across’ and the like that have carried on with persistence in academic discussions of translation processes, both literal and figurative. Of those that deal with journey narratives in particular, as Simon (ibid.) continues, ‘less attention has been paid to the sites where translation is enacted’, something the present chapter addresses by structuring its analysis around representations of three such ‘sites’ in *Exils* and *Le grand voyage*: borders, thresholds and non-places. These ‘in-between’ spaces through which the journeys of the protagonists themselves are structured – and complexified and decentred, as after all, multilingual films challenge ideas of linearity inherent in the above-mentioned metaphors – are not mutually

¹⁸⁵ See, for example, Cronin (2000), Di Biase (2006), Polezzi (2001; 2006; 2012) and Rubel and Rosman (2003).

exclusive, but rather interrelated and often intersect with one another, because each serves as a zone of encounter between peoples, cultures and languages – on both vertical and horizontal levels – through which their differences are examined and negotiated. They are thus also spaces through which to examine the role that translation – both intra- and extradiegetic – plays in each film’s construction of narratives of travel, displacement, and mobility, to whose inextricability from questions of identity, alterity and relations of power the chapter now turns.

2. On Travelling Texts, Mobile Movies and the (Extra)Diegetic Dimensions of Displacement

In *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (1996), Kaplan traces how tropes of mobility, from tourism to nomadism to diaspora and homelessness, to name but a few, have been invoked by “post-era” scholars seeking to dismantle structures of systematised knowledge based upon hegemonic and typically imperialist conceptions of spaces, cultures and subjectivities. She writes that:

[e]mergent theories of postmodernism [...] argue that the politics of difference are aided and even structured by the international circulation of destabilizing and multiplying cultural elements, events, and instances that “clear a space” for new or previously unheard or unacknowledged narratives. (Kaplan 1996: 14)

Whilst Kaplan is referring here to the then-emergent work of Said (1979), Jameson (1984), Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Clifford (1988), amongst other ‘travelling theorists’, her words could easily apply to that of Bhabha (1994), with whom her book does not particularly engage. We are reminded, in particular, of the model of cultural translation, a strategy through which migrants in the West could rewrite regressive discourses in order to expose their internal contradictions, to collapse their structural integrity, and to create a

‘third space’ through which ‘newness’ may ‘enter the world’ (Bhabha 1994: 212-35).¹⁸⁶ Such ideas are echoed in discussions of the Maghrebi-French return road movie: Higbee (2011: 59) argues that the North-South trajectory of these films, a reverse of the typical pattern of movement between France and the Maghreb, negotiates a ‘space in-between’ the two cultures that ‘bring[s] into question supposedly fixed notions of the here and there of host and homeland in the diasporic imaginary’.

As for the cinematic imaginary, the influence of these discourses can be traced to discussions of world-cinema, and the ‘destabilizing effects’, as Eleftheriotis (2010: 163) terms it, that the international circulation of films has on ‘the (imagined) unity of the “host” community’, of which he positions subtitles as a central element: Subtitles (or alternatively dubbing) accompany such journeys and become an unambiguous sign of foreignness, a visual testimony (like visa stamps on a passport) that the film that bears them has travelled and has crossed borders (Eleftheriotis 2010: 179). As this thesis has amply demonstrated, the presence of subtitles does not only mark the multiplication of cultural elements following cinematic import.¹⁸⁷ They may accompany the journey of protagonists away from a national space to which a film as ‘product’ is itself tied, be this in terms of financing or distribution, for example, as is the case with *Exils* and *Le grand voyage*. They may serve as an unambiguous sign of ‘foreignness’ that has crossed narratively into the national space, as in *Inch’Allah dimanche* and *Dheepan*. And as *Bienvenue* and *L’esquive* demonstrate, even those films without a visibly stamped passport, i.e., those that neither leave the nation state nor feature subtitles, can effectively challenge ‘the (imagined) unity of the “home” community.’ The work of Archer (2013) on “French” road movies, in this respect, is a testimony to the power that depictions of road travel *within* France possess when it comes to

¹⁸⁶ The model is developed in *The Location of Culture* (1994), and specifically in rather aptly-titled chapter ‘How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times, and the Trials of Cultural Translation’.

¹⁸⁷ Eleftheriotis’ (2010) presentation of the word ‘host’ in inverted commas follows a lengthy discussion on the ways in which world-cinema complexifies the category of ‘foreign’ spectator, who he argues crosses cultural borders in their engagement with ‘foreign’ films, two concepts that are undoubtedly all the more complicated by the production of multilingual films.

interrogating the contested nature of the nation state at social, cultural, religious and/or even moral levels.

The driving force propelling most road movies is ‘an embrace of the journey as a means of cultural critique’ (Laderman 2002: 1), stemming largely from the genre’s roots in counterculture. Films such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn 1967) and *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper 1969) that launched the modern US road movie, for example, feature protagonists who seize road travel as an opportunity to seek out escape from and alternatives to the constricting norms and laws of an increasingly capitalist and conservative society (Laderman 1996; Ireland 2003; Wood 2007). Rootlessness and rebellion are thus core themes and are typically invoked through references to the hobo, or the outlaw, or sometimes both (see Laderman 1996: 42-3), as is the case with the itinerant protagonist of Varda’s aptly titled *Sans toit ni loi* (1985), to take an example from the European side. Mona’s abandonment of her identity and social status to live as an essentially anonymous outsider brings into focus the idea of social marginality that is inherently linked to the road movie, whether it concerns the protagonists travelling outside of a given society, or those on its fringes that they encounter as a result. If, as Cohan and Rae Hark (1997: 1) argue, the road movie provides ‘a ready space for explor[ing] the tensions and crises of the historical moment during which it is produced,’ then it is ultimately the peripheral perspectives that emerge thereof and as a result to which the genre owes its status as a vehicle for ‘problematizing the uniform identity of the nation’s culture.’

Of the two journeys under study here, it is that constructed by Gatlif that most closely follows the tale of seemingly restless youth searching to reconnect with the “natural world”. Interestingly, in *Le grand voyage*, the critique of materialism that road travel implies comes more from the father’s perspective, whose spiritual values take precedence over his son’s desires for physical comfort, epitomised in his annoyance that the journey to Saudi Arabia must be undertaken by car rather than by plane. The young protagonists of *Exils*, Zano and Naïma, on the other hand, more wilfully embrace the ‘unattached, rambling

lifestyle of the hobo' (Laderman 1996: 42): they depart with little money, few possessions and opt to travel mostly by foot or by public transport if necessary. The pair, moreover, eschew official and/or legal entries into the countries along their route despite having French passports, and thus also bear traces of the romanticised figure of the outlaw operating outside of the rules of society (ibid.: 43). The characters' wilful 'sacrifice of their privileged relationship to the centre' in this way, as Holohan (2011: 25) argues, often – but not always, as we will see – brings them to forge a 'precarious relationship' with the spaces they enter; their final crossing from Morocco (where they end up by mistake after clandestinely boarding a boat) to Algeria, for example, is only accomplished with the aid of people smugglers, due to the closure of the land border resulting in years of dispute and wars over the boundaries of the two countries.

It is scenes such as this in the film that serve to remind viewers that 'displacement is not universally desirable nor is it evenly or uniformly experienced' (Kaplan 1996: 1). In fact, Holohan (2011: 25) and McGregor (2021: 82-3) argue that the relatively unorthodox image of two Europeans being smuggled alongside North-Africans only reinforces the privilege conferred to yet rejected by the two travellers by virtue of the documentation they possess. Unlike for Zano and Naïma, for whom being trafficked is all part of their adventurous trip southwards, and the result of a frivolous wrong turn, for those around them, travelling via unofficial or illegal means is a necessity, something required in order to access work, goods, services and indeed loved ones on the other side of the border (see Daoudi 2015). The film emphasises this further in the protagonists' recurrent encounters with Leïla and Habib, two Algerian siblings travelling towards Paris or Amsterdam with the hope of studying to eventually make a better life for themselves and their family. The pair, who represent the 'traditional' figure of the migrant, driven to travel not by personal desire but out of economic necessity, cannot seem to comprehend the journey of their 'cosmopolitan' travelling counterparts, who represent 'privileged embodied subjects' (Davies Hayon 2018: 32). When asked why they would ever want to leave France, Zano tells them flippantly that he has

‘nothing left’ there (Y’a rien en France pour moi), a comment whose ignorance is retrospectively brought into focus when they arrive in Algeria and are greeted by a bleak landscape of loss and destruction, marred by ruined factories and earthquake-damaged buildings.

It should be noted that until this initial encounter with Leïla and Habib in Spain, Naïma is portrayed simply as a travelling companion for Zano, who, as the initiator of the journey, is correspondingly marked as the principal ‘quester’.¹⁸⁸ As Berger (2016: 172) points out, ‘Zano is very much conscious of his double-bounded identity as the son of a *pied-noir*’, whereas Naïma as a second-generation immigrant ‘still has to re-conquer her family’s past’. Her distance to her cultural origins is evidenced in this scene by the casual dismissal of her name’s etymological roots – when asked by Habib if her name is Arabic, she simply replies ‘c’est Naïma, quoi’ [it’s just Naïma] – and her inability to speak Arabic, upon the sibling’s discovery of which she tells them: ‘Personne me l’a appris. Mon père voulait pas parler arabe avec nous. Il ne voulait plus qu’on parle de son pays.’ [No-one taught me. My father didn’t want to speak Arabic with us. He didn’t want us to speak about his country anymore.] As Davies Hayon (2018: 36) argues, Algeria is thus ‘constructed as an ambivalent space for the heroine’ and the film suggests that her “return” will, like that of Zano, ‘be somewhat tarnished by [generational] trauma and the arousal of repressed and painful memories’,¹⁸⁹ compounded by the look of both sadness and fear on her face as she speaks. It also explains her hitherto ambivalent attitude towards the journey, although this exchange, and a subsequent lesson in Arabic from Leïla inspires Naïma to become more invested in

¹⁸⁸ Many road movies, but not all, are typically centred around a journey motivated by the search for self, or for self-discovery, otherwise termed a ‘quest’ for which the road becomes an extended metaphor (see Laderman 2002; Ireland 2003; Everett 2004). We might also note here the tendency for road movies to centre on a male protagonist (Hayward 2006: 366), although *Gatlif* deviates from this model as much of the journey is focussed on Naïma’s soul-searching.

¹⁸⁹ The film ends at the cemetery of Zano’s paternal grandfather, a Frenchman, who we learn was tortured and murdered in prison, leading his family to flee from Algeria as political refugees. His parents died in a car crash when Zano was a child when they were travelling back to visit Algeria, and a visit to their former flat, which remains largely untouched, proves to be a highly emotional experience for the young man.

exploring her past, and seemingly sets her on the path towards healing and transformative experiences.

The displacement of protagonists away from “home” fundamentally turns their journey outwards, it leads them outside of their daily environment, their comfort zone, a phenomenon that is referred to by Laderman (2002: 2) as ‘defamiliarization’. Travellers are confronted with unfamiliar roads they must navigate, diverse landscapes and strange places they ought to contemplate or cannot avoid contemplating (Augé 1995: 87) and importantly, linguistic, cultural, and social others with whom they must engage, either through interaction or observation. This process of social learning through an encounter with otherness (which as we will see can lie within the self) for which the road trip lays the basis is not unlike the purported experience of watching films with subtitles. Indeed, Laderman’s terminology recalls Kapsaski’s (2008: 42) position that the presence of subtitles in films have a ‘defamiliarizing effect over both “dominant” and “peripheral” audiences’. Of course, this applies to their absence too: Hopper’s *Easy Rider*, the US road movie *par excellence*, opens with dialogues in Spanish whose lack of subtitles, as Orgeron (2008: 116) has argued, may ‘affirm that the conversations are not especially interesting’, thus tapping into the ‘postcarding effect’ (Wahl 2005) discussed in the introduction of the thesis. On the other hand, this arguably taps into the effects of non-translation that have been explored in its subsequent chapters: Orgeron (2008: 166) continues to state that English-speaking viewers are ‘denied a simple linguistic entrance into the film’ and consequently ‘introduced to a cinematic world where language and basic communication are rendered problematic.’

Easy Rider is indeed a film all about exploring the consequences of non-communication, not only between the protagonists Billy and Wyatt and those around them, but also one another, thus striking a clear parallel with *Le grand voyage*. Silence is an almost permanent feature of the latter, one that permeates all aspects of the fractious and complicated father and son relationship, creating an atmosphere in the little car used for their journey that is no less antisocial and individualistic than the use of motorcycles by their

American counterparts (Orgeron 2008: 115). The journey to Saudi Arabia is one that Rosello (2011: 260) describes as ‘both international but profoundly individual’; its purpose in the film resides in what Muslims call the *hajj*, or, the pilgrimage to Mecca, which serves as the fifth pillar of Islam and is ‘a necessary ritual for any able believer to perform in their lifetime’ (Jafaar 2005: 66). For the father, a devoted Muslim, he sees this journey as the ultimate fulfilment of his faith (Laayouni 2016: 3), and it is thus motivated by a ‘quest’ to deepen his connection to Islam and affirm his spiritual identity. Any transformation triggered by the journey occurs more from Réda’s perspective, and even this is slight and takes a long time to happen given his initial resistances to the journey altogether. For the son never intended to go on the journey in the first place; he is forced to accompany his father as he needs someone to drive him.

Travel ought not be framed as a celebratory and/or difference-blurring hybridity, therefore, although arguably *Le grand voyage* does not suggest otherwise, instead emphasising a state of division, as Rosello (2011: 258) argues: ‘The narrative as a whole superimposes two maps; two itineraries; two European and Middle Eastern geographical, linguistic, and cultural constructions.’ The bifurcated nature of the journey is foregrounded primarily by the use of separate languages by the protagonists in the rare moments they communicate throughout the film: French for Réda and Arabic for his father. The fact that only the latter of these is subtitled for francophone audiences appears to prioritise one of these maps, itineraries and set of constructions over the Other, and therefore also seemingly negates the idea that ‘[t]he spectator must take at least two trips with them instead of one’ (ibid.). The socio-political implications of such a decision as far as demarcating “primary” and “secondary” audiences of the part-subtitled film, particularly in the context of films portraying French and Arabic, have already been addressed in this thesis, and the reoccurrence of this tendency in *Le grand voyage* all but serves to reinforce its pervasiveness. As such, the subtitles could be argued to play into the ‘hegemonic, totalizing or fixing ideological structures that imagine identities in dialectal relationships’ identified by

Kaplan (1996: 19) in narratives of travel constructed from a predominantly Western, European perspective, which she argues typically reinforce and reproduce the very epistemic violence they criticise.

Yet a predominantly Western, Eurocentric perspective is precisely what Ferroukhi seems determined to convey, as his translation decisions were made with the view of emphasising the narrative perspective of Réda. As the director explains:

[c]e qui m'intéressait dans ce film, c'est que le spectateur puisse s'identifier à Réda (le personnage principal) et vivre le voyage à travers lui. Pour cela, je ne voulais traduire que les langues comprises par Réda. (cited in Biscio 2013: 77)

[What I was interested in with this film is that the spectator could identify with Réda (the main character) and experience the trip through him. That is why I wanted only the languages understood by Réda to be translated.] (Biscio's translation 2013: 77, note 5)

This latter point about only translating the languages that are familiar to Réda is an important indicator of the physical obstacles that he will encounter on the journey by virtue of his limited communicative practices, something we will return to later in the chapter. Although the father's Moroccan Arabic is subtitled, the level of understanding this suggests on Réda's part is merely functional, as it becomes evident that he has grown up in France as a non-Muslim with little knowledge or desire to know anything about his parents' culture of origin, hence why he does not initially understand the symbolic and religious value of the trip. The subtitling of Arabic as far as the audience is concerned is likely connected to overcoming a literal language barrier; yet, the director's wilful assertion of wanting the spectator to align with Réda's experience of the journey also suggests that they too may hold prejudices that will hopefully be nuanced by the end of the trip, particularly around Maghrebi migration to France and the compatibility of Islam with republican values.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Ferroukhi is cited in Jafaar (2005: 66) as expressing a desire to 'rehumanise a community whose reputation is smeared by an extreme minority using religion for political ends.'

The aforementioned locale in which Gatlif opens his film similarly alludes to the so-called “immigration debates”, an assumedly deliberate choice that Gott and Schilt (2013: 7) describe as ‘offer[ing] viewers a bit of a *fausse piste*’ given that the film does not ‘tackle such issues head on.’ Indeed, as I have already stated, the view from the *banlieue* appears only briefly in the film’s opening sequence, which begins with an extreme close-up of the skin on Zano’s back, before the camera tracks backwards to show his naked body looking out of the window at the busy urban sprawl. After dropping a pint glass half full of beer onto the street below him, he turns to Naïma, who is laying naked on the bed, and declares his intentions: ‘Et si on allait en Algérie?’ [and if we went to Algeria?]. In the build-up to his question, a breathless, manic female voice uttering fragments of sentences in both English and Spanish (‘It’s an emergency’, ‘we need to talk about democracy’, ‘we need to talk about those who are absent’, ‘those who live without democracy’, ‘freedom’, ‘it’s urgent’) to the disjointed beat of drums dominates the soundtrack. It is interesting that the lyrics to this piece, titled *Manifeste* (Gatlif 2004), are subtitled for audiences, considering that they appear to have no direct relevance to the action unfolding on screen; Zano does not seem to be motivated in any way by its call to action, and in fact, he offers no special reasoning for his will to depart at all when Naïma scoffs ‘[q]u’est-ce que tu veux aller foutre en Algérie?’ [what on Earth do you want to do in Algeria?]

It is not the case that the lyrics to *Manifeste* have no meaningful relation to the plot of *Exils* at all, as they reference the nature of the mobilities that both precede and inform the protagonists’ journey, and foreshadow the types of displacements they will encounter on their travels. As the song plays in the opening scene, the interaction between Zano and Naïma is interrupted by a cut to an aerial shot showing a mass of people walking through what looks to be a desert, later revealed to be Algeria, a visual reflection of the ways in which calls for ‘action for freedom and democracy’ are ‘embedded in the narrative’s soundscape’ (Blum-Reid 2013: 211). Gatlif’s filmmaking has itself been described as a ‘manifesto’, one that ‘encompasses both travel and music’ (Blum-Reid 2013: 207) and *Exils*

is no exception; the use of diegetic soundposts to mark every territory charted in the film – techno as they leave France by train, flamenco in a bar in Southern Spain and percussive folk on a coach in Morocco, for example – is familiar road travelled as far as Gatlif’s earlier films are concerned.¹⁹¹ Music, in this way, quite literally becomes another language, acting as a consummate character that functions as a type of narrator or voice-over tracking the journey.¹⁹² To that end, we ought to consider how extradiegetic music is being used by the filmmaker as a document in his text, and whether songs such as *Manifeste* have a different status or meaning that implies they must be translated, even when their lyrics seem extraneous to the action on screen.

Extradiegetic lyrics are but one example of the types of ‘deterritorialized’ codes presented in these two road movies, each of which may similarly produce different responses to their ‘reterritorialization’ in translation, if any attempt is made at all. The English-language subtitles of the Zone 1 and Zone 2 DVD releases of *Exils* display near-opposite approaches to subtitling a hybrid of French, Spanish and non-verbal communication, to take a diegetic example, employed by Zano as he attempts to navigate purchasing a pair of shoes in Spain. On the US release, the subtitling strategy is one that aims to closely preserve the “original” structure of Zano’s code: ‘Chaussuros comme les tiennas? Chaussuros?’, essentially the French ‘chaussures comme les tiennes’ [shoes like yours] with a Spanish inflection, is translated as ‘Shoes-os... Sell-os to mi-o’. Audiences in the UK and Europe may have to rely on Zano’s use of objects and charade-like gestures to get the gist of what he is trying to say, as for them the scene is presented entirely unsubtitled, other than the

¹⁹¹ Blum-Reid (2013: 216) asserts moreover that ‘Gatlif’s entire work constitutes a personal journey of return to the country of “origins”, Algeria in *Exils*, or the extraterritorial musical country that the director, as a Roma, inhabit. It is interesting to note, therefore, that Gatlif (in Mélinard 2004b: n.p.) once stated ‘je fais des films sur la “route” parce que la route est un pays pour moi’ [I make films about “the road” because the road is like a country to me].

¹⁹² This recalls one of Gatlif’s earlier films, *Latcho Drom* (1993), in which he takes the viewer on a musical journey with a group of Romani Gypsies, travelling from Northern India, through North Africa and Eastern Europe to Spain. The plot follows the travellers country by country, song by song; there is essentially no dialogue in the film – and what dialogue there is, is not important to the structure of the narrative – instead it relies on music to tell the story, music ‘displaces’ and takes the place of verbal narration and interaction. See also his subsequent film *Gadjo dilo* (1997).

shopkeeper's assertion of her non-understanding. Whilst only the film's Zone 2 subtitles will be dealt with in this chapter, both have been presented here to demonstrate the multiple different directions in which films may travel translationally *within* as well as *between* (DVD) "territories", even those that share a language, and to prompt further reflection on how each individual displacement has particularised practices of mobility that shape our understandings of the interaction between peoples across space and time.

Such a perspective is one that aligns firmly with the methodological approach taken in this thesis, namely the use of concepts, theories, and motifs that are tailored to the films under study, through which to then conduct the analysis of representations of multilingualism within them and the ways in which these are translated. Regarding that of the present chapter, it is of course acknowledged that the use of journey and travel metaphors in Translation Studies, as discussed in the thesis' introduction, has all too often conjured up overly romanticised visions of mobility that conceal the inherent fragmentation and power differentials that more routinely complicate the movement of texts from one sphere to another. Kaplan (1996: 2) too, in her appraisal of travelling theories identifies a 'mythologized narrativization of displacement' that does not 'question [...] the cultural, political, and economic grounds of [...] privileges, means and limitations'.¹⁹³ Translation, as we know, reflects a precarious process of mediation in terms of similarity and difference, inferiority and superiority and inclusion and exclusion, all in relation to (re)assessing (or reaffirming) one's own identity, values and behaviours, against the collective imaginary constructions of neighbouring social, regional or national counterparts, and in respect of salient and symbolic boundary markers such as territory, religion, culture and certainly language. As my discussion of the films has suggested, the same can be argued of travel, displacement and mobility, narratives of which thus account for discourses of identity, of alterity and of power, and as the subsequent analysis will confirm, are discourses in which

¹⁹³ She criticises Clifford's (1998) theory of 'cosmopolitan hybridity' on the grounds of repressed class, gender, and geographical differences, for example.

subtitles – in their presence, absence and presentation of their contents – are fundamentally intertwined.

3. Case Study Analysis

3.1. Borders

The practices of bordering and of subtitling overlap in multiple ways, many of which have already come to light in the preceding chapters of the thesis. Regardless of whether borders are built upon physical, territorial or ethno-cultural criteria, or whether subtitling decisions are linked to the ‘facts’ of a film’s financing, production and/or distribution, neither are simply lines on a map, but are rather sociocultural and discursive constructs that reflect political and ideological practices for defining and classifying social identities (Wolfe and Rosello 2017: 2). Subtitles, like borders, imply interaction and connection between two (or more) separated entities, here, the film and the audience (or even the characters within the film, as we shall see), whilst simultaneously reinforcing their distance from one another, and making visible that which separates the “us” from “them”. In the case of multilingual films in particular, the “them” demarcated semiotically on screen may also represent the “us”: the “home” audience of *Le grand voyage* will undoubtedly comprise of Arabic speakers, some of whom may see themselves in the father – as Muslim, as Arab – and others, who like Réda, are secular and monolingual French speakers *by choice*. For these spectators in particular, the vicarious crossing of physical, external border crossings in the film will enable the more metaphorical investigation of the characters’ “internal borders”; that is, their internal conflicts regarding their allegiances, values and views of differences, and how these are questioned, changed or affirmed in their displacement from one (un)defined territory to another.

In *Le grand voyage*, however, depictions of physical, external border crossings typically result in very literal conflicts that do little to suggest a single shred of commonality

between the father and son, such as when the pair reach the Franco-Italian border and have an argument over the appropriateness of praying at the passport control area. In this scene, Réda wakes his sleeping father to ask him for their passports, and his father, after handing them to the customs officer, tells his son to park up the car as he needs to pray. Réda, completely taken aback by this request snaps at his father (in French), ‘[c]’est une douane ici [...] tu vois bien que ce n’est pas un endroit pour prier’ [We are at customs. Surely you can see that this is no place to pray]. To this, his father replies with a stern rhetorical question (in Arabic) ‘[d]o you believe in God?’ and walks away with his prayer mat, creating a physical distance to his son, who watches him from the car. This exchange emphasises how their approaches to religion constitute a major point of friction in their relationship, and one that will become worse before it gets better on the trip. As Laayouni (2016) summarises, Réda’s remark shows not only his ignorance but also his embarrassment over his father’s expression of his faith, whereas his father’s remark in kind is both a criticism of Réda’s *lack* of faith as well as the effects of his Western upbringing and education on his *consciousness* of his faith.

That Réda and his father do not address each other in the same language is a prime example of the “intergenerational verbal conflicts” (Johnston 2010; Kealhofer and Hargreaves 2010) prevalent in films exploring relationships between first- and second-generation Maghrebis in France.¹⁹⁴ The term refers specifically to the ways in which the use of two different languages (typically French and Arabic) come to mark the clashes between modernity and tradition, Islam and the West, and the opposing values of those born within the Hexagon and those outside of it. For the father in *Le grand voyage*, Arabic represents a sacred language, that of his religion, the language of the Qur’an and that which he uses when performing his religious duties (Laayouni 2016: 14). It embodies his culture, religion and origins, and his use of Moroccan Arabic in particular emphasises his attachment to his roots (ibid.: 15). Réda’s unwillingness to speak Arabic and insistent use of French reflects his awareness – and perhaps privileging – of his French identity, of which he is proud, and is

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter Two.

seemingly also tied to his secularism. The two languages also represent the characters' respective mother tongues, even those that are "adopted", *per se*, however, as I have already noted from Réda's perspective, the language barrier between them is not one of literal misunderstanding or linguistic inability; the father, for his part, is depicted numerous times as speaking in seemingly fluent passages of French (unsubtitled for francophone audiences). Rather, this border is the 'product of symbolic differences' (Rosello and Wolfe 2017: 2), and language is the space in which their conflict plays out.

The mutual intelligibility of the codes in which the two men *choose* to express themselves is not lost on francophone viewers as far as the decision to only subtitle Arabic is concerned. In fact, the presence of subtitles for only one language becomes a concrete visual and material manifestation of the language "barrier" between the two men; this boundary, symbolising generational, cultural and religious divisions, a sociological fact, ultimately forms itself spatially and semiotically in the filmic text. For anglophone audiences, on the other hand, no distinction is made between French and Arabic in either the content or form of the subtitles, the use of which for both languages to some extent removes from the translated text its function as a border and the commentary it subsequently provides on the father-son relationship. As for the issue of focalisation, the tendency towards identification with Réda cannot 'be mapped' onto an anglophone audience (Biscio 2013: 79), given that they do not share a language (at least not at this point in the film, anyway). Indeed, it is inevitable that the bordering role played by the subtitles in the narrative will change as it moves into new territory, but it is not lost altogether. In both the part- and fully-subtitled films – although not entirely subtitled, as we know – the translated text functions as a kind of 'tracking of movements' like that which characterises the corpus of *cinéma-monde* to which the film belongs (Marshall 2012: 43): 'of cinema personnel, of protagonists in a diegesis, of films themselves as they are engaged with and decoded by different audiences in different contexts'.

It must be said that these linguistic effects are the type that build up over time, and there are plenty of other instances in which the father and son clearly communicate their differences beyond the choice of language itself. Some of these even revolve around values of communication, a point to which I will later return, as the father tells his son in Arabic ‘[y]ou may know how to read and write but you know nothing about life.’ Others are more general, such as Réda exclaiming that he and his father are ‘not on the same wavelength.’ Many, significantly, pertain to the essential question of faith; when Réda asks his father ‘[m]erde ! On ne pardonne pas dans ta religion ?’, for example, it is his use of the possessive ‘your’ rather than his use of French that emphasises the divide between the two characters for francophone and anglophone viewers alike. Although for the latter, the use of italicisation to emphasise the word ‘your’, unlike its “standard” formatting in the DVD subtitles (Figure 31) might have gone the extra mile, so to speak.



Figure 31: Réda drives alongside his father in Jordan (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Réda’s question marks the culmination of a chain of events that follow an encounter at the Turkish border with a man named Mustapha and which drive further wedges between the father and son, namely around the issue of drinking alcohol in Islam. The impasse between the two men is presented as both literal and metaphorical in this scene through the visual

framing: whilst the father walks along a grass verge with his suitcase having left his son in a hotel in Syria, Réda drives alongside him, leaning across the passenger seat of the car to try and reconnect with his father and gain redemption for his drunken misbehaviour.

It is also worth noting here the director's use of framing as a tool to create distance between Réda and his father and their respective values, which Rosello (2011) has discussed at length. When they are on the move, for example, in one shot the camera looks over the father's shoulder as he reads his Qur'an in the passenger seat, and in the next, it shows Réda momentarily taking his eyes off the road to check his phone for messages from his girlfriend (Figure 32).



Figure 32: An over-the-shoulder shot showing the father reading his prayer book (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Even shots that include them both emphasise their separation, and in the religious sense in particular, manifesting in the image of the father's prayer beads dangling from the rear-view mirror between them in the car like a physical dividing line (as shown in Figure 33, which also shows how the camera isolates Réda as driver). Language, in its most formal verbal sense – and thus by extension its representation in subtitles – is therefore clearly only one part of multiple and diverse bordering practices at work in the filmic text overall. These

visual techniques, further, are clearly those that work to superimpose ‘two maps, itineraries’ and so on, suggesting to viewers how the protagonists are metaphorically not undertaking the same journey at all, and more literally (and perhaps purposefully) seem to refuse providing any clear suggestion for the audience in terms of that with which or with whom they are supposed to identify. The choice to only subtitle the father’s language, therefore, is not only symbolic but a necessary intervention that ensures the audience understand that the story is supposed to be told from Réda’s point of view.



Figure 33: An over-the-shoulder shot Réda driving with prayer beads in view (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Indeed, it is not necessarily a given that all audience members will align themselves with Réda simply because his language, and therefore perspective, are those that are not subtitled. And still, for audiences watching through single-language subtitles, the visual fault lines are linguistically somewhat blurred within what we might term the film’s overall ‘borderscape’ (see Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007; Brambilla 2015; Rosello and Wolfe 2017). This neologism, inspired by Appadurai’s (1996) anthropological theory of ‘scapes’, denotes a net of signs and versions of the border stretching out from its concrete site – here, ‘verbal’ language, be it spoken or written – and insinuating itself into a multiplicity of fields

and locations – the other semiotic codes – involving in effect everything taking part in the bordering process. This process starts right from the beginning of the film with the apparition of the film’s title in both Arabic and French (Figure 34), which hints not only to the two roads to be travelled in the film, but in particular to the bifurcated nature of communication through which the journey of the two protagonists will be told, functioning therefore as an additional element within the construction of the borderscape. The opening sequence of the film could, as with *Exils*, be argued to offer viewers a bit of a ‘*fausse piste*’: the title emerging as Réda cycles through a wide-open landscape with a grandiose melody playing in the background suggests a greater sense of freedom in this *grand voyage* than the young man will at first believe to be the case.



Figure 34: Title sequence (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Music plays an important role in *Le grand voyage* for documenting the internal effects, if any, of the crossing of external borders on the protagonists: Ferroukhi (cited in Toler 2007: 35) stated that he wanted to use music to ‘act as a kind of zoom lens on the interior voyage, to help us get inside the characters.’ At the film’s closing, for example, the non-diegetic voice of the Arab musician Amina Alaoui singing a song by the Sufi poet Ibn Arabi in Arabic (*Ode d’ibn arabi* 1998) plays as Réda gets in a taxi to leave Mecca after his

father's death. The song's lyrics speak of faith, love, pilgrimage and the Quran,¹⁹⁵ and whether or not one believes that they directly relate to the action unfolding on screen – Schilt (2010: 794) argues that the song 'complicates' the final frame of the film beyond a mere 'plaintive image of a young man mourning his father' – it is nonetheless somewhat surprising that the one piece of music with lyrics in the film is left untranslated for audiences. It is also significant that the song constitutes the only representation of Arabic that is not subtitled in the film, lending some weight to the suggestion that its lyrics indicate Réda's burgeoning acceptance of Islam (Laayouni 2016), and if nothing else that the trip has made him more open to its values; prior to getting in the taxi, he gives a homeless woman some money, a stark contrast to an earlier outburst during the trip when his father did exactly the same.¹⁹⁶

On that note, it is worth returning here to the aforementioned song *Manifeste* that features in the title sequence of *Exils* and further unpacking the contribution that its lyrics, and their translation, make to the overall construction of the opening 'borderscape'. As the song plays over the image of displaced people walking *en masse*, the film's title appears on the screen in bright, red capital letters which increase slowly in their opacity (Figure 35). The presentation of the words, in their colour, font and size, create the same sense of urgency as the lyrics to *Manifeste* to intervene in the hardships projected onto those pictured wandering, who we may assume to be displaced, or perhaps more specifically exiled, as the title would appear to suggest. As for the translation, the subtitled text disappears during this final shot, perhaps so as to not obstruct the gaze that the camera has mapped out for the spectator, whose positioning, as Davies Hayon (2018: 34) writes 'allow[s] us to feel as though we are pushing against the flow of migrants that fill the borders of the film's frame.'

¹⁹⁵ An English-language translation of the lyrics is provided in Laayouni (2016: 18): 'My heart has become capable of every form: it is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks, and a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Kaaba, and the tables of the Torah and the book of the Quran. I follow the religion of Love that is my religion and my faith.'

¹⁹⁶ In an earlier scene in Amman, and despite being penniless, the father decides to share what little money they have with a woman beggar and her young daughter. Réda is unable to fathom this act of generosity – seemingly rooted in the third pillar of Islam, *zakat* (almsgiving) – and snatches the money from the woman's hands, only to then be slapped by his furious father.

Here, the supposed “disruptive” presence of subtitles perhaps might be seen as lessening the effect of this filming technique in ‘immers[ing] the spectator in the phenomenological reality of their [the protagonists’] lived experience of displacement and dislocation’; the revisiting of the shot later in the film reveals we are aligned in that moment with Zano and Naïma. Although, if the lyrics had been translated here, the presence of a translational ‘border’ may have conversely and more closely demarcated the separation between the two sets of travellers, as in *Le grand voyage*.

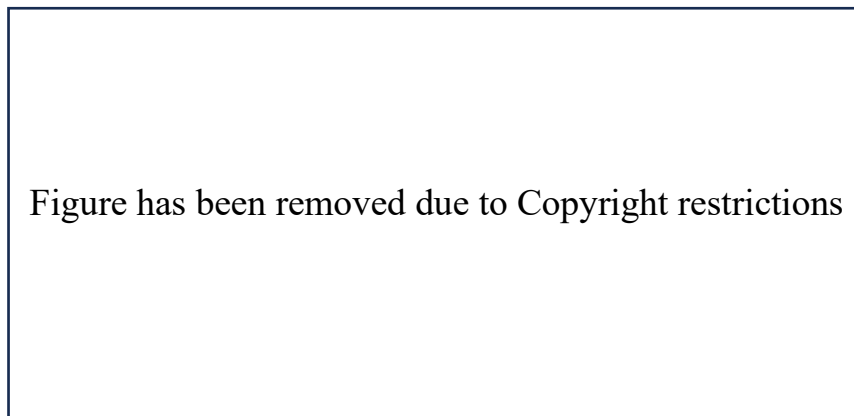


Figure 35: Title sequence (*Exils*, Gatlif 2004)

Unlike in *Le grand voyage*, border crossings are not explicitly stated in *Exils*, but are rather ‘articulated around deterritorialized encounters’ as Vanderschelden (2014: 144) describes, drawing on Ezra and Rowden (2006: 1) to argue that they “‘link people and institutions across nations” but also extend beyond the idea of nation’. The closest the pair get to an official entry is an encounter with two immigration control officers during a brief stop at a temporary accommodation for migrant workers in rural Spain. It is in this scene that they use their passports, and with exasperation, in Naïma’s case, as she thrusts her document moodily onto the requesting officer and asserts, in Spanish, ‘I’m French, shithead’ and with this their comparative privilege to the migrants around them is made clear; one of their fellow workers, presumably undocumented, is arrested shortly after. Parallels in the semiotic

construction of the borderscape here, moreover, can be drawn to the film's opening sequence. The camera tracks Zano and Naïma walking amongst their "colleagues" – the couple had been picking fruit in the previous scene – through gaps in crumbling walls (Figure 36), themselves visually evocative of physical borders, and to which reference is made in the song *Ceux qui nous quittent* (Gatlif 2004) that plays extradiegetically. The lyrics, sung in Arabic and subtitled into French and English respectively are powerful, and draw attention to the tough conditions faced by the migrants on screen, quite literally, as far as the subtitle's alignment with the view of the camera is concerned, even in their "default" position at the bottom of the screen.




Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 36: A mid-long shot of migrant workers walking towards their camp (*Exils*, Gatlif 2004)

The final border crossing in *Exils* is one that is predominantly metaphorical, or indeed metaphysical, as Zano and Naïma participate in a Sufi healing ritual in Algeria during which they are able to transcend their feelings of uprootedness, displacement and unease. The ceremony is described by Gatlif (2004: n.p.) as therapeutic and cathartic, a space in which 'individuals can escape themselves [and] overcome their inhibitions, fears and frustrations'. Prior to entering the ritual, and to prepare her for the ceremony, Naïma receives a spiritual reading from a Sheikha who immediately recognises and begins to reveal the

marks of deep repression and anguish the young woman harbours from what the viewer assumes to be repressed familial trauma. The woman's incisive vision visibly disturbs Naïma, who has until this point avoided revealing too much about herself or her past to her fellow travellers. So too do the repeated warnings that Naïma must 're-find herself,' 're-find her bearings' and 're-find her family' in order to heal, mumbled and whispered by the Sheikha and her interpreter, whose face we never see but whose voice we hear, in French and Arabic respectively. Interestingly, the repetition of these Arabic phrases in French by the third character reproduces, or rather pre-empts, the binary rhythm of the musical piece titled *Transe* (Gatlif 2004) that accompanies the healing dance, and the dialogue becomes rhythmic and trance like in itself. Dialogue, and translation by extension, become their own musical code, thus further stressing the special status of language that Gatlif affords to music in the film.

This binary linguistic structure of the dialogue is also reflected in the visual composition of the sequence, and the camera work in particular is closely interwoven with the translational activities occurring during the reading. The camera alternates between the face of the Sheikha as she addresses Naïma in Arabic and the face of Naïma herself, who does not speak but reacts to the interpreter's French words through her pained, fearful facial expressions. Choosing only to show Naïma's response when she is receiving the translation is interesting as far as the character's linguistic abilities go; as I have already mentioned, she does not speak Arabic, and so for congruity it would make sense to only enable audiences to understand how she feels at the moment when the words being spoken are actually understood by herself. On an extradiegetic level, monolingual speakers of French and English are subjected to experience the exact same game of perceptions as Naïma, as no subtitles are provided for francophone audiences throughout the sequence, and for anglophone viewers, translation only appears when the interpreter speaks, as is the case diegetically. The movement between unsubtitled and subtitled dialogue for the anglophone audience, or simply in translation via the interpreter for the francophone audience here

otherwise gives a strong reflection of the ‘borders’ – linguistic, cultural, spiritual – that Naïma has built up within herself, those between her past and her present, ones that she will only be able to transgress and thus progress going forward as her future self through participating in the ritual.

3.2. Thresholds

The Sufi healing dance depicted in *Exils* recalls Turner’s (1967; 1969; 1981) work on rites of passage, of which the intermediate phase, which he terms as the *liminal* is of particular interest to this chapter. The *liminal* phase, drawing on the Latin word *limen*, ‘threshold,’ is that which occurs in the middle of rituals, initiations, and other such ceremonial practices in which transformation of the individual occurs; as Turner (1969: 95) puts it, liminal personae are ‘neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial’. In other words, those positioned at the *limen* are understood to be ‘no longer’ their old self, but simultaneously ‘not yet’ someone new. Once again, we are reminded of Bhabha’s (1994: 37) ‘third space’, which he also describes as ‘liminal,’ or an ‘interstitial passage’ through which identities are ‘mobilized [...] against ‘signs of meaning [that] have no primordial unity or fixity’ and creates, in Turner’s words, ‘a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise’ (1967: 97); a space where ‘new meanings [...] can be introduced’ (1981: 161).¹⁹⁷ Consequently, we are also drawn to the idea of translation as ritual, or at least a part of it, with regards to the Sufi ritual. Whilst there is no dialogue during the actual dance itself, and therefore no translation – at least not in the more literal sense – without translation, specifically that between French and Arabic through which the Sheikha and her interpreter initiated the ceremony for Naïma, she may never have entered the ritual or crossed the threshold at all.

¹⁹⁷ The influence of Turner’s work on Bhabha’s is therefore just as evident as was that of Bakhtin, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Turner experimented conceptually with the term, and for him, a ‘liminal phase’ could refer to almost anything in which there was a (normally short-lived) period of upending of a prior hierarchy and during which power reversals occurred. As he explains (Turner 1969: 128), the *limen* is defined by an absence of social structure and status, given that liminal personae, as ambiguous entities, have anti-structural properties, thus allowing them to transgress the norms that govern both structured and institutionalised relationships. Interestingly, we see evidence of this manifesting in the liminal space of translation preceding the ritual, in that Arabic is not subtitled into French, thus reversing the typical pattern that we have observed in other films representing Arabic in this thesis, and thus actively engaging in the decentred language politics that the film initiates with the centre-in-reverse movement of the journey. For anglophone audiences, those dynamics of major and minor and centre and periphery that are typically assigned to the relationship between French and Arabic are also called into question, as it is French that is subtitled into English, rather than Arabic, effectively placing the former in a less dominant position. Though the potential ideological implications of aligning the audience with Naïma’s perspective might be lost on the anglophone audience, it nonetheless and crucially sets up a central story element regarding the alienating effect Naïma’s non-understanding of the Arabic language will have on her identity. The technique first appears in the initial encounter between the couple and the siblings, during which Leïla’s translation of her brother’s questions into French for Naïma force her to confront her loss of the Arabic language (see Mamula 2013) for the first time.¹⁹⁸

The initial encounter and gradual rapprochement between Leïla and Naïma revolves around a shared fluency in French, a linguistic connection that has itself been described by

¹⁹⁸ The type of contextualisation that thus also perhaps negates the need to mark the language linguistically or graphically for audiences unfamiliar with Arabic.

Smith (2013) as a “threshold” language.¹⁹⁹ The French language here is ‘deterritorialized’ – neither character has French origins, despite what Naïma might project – and they are conversing in that language in a space where it is not the official or primary language (ibid.). This shared fluency, in turn, is extended to the anglophone audience via the subtitling of French, the English-language subtitles themselves a somewhat ‘deterritorialized’ code by virtue of their supposedly ‘ancillary’ nature, and the corresponding absence of subtitles for the Arabic language ‘territorializes’ it within the text and marks its status as a “homeland language” (Smith 2013). Ancestrally speaking, and more symbolically, Arabic holds this status not only for Leïla and Habib but also for Zano, and especially Naïma, although on a more practical level it is inaccessible to the latter, an inaccessibility from which the language takes its dramatic function in the film (see also the analysis in Smith 2013) in reminding the protagonists of the absent parts of their identities. In this respect, Arabic also represents a ‘threshold language’ of sorts, presented as a language to be learned precisely in order to access and develop a territory of communication in a strange land. Whilst Leïla as the interpreter, and the subtitles with which the access of the anglophone audience is aligned, may act as a bridge between these two languages and the two worlds they represent, their physical presence also serves as a reminder of the gap that necessitates their mediation.

There are, of course, numerous moments in the film in which Arabic must be subtitled in order for the spectators to follow the plot, such as a subsequent scene in which Leïla writes a letter that Naïma will later deliver to her family. Leïla does not read her letter aloud while she is writing it; rather, her non-diegetic voice enters the scene to create an

¹⁹⁹ Smith’s (2013) article discusses representations of multilingualism in the films *Welcome* (Philippe Lioret 2009) and *London River* (Rachid Bouchareb 2009) and concludes, as may be consistent with discourse on multilingual cinema, that both offer a challenge to the conventional assumptions about the linguistic assimilation of migrants in France, and constructs, through language, an alternative to the fraught assumptions of the relationship dynamic of host and guest. Although there is no discussion of how extradiegetic translation factors into this, Smith’s earlier work on multilingual French film (2010) does touch on subtitles as a ‘resource’ in such films.

internal monologue, which is reflected in the use of speech marks within the subtitles (Figure 37).

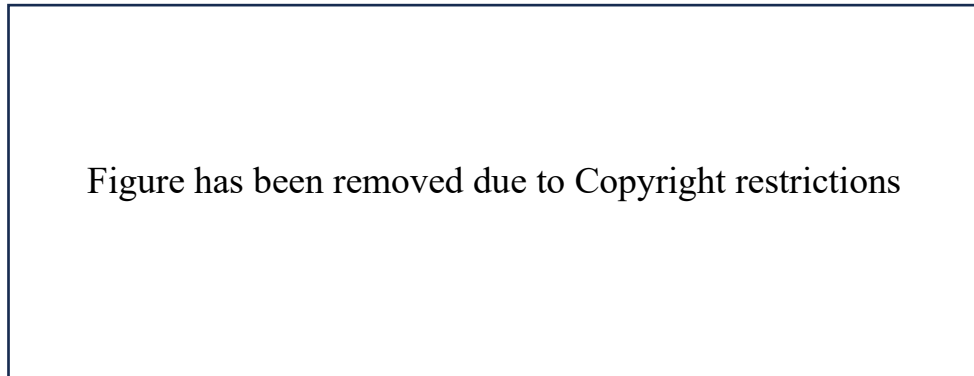


Figure 37: Subtitling of Leïla's internal monologue with speech marks (*Exils*, Gatlif 2004)

Naïma is present in this scene, and although the lack of dialogue being spoken between the two characters might suggest there is no language for her to react to, the camera is positioned slightly above Leïla, looking over her shoulder and bringing the Arabic-language script that she pens into focus. The camera then moves to Naïma's face, showing how she stares at the letter, and then at the girl, silent and contemplating, as though she is trying to get inside her mind and understand what she is saying (Figure 38).

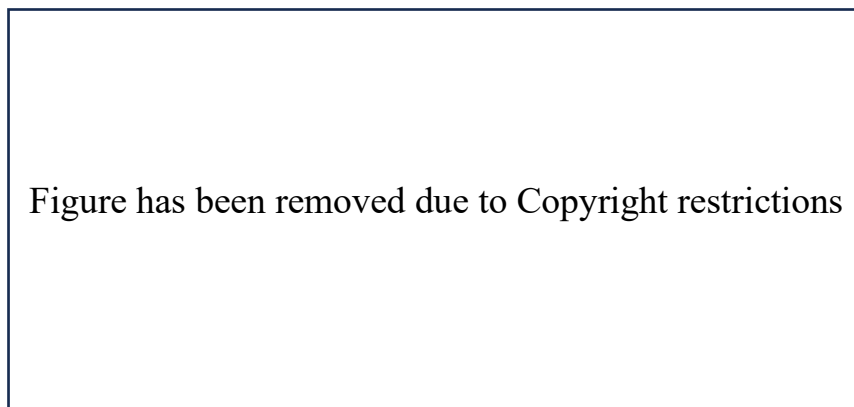


Figure 38: Subtitling of Leïla's internal monologue with speech marks with Naïma in shot (*Exils*, Gatlif 2004)

Indeed, despite the presence of subtitles, it is abundantly clear for viewers that Naïma does not share their access to Leïla's thoughts, and this interrelation between translation and the mind is interesting in the context of Naïma's role as interpreter; as with the Sheikha's translator, Leïla functions as a guide who serves to construct, through language, the psychological, spiritual and cultural bridge that the protagonists will need in order to find the missing parts of their identity and thereby navigate the symbolic barriers presented in their journey.

Linguistic barriers become more commonplace and more intense for the protagonists the further into the Arab lands they travel, as they struggle to understand the language from which they have been estranged given their Western upbringing. This is illustrated in particular once they have reached the family home of Leïla and Habib in Algeria, when their older brother reads out a letter in Arabic, written by Leïla for Naïma to pass on. The latter stares at him, looking but clearly not understanding, as she declares to Zano: 'Je suis une étrangère de partout' [I feel like a stranger everywhere]. As Higbee writes, we see that 'Naïma is introspective and uncertain of her place in either France or the Maghreb' (2011: 70), an insecurity that is implied to be triggered by her non-understanding of the Arabic language. What is noticeably absent in this scene – diegetically, at least – is translation. Without her guide Leïla there to connect the two worlds, Naïma is unable to cross the threshold. Visually, this is further emphasised in the use of framing by Gatlif; the camera alternates between the perspective of the two protagonists, observing the family as though they are flies on the wall – their lack of linguistic understanding reinforced by the use of speech marks for the subtitled Arabic dialogue – before turning back to the young couple who are positioned against a literal wall, that at the very far edge of the room. Naïma's feelings of estrangement and alienation are also written all over her closed-off body language and her haunted facial expression, a physical manifestation of the psychological impact the experience is having on her (Figure 39).

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 39: Zano and Naïma watch Leïla's letter being read in Arabic, subtitled into English (*Exils*, Gatlif 2004)

This scene and the way in which Naïma conceives of herself stands in stark contrast to earlier examples in which the character is interrogated about her identity. Following their first encounter with Leïla and Habib, Naïma is asked by a stranger in a Spanish bar where she comes from, to which she replies confidently in Spanish: 'I'm Algerian. Algerian from France.' Here, she is stood proudly, smiling, and her body language is fundamentally open, suggestive of her recently renewed attitude towards the trip. Whilst it becomes evident from this scene that Naïma is a relatively proficient speaker of Spanish – although there is no visual indication of the language being spoken in either of the subtitled films – a language that is geographically closer to “home” for her, it is reasonable to assume from the above scene that her more (self-)assured assertion of her heritage also lies in her increased proximity to her guide, Leïla. Certainly, these encounters with Leïla and Habib in Spain function as a tentative, temporary meeting place at the doorstep to another world, where the protagonists can dwell in the language and the world of the other without needing to commit themselves fully. We might even assume that Naïma does not want to, not least from her initial ambivalence towards going to Algeria, but also by the later declaration of her “Frenchness” to the immigration police officers, mentioned in the previous section, which does give the idea she is somewhat fickle.

The scene in Leïla and Habib’s home in *Exils* also bears a striking resemblance to one in *Le grand voyage*, in which Réda and his father have reached the Arab lands and congregate with other pilgrims on the roadside to eat and break from driving. The father interacts and converses freely with these travellers coming from Egypt, Syria and Sudan, implying he has a familiarity with classical Arabic. Réda however is unable to understand these pilgrims and answer their questions, as his father explains that his son only understands Moroccan Arabic (Figure 40):

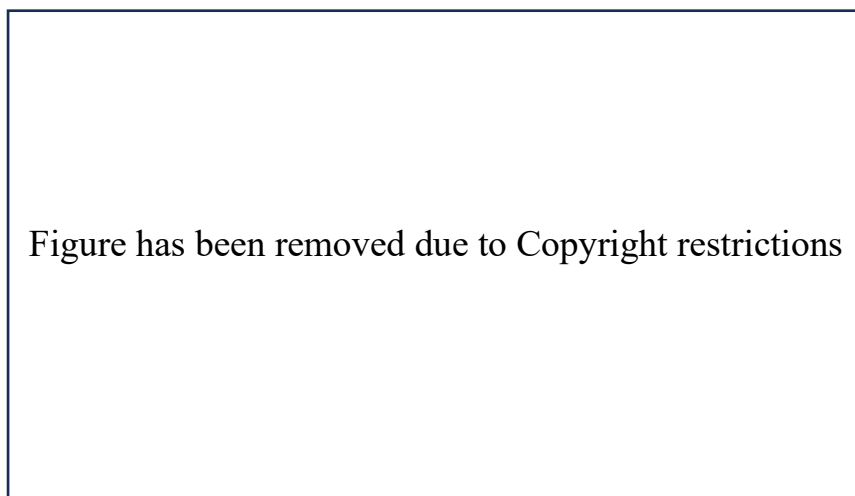


Figure 40: Réda sits isolated amongst the pilgrims in Jordan (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Classical Arabic in this scene serves practically as a ‘threshold’ language that facilitates interaction, but it is inaccessible to Réda, which positions him as an outsider. Aside from the father’s subtitled assertion of his son’s language skills (or lack of them), Réda’s feelings of alienation are “translated” by other means, namely his silence, the lost expression on his face, and the way in which he is sat with his back partly turned to the rest of the group. This journey to the unknown brings Réda to recognise not only the differences that exist between worlds, civilisations, cultures and languages, but also the differences that exist within him. Throughout the film, Réda is therefore constantly at the ‘threshold’ of meeting and recognising the “Maghrebi” Other to his “French” Self (Laayouni 2016), producing a feeling

of uncertainty and fear that hangs over him as he drives his father to a place he knows very little about, one that this encounter seems to exacerbate greatly.

Arabic, and specifically Moroccan Arabic, also serves as a ‘threshold’ language in a more symbolic sense in that it presents the possibility for a change of state in the relationship between himself and his father. There are two examples in the film in which the linguistic border comes down and Réda concedes to speaking Arabic, both sharing a common importance as the young man uses the language to ask questions of his father that suggest an interest in Islam, bringing the pair much closer together. Despite the fact that in each example Réda’s expressions are only a few words in length – ‘what?’ and ‘me too’ – the fact they are uttered in Arabic expresses more on a symbolic level than any longer dialogue in French could (Biscio 2013). As I have discussed in the previous chapter, code-switching practices such as these are often employed in films to reflect a character’s fractured or ‘split’ sense of identity, pointing quite literally in the case of *cinéma-monde* films to gesturing to what Marshall (2012: 42) describes as ‘[t]he impossibility of being fully, purely and unproblematically French, (or European, or Moroccan, etc.)’ Réda’s use of Arabic therefore also serves perhaps to mark a reconciliation (partial, at least) of the two parts of his own fractured sense of identity as a second-generation Maghrebi-French citizen, a movement towards Arabic and crossing of the threshold that parallels his physical journey to the Arab world via the *hajj*, and the effects of transformation that this rite of passage has on his identity, values, and behaviours, and his perception of those of his father.

As before, there is a difference in how the subtitles narrate this moment of linguistic exchange for French- and English-language audiences. The rare subtitling of Réda’s Arabic dialogue into French visibly marks his move towards his father’s language, placing the two characters linguistically and semiotically on the same “wavelength.” For anglophone viewers, on the other hand, for whom Réda’s dialogue in French is translated throughout, these fleeting concessions to Arabic are likely to go unnoticed in the subtitles. Nevertheless, the change in dynamics between the pair are conveyed through their positioning close

together within the same frame, rather than being isolated or distanced, as well as by the fact they are for once smiling at each other, evoking a sense of linguistic hospitality rather than the usual hostility (Figure 41). This is not to say that these other codes fully “make up”, so to speak, for the lack of distinction within the subtitles as to the languages being spoken and their importance to narrative structure, and again here the use of something as “simple” as a label indicating a switch to Arabic would likely suffice. Yet by the same token, Réda’s use of Arabic in the film should not be overstated here, as well as the representation of code-switching between French and Arabic; the two protagonists largely adhere to their respective languages, and even when the father speaks in French this is for reasons that do not go beyond mere practicality.

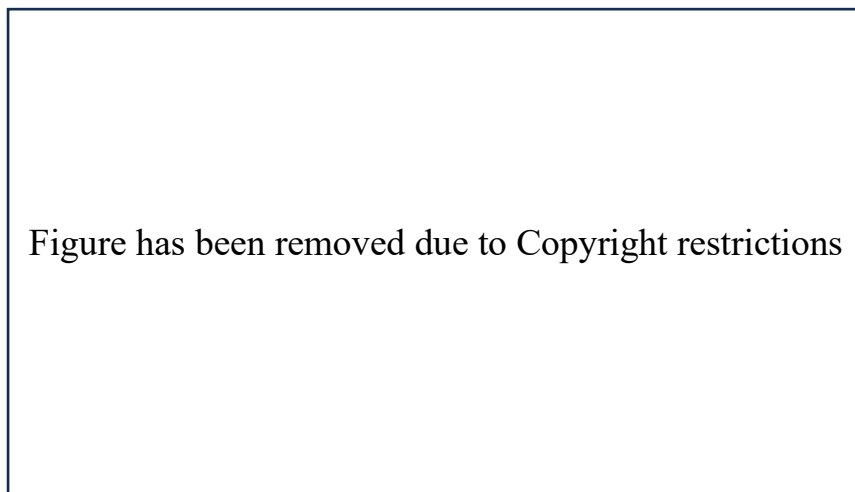


Figure 41: Réda and his father reconcile as they are sat closely together in Belgrade (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

Crossing literal, physical thresholds is something that also proves difficult for the protagonists because of language barriers, and ones that are very much real rather than perceived. This is realised at the border to Turkey, a symbolic event in itself that represents the crossing of the ‘threshold’ between the Western and Muslim worlds, where an issue with Réda’s passport leads to a misunderstanding between himself and the border officers, seemingly exacerbated by the fact they do not share the same language. After establishing

that the latter group do not speak French – Réda’s request for confirmation is met with no-response – he attempts to use broken English to communicate with the officer – ‘mine... passport, and my father’ – and the officer replies in Turkish, both languages unsubtitled for francophone and anglophone audiences. The border officer then takes the pair’s travel documents and disappears for a while, prompting the impatient father to become frustrated, eventually forcing his son to go to them and find out what is happening. Yet this is easier said than done: as Réda starts to ask questions and try to explain their situation – ‘[w]hat’s happened? I am with my father to go to the *Mecque*... Mecca,’ the border control officers completely ignore Réda, and speak amongst themselves in Turkish. It is unclear whether this is due to genuine non-understanding or a wilful lack of acknowledgement of the young man, however; his question ‘you understand when I speak?’, delivered in English, is met in exactly the same way as when he posed it in French – with silence.

Réda’s use of English in the film is an especially interesting point to examine here, as is Ferroukhi’s statement on its representation in the narrative:

[I]n the encounters pictured in the film one notices that Réda speaks English, or “International English,” but no one understands him. That interests me. It shows that it is not as simple as it seems. Everybody doesn’t necessarily speak English. English is an international language for an elite but not for everyone. (cited in Toler 2007:35)

This statement suggests a deliberate choice made by the director to invoke a power dynamic that also decentres English, another hegemonic, Western and supposedly “global” language, placing it instead in a position of inferiority or marginal importance in the narrative.

Deciding not to translate *any* of the languages in this aforementioned scene – both that which is typically perceived as more marginal e.g., Turkish, as well as those more traditionally seen as “powerful”, French and English – creates a space in which they may be apprehended by viewers without visibly assigning power to any of them in particular through subtitles. It also confers a greater degree of power, or ‘linguistic superiority’ (see King 2014; 2017) to the speakers of those Other languages, for whom the narrative contains

aspects that monolingual French-speakers, like Réda, would miss. To return to the director's comment regarding his decision to translate only the languages understood by Réda, we see here how non-translation, in particular, is a critical tool through which the film constructs an alternative language politics, one that repositions the margins between centre and periphery, familiar and foreign, threshold and homeland.

Non-translation also serves here as a powerful means through which to emphasise Réda's sense of non-understanding and displacement, as we see in another scene in which he attempts to ask a man walking on the side of the road in Bulgaria for directions. After instructing his father to wind down the window, Réda leans across him and addresses the man in French "[e]xcusez-moi, monsieur? Bonjour." [Excuse me, sir? Hello.]. The man, to Réda's surprise, responds with "Bonjour." Réda is visibly very pleased by this, as if he cannot believe his luck to have stumbled upon a fellow French-speaker this far away from home. After clarifying by asking the man (in English) "do you speak French?", to which he nods and says "da", presumably 'yes' in his own language, which he then uses to reel off a long, rapid-fire set of directions – we assume, as his speech is left unsubtitled – to Sofia upon Réda's request. Despite Réda's numerous attempts to interrupt the man's speech and ask again whether he speaks English, he simply continues to ramble on, producing a rather comical situation that culminates in the father becoming irate and instructing Réda to drive away. This scene is one that is relatively light-hearted in terms of the broader language politics the film seeks to construct and convey, creating a sort of guessing-game that viewers of both the French- and English-language subtitled films are invited to play, unless they speak the language not being subtitled, of course, whose privileging reminds us that no translation decision can ever truly be neutral.

3.3. Non-places

The father is noticeably silent in both of these interactions, although this is not to say he is particularly verbose in those in which he plays a more direct role. In a shopping

centre in Belgrade, for example, he manages to negotiate a currency exchange with a stranger using virtually only non-verbal communication. After the words ‘euro’ and ‘change’ are uttered, the ‘absolute minimum amount of information required to initiate the process and create a strong channel of communication’ (Rosello 2011: 270), the two men proceed to use their positioning towards one another to signal who is “speaking”, who is “in” or “out”, and their hands to accept or reject the prices being proposed with their fingers. At one moment, when the father walks away, it is clear to the viewer that he is refusing an offer, which prompts the stranger to reach out and touch the father’s arm to show that he is willing to renegotiate the deal. Physical movement becomes not only a system of communication, but a language of bartering used by both men to reach an agreement on a rate of exchange, one we might assume to be very different from the official conversion rates displayed on a board signposting to a bureau de change positioned next to them (Figure 42). The comparatively ‘unofficial’ nature of their transaction and their operation outside of the ‘normal’ system is only emphasised by the fact that most of their exchange is filmed from a near-birds-eye-view, as if to suggest to the viewer that they are being watched on CCTV, and therefore that the transaction might be illegal, too.

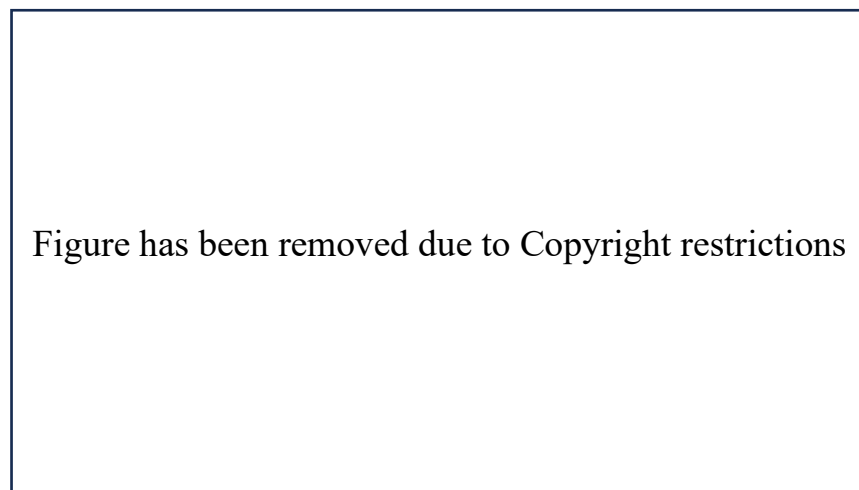


Figure 42: A currency exchange takes place in Belgrade (*Le grand voyage*, Ferrouki 2004)

Meanwhile, Réda is depicted staring at the board displaying the ‘official’ exchange rates, as if he is unwilling to accept (or simply ignorant toward) the ‘unofficial’ transaction and the related unconventional communicative process happening behind him. His subsequent intervention in which he pushes in between the two men stating ‘[a]ttends, attends, excuse me do you speak English?’ [wait, wait...] is confirmation of this, and shows, as Rosello (2011: 271) argues, ‘Réda’s desire to slow down what he perceives as a conversation that may fail because the requisite tool is missing (a shared language)’. Clearly, a shared language does exist between the two, and their conversation seems to be going pretty well; in this particular instance it is apparent that Réda’s issue is rather with the ‘unofficial’ status, or form, of that language, as one that is not codified, not immediately translatable. In an earlier scene, the young man refuses to accept that his father knows anything about navigating the road because of his inability to read a map, which makes the fact that he is “reading” one whilst his son attempts – and ultimately fails – to ask for directions in Bulgaria all the more ironic. Indeed, his use of English to address the stranger in the shopping centre proves to be futile, as does telling his father to wait in French; as he tries to approach and enter into the transaction, neither man responds to nor engages with him. Instead, they turn away from the young man to continue their bartering, leaving Réda excluded from their conversation.

The rates and currency symbols displayed on the board are an example of the kinds of ‘peremptory messages, often efficiently or bafflingly rendered by pictograms’ (Simon 2018: 103) that proliferate in archetypal ‘non-places’ [*non-lieux*], a term introduced by Augé (1995) to categorise spaces marked by mobility, a lack of attachment and/or the circulation and random consumption of messages. Augé’s term refers in particular to a world of shopping malls, airports, motorways and service stations, spaces that seemingly strip those entering them of their individual attributes, where they exist solely as a traveller or customer, or both at the same time.²⁰⁰ ‘the passenger through non-places retrieves his identity only at

²⁰⁰ A bureau de change could not be a more fitting example of this, therefore.

customs, at the tollbooth, at the checkout counter' (ibid.: 103). 'Non-place' is set in opposition to an anthropological notion of 'place' as a culturally and socially embedded site, one rooted in space and time with shared meanings and notions of personhood. As Augé writes (ibid: 63), 'if a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity will be a non-place.' Such an explanation is arguably somewhat vague and by opposing the two concepts in this way Augé removes the individual as agent, as the one interacting with a specific "space" – the overarching concept encompassing both place and non-place – and thus implies that any given space cannot be experienced as both by different individuals. Yet, the experiences of Réda and his father in the currency exchange scene in *Le grand voyage* suggests the very opposite.

Despite the status accorded to the shopping centre by Augé, the father seemingly experiences it as a 'place': the physicality of his interaction with the stranger and their use of touch alone renders the space one that is far more personal and much warmer than the cold, greyed lighting of the scene suggests the environment itself would appear to allow. It is of course, this physical form of communication that enables the two men to connect in ways that go beyond the traditional place-based principles upon which "shared" notions of personhood are typically constructed; national identity, in particular, and the culture and language to which they are bound. The same appears to be true of Zano's aforementioned interaction with the shopkeeper in *Exils*, where he similarly also employs a very physical language involving the use of objects, gestures and movements – erratic ones at times – in order to overcome the language barrier and negotiate an exchange.²⁰¹ It is unclear to what extent exactly the use of non-verbal communication helps Zano to complete his purchase (we see him with the shoes afterwards), or his creation of a "Frenchified" Spanish, and neither the presence nor absence of subtitles for anglophone audiences, as I have suggested, makes this any clearer on an extradiegetic level. Yet ultimately, he does manage to get his

²⁰¹ Needless to say, unlike Naïma, Zano is not proficient in Spanish.

message across, and therefore to “translate”, and like the father, invites us to consider how such diverse performances of multiple, partial and dynamic forms of communication and translation interrelate with the ‘placings’ they seem to create in the diegetic world.

The relationship between (non-)place and translation has been explored in some depth by Simon (2019) through the prism of the hotel, which she argues occupies an ambiguous position on the “spectrum of placeness”; ‘as homes to people on the move, hotels combine features of rootedness and transience’ (Simon 2019: 47). She also argues, further, that the ‘placeness’ of any given site can be determined by the kinds of linguistic and translational practices that take place there, which she illustrates with a case study on the hotel as it is depicted in the films *The Grand Budapest Hotel* (Wes Anderson 2014) and *Lost in Translation* (Sofia Coppola 2003). For her, the two hotels represent the extreme ends of this place/non-place spectrum, ‘sites that are culturally embedded versus anonymous and identical spaces associated with purely functional consumerism’ (ibid.) and also represent the two extreme ends of a spectrum of translatability: translational versus untranslatable. It is acknowledged that choosing near polar opposites makes for a useful analytical contrast with which to theorise the relationship between two concepts – translatability and placeness – whose relative fluidity, by Simon’s own admission (ibid.), appear very difficult to pin down. It is argued here, for this very reason, that positioning or attempting to position the two in any type of dichotomy cannot account for and ultimately fails to acknowledge the heterogeneity and materiality of the translational practices bound up with the production of non-places/places, that both *Exils* and *Le grand voyage* make clear.

Further, like Augé, Simon seems to emphasise the nature of the space itself as determining the kinds of translation practices that take place there, and therefore their sense of ‘placeness’. For example, her definition of Anderson’s Grand Budapest as ‘translational’ by virtue of its ‘enthusiastic engagement with historical, cultural and linguistic otherness’ (2019: 47) seems to lay solely in the fact it is modelled on the twentieth-century European hotel, itself ‘bringing together multiple languages, cultures and historical references’.

Arguably this latter point can be true of any space; the large shopping centre entered by Réda and his father is one we might reasonably assume sees a more diverse demographic of travellers passing through – the board displaying multiple currencies is a visual testimony of this, like ‘visa stamps on a passport’ – than the rural, isolated shop entered by Zano in Spain. The ‘rootedness’ of this space to its (local) geography, culture and most importantly language, which Zano clearly neither speaks nor understands very well, provides conditions that could easily nourish a sense of displacement, alienation, or confusion in others, as we have seen with Naïma. The fundamental difference, then, seems to be the individual’s motivation for travel, and the subsequent influence of this on their perception and interaction with space, that determines their (in)ability, or even preparedness, to engage with otherness, regardless of ‘placeness’. An enthusiasm to trace history, culture and language, shared notions of personhood, community and identity are catalysts for the journey for both Zano and the father, whereas for Naïma and Réda, these processes are simply a by-product, at times unwanted, of tagging along for the ride.

Réda’s experience of the shopping centre is one that aligns more closely with that of the protagonists staying in Coppola’s Tokyo Park Hyatt hotel, where, as Simon (2019: 47) writes, ‘translation is hardly attempted [...] Tokyo reduced to the incomprehensible surfaces of neon signs and opaque babble heard in public spaces.’ The young protagonist’s engagement with the display of exchange rates is particularly interesting in this sense; of the poster, Rosello (2011: 269) argues that it functions as ‘a sort of dictionary’ that provides people access to two “languages” (currencies) allowing them to ‘cross over without having to negotiate their way through the process’ (2011: 269). In Simon’s (2018: 103) terms, translation here ‘approaches the essence of “automatic” transfer’, a reflection of the kinds of impersonal interactions and transactions that take place in these zones designed for impersonal and momentary needs. As we have established, the interaction between the father and the stranger is one that is fundamentally personal, and whose physicality clearly complicates the language presented on the board that Rosello (2011: 269) argues to only

allow for ‘preconfigured transactions to take place.’ Réda’s reliance on that language, as she continues, therefore does not give him the ‘latitude to invent’ in the same way as the two men, nor to ‘get on their wavelength’ to use his own phrasing. Ultimately, and like the two American protagonists in Coppola’s film, Réda’s inability to communicate and engage with those around him causes him to retreat into a sense of isolation and cultural exclusion, ultimately becoming “lost in translation”.

The currency exchange scene in *Le grand voyage* is also left completely unsubtitled, although there is very little dialogue to subtitle, or that needs to be subtitled altogether, for that matter. ‘Change’, ‘euro’, and ‘do you speak English?’ are all part of the wider vocabulary of ‘Globish’ upon which Réda routinely draws throughout the journey, and whose every instance is left untranslated, although not because Réda does not understand the language, but because the audience likely does. The father and the stranger for their part do not appear to be familiar with the code (or want to be, this much is clear), nor does its presence give the audience, who, like Réda, would apparently also require a more official, or “material” means of communication to negotiate a similar deal, any further access to what the two men are saying. Whilst, as Rosello (2011: 270) argues, the spectator ‘might recognise the transaction,’ thanks in part to the scattering of words and display of conversion rates that embed their interaction within a communicatively contextual shell, the latter text itself acting in some ways a ‘subtitle’, their complexifying of this language and of ‘language’ altogether defies the possibility of producing a precise translation. This scene constitutes but one example of the many ways in which the film refuses to validate Réda’s assumptions that his father’s illiteracy is a ‘form of disempowerment’, and that the ability to read, write and most importantly speak English, or ‘Globish,’ is correspondingly an ‘asset’ (ibid.: 269), a disavowal that extends in this scene to the audience, too.

The final space I want to examine in this section is that of the car in *Le grand voyage*, whose ‘non-placeness’ as it crosses borders, sits at thresholds and passes through

no-man's-lands brings a sometimes uncomfortably close encounter with the Other.²⁰² On the road between Zagreb and Belgrade, for example, the pair encounter a black-clad, spectre-like elderly woman whom they are unexpectedly obligated to take with them across the Serbo-Croatian border. As they stop to ask her for directions, a process which, as we have seen, is typically fraught with linguistic difficulty, the woman invites herself into the car and simply starts to point forward whilst murmuring a word that sounds like “delichi”. The protagonists, both apparently bemused by the woman’s words, assume this to be a town along the way – the father’s assertion of this fact in Arabic subtitled for francophone audiences as: ‘Delic doit être une ville sur notre route’ – yet they never find any evidence to prove that this is the case. In their view, and the use of quotation marks in the English-language subtitling seems to suggest, “Delic” – as it is rendered in writing – appears to constitute a ‘non-place’ in the sense that it is a place that does not exist. The word itself is both undecipherable and essentially meaningless, not only for the protagonists but also for spectators for whom it is retained “untranslated” in the subtitles (Figure 43), thus further suggesting that the presence of translation in some material form does not always equate with creating a sense of ‘place’.

If the woman’s language cannot be deciphered this is perhaps also because the woman herself proves to be extremely hard to ‘place’. Her presence altogether seems unexplainable, as Réda points out after they pick her up: ‘C’est quand même bizarre une femme comme ça au milieu de nulle part, sans bagages, sans rien’ [It’s strange, a woman in the middle of nowhere like that, without any bags, without anything]. Gott (2011: 151) notes that this comment about her lack of baggage may lead us to believe she is a refugee of the Balkan war, and as they start to drive, a United Nations truck passes them in the opposite direction, seemingly a reminder of the recently solved conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, there is very little about the woman that is readily identifiable in terms of

²⁰² Augé (1995) points out that modes of transport are as much a non-place as zones of stasis and waiting.

nationality, culture, and language, which makes working her out or “translating” her a difficult task, and her silence, seemingly symbolic of the wider (hi)stories of traumatic travel tied into the European landscape. It is unclear whether it is her untranslatability, her relative muteness or simply her cryptic and solemn nature that unnerves Réda and drives him to try and convince his father to abandon the woman at all costs: ‘Elle me fait peur cette vieille, faut se débarrasser d’elle’ [She scares me that old woman, we need to get rid of her]. His father, however, seems much more at ease and insists they take the old woman with them.²⁰³

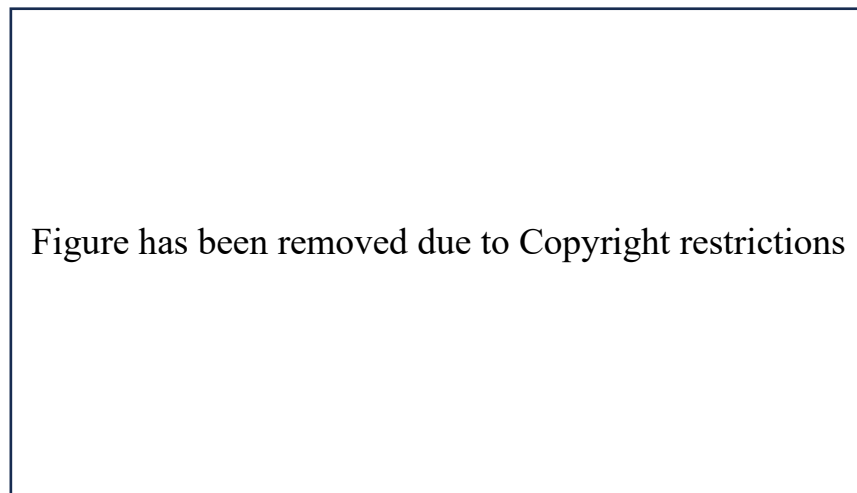


Figure 43: Subtitling of the woman in black’s mysterious language (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

As they cross the border into Serbia, the old lady slips out of the car unnoticed, before reappearing out of thin air, blocking the protagonists’ path and returning to the back seat, once again saying nothing. Réda’s fear turns to anger, provoking him to make a violent, physical attempt to remove her from the back seat, swearing and shouting at her in French, until his father commands in Arabic that the son leave her alone. He then turns to the woman

²⁰³ Although Réda does later eventually manage to convince his father to abandon her at a hotel, as they drive away a shot-counter-shot in close-up of the remorseful father and the depressed-looking woman suggests his empathy and regret for leaving her behind.

and asks her firmly, in French, ‘[t]oi. Tu vas où?’ [You. Where are you going?], to which the reticent woman finally speaks: “delichi”. Interestingly, it does not appear to be the father’s use of French that gets a response – Réda asks her the same question, in the same language, but receives no reply – but rather his display of compassion towards the woman, signalling a more genuine interest in attempting to try and understand her. It is unsurprising that the relative placelessness and untranslatability of the elderly woman produces two radically different communicative responses from Réda and his father, which in turn translate into and then through their actions. Whilst Réda checks over the car, leaving the woman in the backseat, the father is shown walking around the service station – arguably another non-place – asking fellow motorists – with whom we assume he likely does not share a language – whether they recognise this mysterious place, but ultimately as he tells Réda: ‘Nobody knows Delic.’ His acceptance of the woman and her Otherness, moreover, translates to the narrative integration of her speech in the English-language subtitled film, ‘Delic’ now presented without quotation marks (Figure 44).



Figure 44: Example of narrative integration in the subtitles (*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

The addition of extra passengers in the car does seem to pose a particular threat of derailing the journey and taking the protagonists off their supposedly linear path. Picking up Mustapha at the Turkish border, and the tour of Istanbul (and its nightlife in particular) that ensues is evidence of this, although without him and his interpreting skills, the pair might not have been able to enter Turkey at all. Whilst the father almost seems to view him as a ‘necessary evil’ (the latter word doing a lot of the heavy lifting as far as the perceived incompatibility of alcohol with Islam is concerned), the more flexible version of religion to which Mustapha introduces Réda, one he is allowed to explore on his own terms rather than according to his father’s strict interpretation, seems equally necessary in facilitating the eventual reconciliation of their identities. Sat in the back of the car, positioned “in-between” the two men (Figure 45), Mustapha symbolises both a border, an entity that separates the two men, as well as a threshold, offering the possibility to ask how they relate to each other at the same time. This is essentially the purpose of the car itself, whose ‘placeness’ and the related degree of relationality with which it imbues the father-son relationship is ultimately brought into being through their increased communication over the 3000 miles in which they share the space. Creating room for dialogue, for negotiating differences does not necessarily require speaking the same language – the French-Arabic dynamic runs right to the end of the trip – but rather trying, through language, to get on the same wavelength.




Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 45: Réda and his father pick up Mustapha at the Turkish border
(*Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi 2004)

4. Conclusion

It is somewhat fitting that the last example to be analysed in this thesis serves as an analogy for the object of study itself. The description of multiple languages – and cultures, perspectives, and so on, by extension – coming into contact, and more typically conflict, within a relatively confined space resonates with discussions had at the start of this thesis about the semiotic and narrative composition of multilingual films and the tensions this in turn creates for, or are even caused by translation, as has been the case in both *Le grand voyage* and *Exils*. Translation, for its part, and as stated in the introduction of this chapter, has typically been seen as an obvious analogy for the journey, although the dynamics of binarised transfer between a fixed source and target implied therein become somewhat more complicated with journeys that envision departure, destination and the distance in-between in less binary and more dynamic ways. The presence of subtitles in the two films under study here, for example, did not always correspond with a ‘minority’ language being translated for a majority audience, if they were translated at all, a ‘centre-in-reverse’ movement that extradiegetically engages the spectator in the diegetic questioning of dominant relationships between language, power and space. Considering the non-linearity of the southwards trajectories depicted – be this due to not following an established pathway at all or being thrown off it by those encountered en route – it is perhaps unsurprising, and even obvious, that the translational lines on the audiovisual map provided to those following the journey from afar would be – for the most part – far from ‘typical’.

To speak here, as the title suggests, of being “lost in audiovisual translation” refers thus on the one hand to the decentring effect that these subtitles may have on viewers of both films, and the way in which the view that subtitles are ancillary, or an afterthought, are pushed out of sight in the translation process on the other. It was, paradoxically, in the noticeable absence of subtitles across both part- and single-language-subtitled films – be this for individual languages or entire sequences – that their inextricability from the narrative became most visible. The presence of linguistic and cultural oddities and obscurities *within*

the subtitles themselves also emphasise that the subtitles are far from a “deterritorialized” code operating within a restrictive space but suggest rather that we may thus consider them to be *deterritorializing*, and part of a wider strategy through which translation turns the spectator’s journey “outwards”. Perhaps more so than non-translation; whether the use of these strategies will lead the spectator to engage with the subtitled Other through observation or interaction, to return to Section 2, or even produce any feelings of ‘defamiliarization’ of course depends on their own coordinates, and the extent to which the language is, well, ‘unfamiliar’ to them, if at all. As we have seen, ‘foreignness’ exists on a sliding scale, to which end we might assume that no viewer could claim to be well-versed in those codes depicted in the film that are hard to place, or seemingly “off the grid” altogether, such as that “spoken” by the father in the shopping centre of *Le grand voyage*.

Inasmuch as the subtitles are thus a crucial part of the respective aesthetic language of each film – though one could argue that *all* subtitles carry their own distinctive semiotics of displacement by virtue of their visual association with the ‘foreign’, emphasised for spectators being transported to ‘other worlds’²⁰⁴ – there does appear to be scope to integrate them even more creatively into the design of their ‘scapes’. Presenting the subtitled lyrics to *Manifeste* in *Exils* in the same striking red colour as the film’s title, for example, may have ‘invested’ the translated text visually with the same ‘moral and aesthetic value’ as the ‘borderscape’ in which it appears (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007: xxx–xxxiii). The apparent fluidity of this concept, described as a ‘zone of varied and differentiated encounters’ (ibid.), and the imagination and aesthetics it integrates into the analysis of bordering processes does indeed inspire imagination with regard to the aesthetic integration of subtitles. Although, this is to not to say there is no meaningful interaction between the various and different semiotic codes in the construction of these zones across the film at all: the subtitles for the song *Ceux qui nous quittent*, for example, added further and significant

²⁰⁴ Or, as Egoyan and Balfour put it: ‘Every film is a foreign film, foreign to some audience somewhere – and not simply in terms of language’ (2004: 21).

layers of visual and even auditory interest to the scene despite their status as “conventional” and the fact this was therefore likely coincidental. The choice to translate the song was not, however, and one cannot help but wonder whether some experimentation with the presentation of the lyrics may have served to elevate the special status of music as ‘language’ in the film.

As a sense of adventurous excitement accompanies this idea of a move towards creative subtitling methods, activating a relatively romantic notion of ‘travel’ as was the case for the protagonists of Gatlif’s film, we are swiftly reminded that the road to get there is yet long and presents many obstacles. To frame it in terms more familiar to us in this chapter, I refer here to those barriers – tools, time, taxonomies – preventing a full opening of the door so that such practices may become widespread, mainstream, and thus firmly find their ‘place’ within the audiovisual translation landscape. Experimenting with the positioning of the subtitles in *Le grand voyage* to accentuate the framing of the father-son communicative patterns, such as putting them at opposite sides of the screen, might reasonably have been too far in the distance – practically, technologically – at the time of the film’s release. Yet, those techniques much “closer to home”, so to speak, such as colour-coding the two languages subtitled for anglophone viewers may have more clearly conveyed the transient, unpredictable and fragmented nature of the travellers’ identities in those rare moments when their respective territories are crossed. Further, labelling the use of Arabic within the subtitles throughout the film could serve to mark the father as more distinctively Other than his son to the anglophone audience, bringing them closer to the *personnage principal* with whom in many respects they share a language, and who therefore may or may not be implicated in its literal and metaphorical rejection, as the director’s comments imply.

Both Réda’s use of ‘Globish’ and the multinational, multicultural and multilingual setting in which it appears but does not really “belong” is a testament to the diversity of borders, lateral connections and languages on which the ‘movements’ inherent to *cinéma-monde* – in narrative, production or distributive terms – and their tracking in translation

‘focus attention’ (Marshall 2012: 42). Certainly, the subtitling of both films under study functioned as a kind of ‘visual testimony’, not necessarily to the exact borders crossed – the stamps on the passport came often from contextual cues – but how, if at all, the characters, and the films as material goods adapted to the different territories entered. Considering films as ‘travelling texts’, as we have established, raises crucial questions in relation to key political, cultural and historiographical discourses and practices in which subtitles are both part and product; in many respects they ‘bear witness’ to the learned behaviours, values and belief systems of film directors, or indeed those of the institutions to which their work is bound. Approaching audiovisual translation through the lens of travel, and of the border, the threshold and (non-)places, in particular and in turn, has allowed for an anthropological definition of subtitling to emerge, one that moves it beyond a technical key to studying the differences arising within or between spaces (national, generational, cultural, spiritual and linguistic) but as a general epistemological fact; one concerning the nature of human behaviour, social interaction and behaviour within these spaces, ‘third spaces,’ those in which we deal with difference, with the Other and with our Selves.

Conclusion

Le grand voyage is a good way to describe a PhD thesis, and this one in particular, which embarked on a quest to attain a deeper understanding of the ways in which subtitles impact semiotically and narratively on the ways in which films produce meaning. With a multidisciplinary means of transport, and a Postcolonial Translation Studies perspective in the driving seat, it set out on a cross-continental cinematic voyage through the *francosphère*, where all roads led to multilingual encounters in which questions of identity, alterity and power were navigated in (audiovisual) translation. Multilingual films might seem like an obvious destination for “getting away” from ideas that subtitles are ‘ancillary’ or an ‘afterthought’, considering that some sort of translation strategy – even if this is non-translation – typically must be factored into the very decision to make a film in multiple, or ‘different’, languages. Irrespective of the necessity and visibility of their work, it is not a given that part-subtitlers are consulted prior to post-production stages, and as for single-language subtitles, their creative potential is often overshadowed by the complications that arise in the process of translating multiple, or ‘different’ languages into one at least twice-removed from its “source”. Yet, if part-subtitled films constitute “original” versions, and “foreign” versions have the potential to produce a completely different viewing experience, then subtitles produced for “international” audiences must be interpreted beyond the linguistic dimension in the same way as those produced for audiences at “home”, and even beyond the semiotic realm, as elements that actively contribute to shaping entire narratives.

Even at the ‘formally’ linguistic level, as the analysis of *Bienvenue* and *L’esquive* demonstrated in particular, single-language subtitles can, and do, present multilingualism just as audaciously as “originals” that have no subtitles at all: the former, bold in its near total disregard for the idea that subtitles should be ‘invisible’ and draw very little attention to themselves so as not to ‘disturb’ the viewers’ experience, and the latter, brave for daring to ‘displace’ the identities on screen with dialect-for-dialect strategies, and thus tell their story

from seemingly ‘disembodied’ perspectives. How exactly one interprets the term ‘audacity’ may thus depend on their stance towards the varying degrees of source language interference or target language substitution displayed by the respective subtitles of each film, but the introduction of non-standard language in either case visually disrupts, decentres and deconstructs ideas of linguistic homogeneity, unity and singularity as the “source texts” do aurally. To ‘put the accent back’ is, as Marshall (2012: 45) suggests, at the core of the *cinéma-monde* project and, according to him, ‘the Francophone cultural and linguistic world is interesting only when all its accents, contexts, and mixing are made audible’. ‘Putting the accent back’ was also clearly at the core of each subtitlers’ approach, literally in the case of *Bienvenue*, and no less materially or tangibly in *L’esquive*; let us remind ourselves that African American English comprises part of the accents, contexts and mixing of the cultural and linguistic world of the *banlieue*, a lateral connection, if you will.

The interlingual subtitling of linguistic variation, then, clearly does not *always* tend towards standardisation, although the next case study stop on the thesis’ route took us down a slightly different path. Specifically, one that accelerated Zouina’s integration in *Inch’Allah dimanche* through the rendering of her broken French in a seemingly fluent English from the beginning of the film, carving out a verbal identity made all the more rigid by the fact that no distinction was made in the subtitles between the two code-switching languages she would later come to use. Of course, part-subtitling can be ‘homogenising’ too: concerns raised about the wider socio-political implications of choosing to subtitle Arabic over French in films depicting both languages might be considered an alternative interpretation of the ways in which *cinéma-monde* films ‘posit a unity and then immediately undermine it’ (Marshall 2012: 41) to that outlined in Chapter Two. In the case of *Inch’Allah dimanche*, further, as with films with similar multilingual dynamics, one might thus attribute the related ‘fragility’ (ibid.) of the concept to the idea that the subtitling of Arabic in the film rigidly represents the presence of protagonists from which the audience must distance themselves. The linguistically – and therefore culturally – fluid expressions of identity that characterise

Benguigui's hybrid heroine certainly forced an embrace of this otherwise unwelcome Otherness marked on screen, as did her actions, and those of the characters around them, which we may safely assume worked to create similar dynamics of distance and proximity for audiences at most "thrice removed" from the diegetic world the film portrays.

Defining the audience of a multilingual film is itself not a clear-cut task, as we have well established. It is entirely possible and even likely that the 'anglophone' audience of *Inch'Allah dimanche* comprises of French and/or Arabic speakers in the same way that the release of *Dheepan* in France surely reached Tamil-speaking spectators (as it did in Canada). As discussed in Chapter Four with reference to the latter, the (post)colonial connection between Tamil and English is a variable that may have had a different impact on the anglophone audience's understanding of the narrative and its characters, even if they were slightly skewed by the setting. Who has watched, is watching and will watch these films is a question that has not been answered with exactitude in the thesis, given that its scope has not allowed for the conduction of reception-based study. Consequently, the thesis does not possess any empirical evidence as to how exactly, and whether, the subtitling techniques discussed affect the cinematic experience of these audiences, whoever they may be. Pursuing this line of enquiry represents a logical next step for this research project in the long-term, although such pursuit would not be possible had the foundations for the investigation not been laid in this thesis altogether. In the short-term, there is potential to scrape and collate reception data from reviews of films as paratextual materials, the study of which has been highly informative elsewhere in the project as far as understanding the directors' motivations behind their multilingual representations and theorising the subsequent possible translation effects.

On that note, to return to *Le grand voyage*, Ferroukhi's comments in interview imply that the director may have been involved in the film's "international" translation, even if this involvement was somewhat indirect. For example, the subtitler might have taken their cue from these paratextual materials, as it was suggested in Chapter Two, or from the part-

subtitles in the film's French-language release, decisions that were definitely the result of direct instruction. Subtitles may similarly be considered 'paratextual', or at least could at the very start of the thesis, where I discussed their perception as entities not seen as operating strictly 'inside' the text, despite being entities through which the texts are accessed and information about them provided. As the thesis comes to its end, however, it is evident that subtitles challenge such a description: rather than simply serving as a tool through which to read and apprehend the text, subtitles shape the meaning of the text as it is produced alongside the rest of the semiotic information, even when there are no subtitles at all. The (para)textual functions of non-translation, a strategy that paradoxically makes the textual embeddedness of translation all the more visible, were similarly unpacked in the analysis of *Exils* and *Dheepan*, in which the influence of the subtitling decisions made "in part" could be traced to the translation of both films "in full". It is perhaps some, or no coincidence at all, that the occurrences of non-translation align with concepts of 'thresholds' and *passages*, both encapsulating the Genettian (1997) concept of *seuils*.

Of all the directors, Boon appeared to be the only one who had an explicitly direct involvement in the English-language translation of his film, as stated in Chapter Three (Ellender 2015), which is perhaps unsurprising. That Boon stars in the film himself is telling of his desire to be involved in quite literally *all* aspects of its production, and, like the single-language subtitles, to exist – visibly, materially and undeniably – 'within' the text and not just 'outside' of it. From an entertainment perspective – if we consider that the ideological weight of the dialect's representation is not of major concern for the anglophone audience – the spectacular results produced in the subtitles undoubtedly vouch for the potentials of collaborative translation approaches, such as Romero-Fresco's (2019: 46) accessible filmmaking model, for which he positions multilingual films as the 'ideal candidate.' Entertainment aside, the model is positioned as the ideal candidate for delving deeper into the minds of directors working with multilingualism beyond the paratext, and to get an 'insider' perspective into how translation factors into the ideological (and political, social,

cultural) processes behind their multilingual narratives, if translation is provided at all.

Making a point about when films are *not* translated has emerged as one of the key aims of this research project, and strongly interlinks with the broader cultural themes that frame the investigation on a meta-level. Indeed, the ‘subtitle’ of this thesis ‘Narratives of Identity, Alterity and Power in Audiovisual Translation’ refers not only to those studied within the films, but those the thesis has created pertaining to the audiovisual translation medium itself.

These themes, moreover, are inextricably linked to the questions about accessibility, and about providing access, that the thesis has addressed, which in themselves add further complications to the aforementioned question of establishing the audience(s) of multilingual films: who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’? How do we describe and/or define audiences of translated films? What does access mean to these audiences, and does it differ across and within them? It is interesting, and perhaps even damning, that no DVD source used to study the English-language translations of the films in the corpus included an interlingual track for d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers, suggesting that the two audiences dealt with by the accessible filmmaking model – those requiring access due to a language barrier and those on the deafness spectrum, from the subtitling perspective – are blurred into one, albeit not in the sense that their experiences are bridged in such a way that is mutually beneficial. To recognise that these audiences have respective and distinctive access needs is not to perpetuate hierarchical dichotomies between ‘able’ and ‘disabled’; it is fundamentally a problem that the subtitles assume the end user can hear the dialogue and disregard important non-dialogic or dialogue-adjacent information that is an essential aspect of the films’ portrayals of multilingualism, e.g., music, paralinguistic and phonetic features and even speaker identification. Ironically, it is those techniques routinely employed in intralingual subtitling for the d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing to mark these textual features, such as colour coding and descriptive labels, that could easily add further levels of distinction to the representation of multilingualism in the single-language subtitled films in particular, and for *all* viewers.

The thesis firmly aligns itself with the translational logic of accessible filmmaking and leverages its liberating notion of accessibility (cf. Greco 2016), recognising that accessibility features, traditional or not, can create a much richer, fuller connection to a film. Creative subtitling techniques have been discussed, in this respect, as a means through which further textual substance and depth can be created in the film, not only in terms of the visual aesthetics, but also in terms of the additional layer of thematic interpretation that sound adds to a film's overall aesthetics of multilingualism. Beyond the more 'mainstream' suggestion of using Gatlif's soundscape in *Exils* as a space for experimentation with the textures, effects and rhythms of subtitled lyrics, and that of using different font sizes and colours in *Inch'Allah dimanche* to amplify which voices – and languages – shout the loudest, employing fansubbing-style glossing techniques for the *ch'timi* words in *Bienvenue* with extra detail on their pronunciation could, as suggested in Chapter Three, serve not only to 'put the accent back' but to spell it out to viewers, too. Subtitles are as much a part of a film's soundtrack as dubbing is to the visuals, and the resulting issues of synchronisation present an obstacle elsewhere for this type of play with the subtitles; the speed with which the characters 'play with words' in *L'esquive*, for example, and practicalities aside, would presumably present a technical nightmare for the subtitler trying to create and harmonise special effects, let alone the aforementioned potential of such effects to clash with the ideology of the film's stripped-back aesthetic.

Any discussion of creative subtitles in the films under study in this thesis has been hypothetical, and for *certaines d'entre eux*, it is true that the "conventional" methods with which all were subtitled likely work best, anyway. With *Inch'Allah dimanche*, in fact, as with *L'esquive* and *Dheepan*, the almost-fantastical picture that has been painted of creative subtitling techniques appears mismatched with the social-realist styles in which they are filmed. It is not the case that these films do not slip into the realms of 'fantasy'; for example, a recurring mirage-like scene in *Dheepan* depicting the titular protagonist's vision of an elephant looming towards the screen through jungle foliage, not discussed in the thesis,

attracted much criticism elsewhere for the ‘exoticised’ representation it produced of the migrants’ home country (Romney 2016). That Audiard responded to the question of “why?” with ‘I just wanted elephants in my film [...] and an image of nature moving. I don’t know what Tamils dream of’ (ibid.: n.p.) perhaps only adds fuel to the fire, although Audiard’s words are food for thought here. As much as one – as audiences, researchers, subtitlers – may want creative subtitles in the films they watch, study and translate, for them to move with the image, we do not necessarily know what the directors dream of, and whether this is something they would be open to and want for the work they produce. For this reason, it is all the more important to push for models such as accessible filmmaking, and for greater and wider industry collaboration for *all* ‘types’ of subtitling.

A further consideration with less the feasibility of creative subtitling techniques – the challenges have been well-documented here – but their appropriateness, more so, is perhaps genre, although genre differences did not preclude degrees of overlap occurring in the functions of multilingualism across the individual case studies. The imperfect acquisition of a “dominant” code was as much a comedic point for the representation of Aïcha in *Inch’Allah dimanche* as it was for Philippe in *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis*, for example, and served in both cases as a strategy for the directors to denounce and undermine the linguistic ‘authority’ of these figures in their respective societal microcosms. Context is everything, of course, and it is the macrocosmic societies in particular upon which each film draws and to which their directors respond that makes all the difference here, especially as far as translation is concerned, and even for the ‘international’ audience. Aïcha is, for all intents and purposes, and regardless of her position of dominance in the diegetic world, still a minority in the extradiegetic eyes of the monolingual English-speaking audience to whom the film’s single-language subtitles ‘implicitly cater’, to use Rosello’s (2011: 258) phrasing. To have gone any further with marking her proficiency in the translation for the latter might problematically be considered as “punching down” rather than “punching up” as was the case with Philippe. For the French- and Arabic-speaking viewers watching without subtitles

at all, of course, we also have to ask ourselves whether they are “in” on the joke, be this linguistically, culturally, socially or otherwise.

The above considerations are a prime example of the ways in which this thesis did not taxonomise, which by its very nature, decontextualises, but rather sought to pluralise understandings of the myriad ways in which multilingualism and translation operate within contemporary francophone films. That a ‘Francophone perspective’, as Marshall (ibid.) writes, nonetheless ‘invites lateral connections between different themes and chronotopes such as the border’ could not have been more true of the present study; this travel motif, alongside threshold dwellings and the feelings of place and/or displacement that may arise when on the move can be traced ‘in reverse,’ so to speak, from the films in Chapter Five to those in Chapter Four, and even manifested in the clash between subcultures and mainstream French society explored in Chapter Three. Connectedness, as we have established, does not equate with *sameness*, and the ‘chronotope’, moreover, another Bakhtinian (1981) concept, brings into focus the ‘heteroglossic’ structure of ‘francophone cinema’ as ‘language,’ one that stratifies into multiple other languages, perspectives and worldviews and other specificities all of which the thesis has sought to allow to proliferate as individuals – whilst still pulling together commonalities – by tailoring its analytical approach, rather than imposing an authoritative ‘one-size-fits-all’ discourse. Regardless of the thematic interrelation between the films, to have not done so would have contradicted the core tenets of creative subtitling approaches that have greatly influenced the methodological approach of the thesis, which, for its part and as a consequence, has demonstrated how ‘collaborative approaches’ can be incorporated into the practice of analysing subtitled films, even if not their production.

Methodologically, in view of the connections between multiple disciplinary strands, contexts and codes that this thesis has pulled together, the present research project may be considered somewhat ambitious, to which I say, “nothing ventured, nothing gained”. Indeed, the all-encompassing, boundary-crossing and multivalent methodology developed in the

thesis was designed in such a way so as to bring out the best of subtitles, to show off what they do and can do, by being able to account for the role played by the translated text within the film as a whole, its impact on horizontal and vertical levels of meaning-making and to emphasise its status as a polysemiotic entity in its own right. The standpoint behind this approach is one that runs as a counterpoint to narratives of ‘loss’ that have prevailed in Audiovisual Translation Studies, a term whose dominant epistemology within Translation Studies more broadly is called into question by the specific postcolonial perspective through which this thesis has approached the question of translating multilingualism. If ‘loss’ has to do with the homogenisation of the unique qualities of a voice, representing a forced (and often violent, as Nornes argues (1999)) conformance to the prevailing norms of whichever culture one finds themselves being translated into, depending on the motives of power driving translation in the first place, this ‘loss’ of the Other may constitute the Self’s “gain”. Like context, perspective matters when it comes to the never-neutral, always-subjective act of translation, a ‘new’ perspective Audiovisual Translation Studies has undeniably ‘gained’ through the postcolonial framing applied to this thesis.

It is striking that so few contributions in Audiovisual Translation Studies possess a postcolonial purview, considering the political, ideological and cultural implications engrained in the term ‘loss’, used in so many of these contributions to appraise (or criticise) translation and the different forces that may be marshalled in to minimise its negative effects. Even those studies in audiovisual translation that depart from a purely linguistic analysis to take a more multimodal approach often still imply that the rest of the semiotic information in the film is compensatory to, rather than co-constructive of, the subtitles. Where this thesis may have been guilty of expressing such statements at times, and in Chapter Four in particular with reference to the ‘reliance’ on other codes to fill in the gaps in viewers’ knowledge in *Inch’Allah dimanche*, this just goes to show how deeply entrenched these attitudes are in subtitling discourse. It is interesting, on this note, and however, that ‘rely[ing] on interaction with the film’s other signs to do the job and on an estimate of what

viewers from the target culture might be expected to fill in themselves' is seen by the authors of one of the pivotal and most comprehensive texts in the field as the work of 'talented subtitlers' who 'manage to "suggest" [...] language variation' (Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007: 191). On the other hand, if 'trying to put too much of the linguistic variation into the subtitles can have a reverse effect' (ibid.: 192), as they warn, then this leaves us to seriously question how we might appraise the subtitles of *Bienvenue*.

As I reflect on the findings of this thesis, I am no less convinced by this definition of 'talent' than I was of McClarty's (2012) definition of 'creativity' in Chapter One, and whilst both definitions have been produced in good faith, they are undeniably flawed, and contradict one another in many respects. On paper, a dialect-for-dialect approach fits neatly into the aforementioned criteria for 'talented' subtitling practice, whilst being viewed in McClarty's (ibid: 140) eyes, and as far as previously discussed criticisms of homogenisation go, as uncreative, "invisibly" reproduce[ing] the same effect on the target audience as that of the source audience'. By the same token, would remarks on the 'visibility' of these strategies, as remarks on their 'sloppiness' imply (Jäckel 2001 in Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 192), suggest that they are in fact creative, by 'allow[ing] the film text to gain new meanings in translation' (McClarty 2012: 140)? It would seem thus, and despite the supposed productive capacities of the 'third space' in which they work, subtitlers are stuck between a rock and a hard place: they cannot do right for doing wrong, they either do too much or not enough. The embrace of dialect-for-dialect approaches here as "creative" is not to say that two cultures can simply be mapped onto one another unproblematically; such a statement would be unbecoming of a thesis informed by postcolonial translation theory. However, it is also a thesis that, in perceiving translation as a social, political, cultural and ethical act, acknowledges it as one that, in the process of reconstituting its "original" or "source", leaves them Other than the Self they once were.

Certainly, the pervasiveness of discourses of loss in Translation Studies shows how in much of what has been written about translation there seems to be a desire for the

certainty of what is “already there.” The very fact that studies are often framed in terms such as the extent to which, if at all, representations of the source language(s) are “recreated” in the target text pre-emptively sets subtitles and subtitlers up to fail. Paradoxically, and indeed even more so in the context of subtitling, what is being minimised in such attempts to “replicate” source in target is exactly what is unique to translations, what translation brings that is new, that constitutes growth – an interaction in a new context, a new reading, a new writing. Subtitles are reduced to meagre reproductions of an effect, a reflection, which is ironic considering that these effects never actually go away but are added to; subtitling opens up a space in which different codes – of both the “original” and its “translation” – come into contact, and often conflict, and in this process of convergence-divergence produces texts that are far more than the sum of their individual parts. In fact, the ‘third space’ occupied by and occurring in subtitling is one that critically interrogates and often undermines these clichéd oppositions of original-translation, primary-secondary, source-target – binary oppositions that all point to the disturbing difference introduced through the act of translation, the ‘newness’ it brings into the world, but in the end, serve only to condemn and reject it.

Newness, growth and difference is precisely what this thesis has brought to the field of French and Francophone Film Studies; an interaction in a new context (audiovisual translation), a new reading (through subtitles), a new writing (one that is translational, transnational and translingual). It was for the fact that so much had been written on the intersections between identity, alterity and power and representations of multilingualism in “French” cinema that it was selected as the object of study for the thesis, and the concepts developed therein have provided fruitful terminology with which to unpack and interrogate the place of subtitles within these narratives. King’s *langue de passage*, discussed in Chapter Four, is the epitome of what was meant in the paper ‘Cinéma-monde and subtitling’ (Leveridge and Mével 2023: 31) by the statement ‘[s]o interconnected are questions of language and identity’ and therefore alterity and power ‘that focusing on translation in

cinéma-monde would therefore be like focusing on *cinéma-monde* itself.’ It is also a term that comprises within it all four key components of the *cinéma-monde* frame – borders, movement, lateral connections and language – that King (2023b: 50) has more recently expanded to consider how French Deaf cinema and representations of French Sign Language therein contribute to ‘undermin[ing] the monolingual politic of the republican project and expose the border within.’ Further questions are thus raised, as far as this thesis is concerned, as to how questions of translation and access are intertwined with the narratives of identity, alterity and power that these intralingual varieties construct, both ‘within’ and across borders.

There is certainly *un monde entier* out there to explore, and even its furthest corners, as stretched and shifting as they may be, do not represent the final ‘frontier,’ the ‘most significant structuring pole’ of *cinéma-monde* (Marshall 2012: 47). The introduction to a recent special issue of *Contemporary French Civilization* on the topic is titled ‘[n]ew directions in *cinéma-monde*, from Quebec to Kinshasa and the moon’ (Gott 2022), suggesting that the ‘cinema of the Francosphere’ (Marshall 2012: 51) reaches far beyond the stratosphere itself: films such as *Arrival*, directed by Quebecois filmmaker Denis Villeneuve (2016), are those that we may consider as drawing on such interplanetary configurations – or constellations – of borders, movements, lateral connections and language. Whilst ‘extraterrestrial’ codes were off the radar of the present research project, the term ‘alien’ has itself appeared frequently over the course of the last 200 or so pages of this thesis to describe the presentation, understanding and reception of ‘different’ – albeit ‘worldly’ – languages, or ‘sounds of another tongue,’ as Shohat and Stam (1985: 41) put it. They are certainly not being counted out of the work that is to follow this project; although, when the events of the polycrisis era during which this thesis has been written – global pandemics, (inter)continental conflicts and supranational movements for social, political and environmental change – eventually hit our cinema screens, in polyglot form no doubt, my

work uncovering the narratives of identity, alterity and power in audiovisual translation that are yet to emerge here on Earth might be somewhat cut out.

Filmography

- Adieu*, dir. by Arnaud des Pallières (Shellac Distribution, 2003)
- Ah-ga-ssi* [The Handmaiden], dir. by Park Chan-wook (CJ Entertainment, 2016)
- Ariel*, dir. by Aki Kaurismäki (Finnkino, 1988)
- Arrival*, dir. by Denis Villeneuve (Paramount Pictures, 2016)
- Babel*, dir. by Alejandro González Iñárritu (Paramount Pictures, 2006)
- Bande de filles*, dir. by Céline Sciamma (Pyramide Distribution, 2014)
- Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis*, dir. by Dany Boon (Pathé Renn, 2008)
- Bled Number One*, dir. by Rabah Ameer-Zaïmeche (Les Films du Losange, 2006)
- Bonnie and Clyde*, dir. by Arthur Penn (Warner Bros, 1967)
- Borat! Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan*, dir. by Larry Charles (Twentieth Century Fox, 2006)
- Bye-Bye*, dir. by Karim Dridi (Pyramide International, 1995)
- Casse-tête chinois*, dir. by Cédric Klapisch (Studio Canal, 2013)
- Cheb*, dir. by Rachid Bouchareb (Artédis, 1991)
- Code inconnu : Récit incomplet de divers voyages*, dir. by Michael Haneke (MK2 Diffusion, 2000)
- Dany Boon : à's baraque et en ch'ti*, dir. by Dany Boon (TFI Vidéo, 2003)
- De battre mon coeur s'est arrêté*, dir. by Jacques Audiard (UGC Distribution, 2005)
- Des hommes et des dieux*, dir. by Xavier Beauvois (Mars Distribution, 2010)
- Desperanto*, dir. by Patricia Rozema (Atlantis Films and Cinémaginaire, 1991)
- Dheepan*, dir. by Jacques Audiard (UGC Distribution, 2015)
- Divines*, dir. by Houda Benyamina (Diaphana Distribution, 2016)
- Drôle de Félix*, dir. by Oliver Ducastel and Jacques Martineau (Pyramide Distribution, 2000)
- Easy Rider*, dir. by Dennis Hopper (Columbia Pictures, 1969)
- Eden*, dir. by Mia Hansen-Løve (Ad Vitam, 2014)

Entre les murs, dir. by Laurent Cantet (Haut et Court, 2008)

État des lieux, dir. by Jean-François Richet (MKL Distribution, 1995)

Exils, dir. by Tony Gatlif (Lady Film and Pyramide Distribution, 2004)

Fatima, dir. by Philippe Faucon (Pyramide Distribution, 2015)

Femmes d'Islam, dir. by Yamina Benguigui (Bandits and ADAV, 1994)

Forrest Gump, dir. by Robert Zemeckis (Paramount Pictures, 1994)

Gadjo dilo, dir. by Tony Gatlif (AMFD, 1997)

Hexagone, dir. by Malik Chibane (Ciné Classic, 1994)

Hors-la-loi, dir. by Rachid Bouchareb (Studio Canal, 2010)

Inch'Allah dimanche, dir. by Yamina Benguigui (ARP Sélection, 2001)

Indigènes, dir. by Rachid Bouchareb (Mars Distribution and Playtime, 2006)

Inglourious Basterds, dir. by Quentin Tarantino (Universal Pictures International, 2009)

Intouchables, dir. by Olivier Nakache and Éric Toledano (Gaumont, 2011)

It's a Free World..., dir. by Ken Loach (Channel 4, 2007)

Jeunesse dorée, dir. by Zaïda Ghorab-Volta (MK2 Diffusion, 2001)

Joyeux Noël, dir. by Christian Carion (UGC-Fox Distribution, 2005)

L'affaire Farewell, dir. by Christian Carion (Pathé, 2009)

L'auberge espagnole, dir. by Cédric Klapisch (BAC Films, 2002)

L'esquive, dir. by Abdellatif Kechiche (Rezo Films, 2003)

La faute à Voltaire, dir. by Abdellatif Kechiche (Rezo Films and Mikado, 2000)

La fille de Keltoum, dir. by Mehdi Charef (Imagine, 2011)

La graine et le mulet, dir. by Abdellatif Kechiche (Pathé Distribution, 2007)

La Haine, dir. by Mathieu Kassovitz (MKL Distribution, 1995)

La squala, dir. by Fabrice Genestal (Ciné Nominé and M6 Films, 2000)

La strada, dir. by Federico Fellini (Paramount Films of Italy, 1954)

La vérité si je mens !, dir. by Thomas Gilou (AFMD, 1997)

Latcho drom, dir. by Tony Gatlif (Acteurs Auteurs Associés, 1993)

Le gone du Chaâba, dir. by Christophe Ruggia (AFMD, 1997)

Le grand voyage, dir. by Ismaël Ferroukhi (Pyramide Distribution, 2004)

Le Thé au harem d'Archimède, dir. by Mehdi Charef (Cinecom Pictures, 1985)

Les Misérables, dir. by Ladj Ly (Le Pacte, 2019)

Les Poupées russes, dir. by Cédric Klapisch (Mars Films Distribution, 2005)

Les ripoux, dir. by Claude Zidi (AMLF, 1984)

London River, dir. by Rachid Bouchareb (Abc Distribution, 2009)

Lost in Translation, dir. by Sofia Coppola (Focus Features, 2003)

Mémoires d'immigrés : l'héritage Maghrébin, dir. by Yamina Benguigui (Cara M, 1997)

Métisse, dir. by Mathieu Kassovitz (MKL Distribution, 1993)

Monsoon wedding, dir. by Mira Nair (Alliance Atlantis Communications, 2001)

Monty Python and the Holy Grail, dir. by Terry Gilliam and Terry Jones (EMI Films, 1975)

Night Watch, dir. by Timur Bekmambetov (Gemini Film and Twentieth Century Fox, 2004)

Polisse, dir. by Maïwenn (Cinéart and Mars Films Distribution, 2014)

Qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au Bon Dieu ?, dir. by Philippe de Chauveron (UGC Distribution, 2014)

Raï, dir. by Thomas Gilou (Pan Européenne Distribution, 1995)

Regarde-moi, dir. by Audrey Estrougo (Gaumont International, 2007)

Roma, dir. by Alfonso Cuarón (Cine Canibal and Netflix, 2018)

Salut cousin !, dir. by Merzak Allouache (AFMD, 1996)

Samia, dir. by Philippe Faucon (Pyramide Distribution, 2000)

Sans toit ni loi, dir. by Agnès Varda (MK2 Diffusion, 1985)

Sleep Dealer, dir. by Alex Rivera (La Fabrique de Films and Maya Entertainment, 2008)

Slumdog Millionaire, dir. by Danny Boyle (Lucky Red and Pathé Distribution, 2008)

Stagecoach, dir. by John Ford (United Artists, 1939)

Star Wars: Episode IV – a new hope, dir. by George Lucas (Lucasfilm and Twentieth Century Fox, 1977)

Surname Viet, Given Name Nam, dir. by Trinh T. Minh-ha (Women Make Films, 1989)

Ten'ja, dir. by Hassan Legzouli (Pierre Grise Distribution, 2004)

The Beverley Hillbillies, dir. by Penelope Spheeris (Twentieth Century Fox, 1993)

The Dukes of Hazzard, dir. by Jay Chandrasekhar (Warner Bros, 2005)

The Grand Budapest Hotel, dir. by Wes Anderson (Searchlight Pictures, 2014)

The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring, dir. by Peter Jackson (New Line Cinema, 2001)

The Searchers, dir. by John Ford (Warner Bros, 1956)

The Sisters Brothers, dir. by Jacques Audiard (UGC Distribution, 2018)

Tout ce qui brille, dir. by Geraldine Nakache (Pathé, 2010)

Un héros très discret, dir. by Jacques Audiard (AFMD, 1996)

Un prophète, dir. by Jacques Audiard (UGC Distribution and UGC Films UK, 2009)

Vivre au paradis, dir. by Bourlem Guerdjou (Arab Film Distribution and Tadrart Films, 1998)

Vivre sa vie, dir. by Jean-Luc Godard (Panthéon Distribution, 1962)

Welcome, dir. by Philippe Lioret (Mars Films Distribution and Cinéart, 2009)

Wild Strawberries, dir. by Ingmar Bergman (Svensk Filmindustri, 1957)

Teleography

‘Episode 6075’, *Eastenders*, BBC 1, 06 February 2020

Emily in Paris (Netflix, 2020-)

Jane the Virgin (CBS, 2014-2019)

Narcos (Netflix, 2015-2017)

Sherlock (BBC, 2010-2017)

Unorthodox (Netflix, 2020)

Discography

Amina Alaoui, *Ode d'ibn arabi* (Auvidis Ethnic, Alacantara, 1998)

Baaziz, *Djebel* (Melodie, Life in Algeria, 1996)

Edith Piaf, *Non, je ne regrette rien* (Columbia, Non, je ne regrette rien, 1960)

Françoise Hardy, *Le premier bonheur du jour* (Disques Vogue, Françoise Hardy, 1963)

Idir, *Ageggig* (Blue Silver, Les chasseurs de lumières, 1993)

KRS-One, *Sound of da Police* (Jive, Return of the Boom Bap, 1993)

Tony Gatlif, *Ceux qui nous quittent* (Naïve, Exils (Bande originale du film de Tony Gatlif), 2004)

——— *Manifeste* (Naïve, Exils (Bande originale du film de Tony Gatlif), 2004)

——— *Transe* (Naïve, Exils (Bande originale du film de Tony Gatlif), 2004)

Bibliography

Abderrezak, Hakim (2016) *Ex-Centric Migrations. Europe and the Maghreb in Mediterranean Cinema, Literature, and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)

Académie Française (1995) *Satuts et Règlements* <https://www.academie-francaise.fr/sites/academie-francaise.fr/files/statuts_af_0.pdf> [accessed 10 December 2022]

- Aguilar, Carlos (2019) 'Alfonso Cuarón breaks down the use of language in 'Roma,' including plans for subtitles in Mixtec', *Remezcla*, 2 February
<<https://remezcla.com/features/film/alfonso-cuaron-roma-interview-mixtec-subtitles/>> [accessed 18 January 2021]
- Ahmad, Aijaz (1995) 'The politics of literary postcoloniality', *Race & Class*, 36.3: 1-20
<<https://doi.org/10.1177/03063968950360030>> [accessed 19 September 2019]
- Appadurai, Arjun (1996) *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Appiah, Kwame A. (1993) 'Thick translation', *Callaloo*, 16.4: 808-819
- Archer, Neil (2013) *The French Road Movie: Space, Mobility, Identity* (New York: Berghahn Books)
- Armstrong, Nigel., and Federici, Federico M. (eds) (2006) *Translating Voices, Translating Regions* (Rome: Aracne)
- Arrojo, Rosemary (1994) 'Fidelity and the gendered translation', *TTR*, 7.2: 147-163
- Ascheid, Antje (1997) 'Speaking tongues: Voice dubbing in the cinema as cultural ventriloquism', *The Velvet Light Trap*, 40: 32-42
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (2002) *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge)
- Attardo, Salvatore (2002) 'Translation and humour: An approach based on the general theory of verbal humour (GTVH)', *The Translator*, 8.2: 173-194
- Auer, Peter and Li Wei (2007) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton)

- Augé, Marc (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, transl. by John Howe (London: Verso)
- Bailey, Benjamin (2007) 'Heteroglossia and boundaries', in *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, ed. by Monica Heller (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 257-274
- (2012) 'Heteroglossia', in *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism*, ed. by Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (London: Routledge), pp. 499-507
- Bakhtin, Mikhail (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson, transl. by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press)
- (1984) *Rabelais and his World*, transl. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)
- Baldo, Michaela (2009) 'Subtitling multilingual films. The case of *Lives of the Saints*, an Italian Canadian TV screenplay', in *Translating Regionalised Voices in Audiovisuals*, ed. by Federico Federici (Rome: Aracne), pp. 117-135
- Bancel, Nicolas (2013) 'France, 2005: A postcolonial turning point', *French Cultural Studies*, 24.2: 208-218 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957155813477794>> [accessed 20 March 2022]
- Bandia, Paul (2006) 'African Europhone literature and writing as translation: Some ethical issues', in *Translating Others*, ed. by Theo Hermans, 2 vols (Manchester: St Jerome), ii, pp. 349-361
- (2007) 'Postcolonialism, literary heteroglossia and translation', in *Caribbean Interfaces*, ed. by Lieven D'hulst, Jean-Marc Moura, Liesbeth De Bleeker and Nadia Lie (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), pp. 203-221
- (2008) *Translation as Reparation: Writing and Translation in Postcolonial Africa* (Manchester: St Jerome)

- (2012) ‘Postcolonial literary heteroglossia: A challenge for homogenizing translation’, *Perspectives*, 20.4: 419-431
- Bartoll, Eduard (2006) ‘Subtitling multilingual films’ in *Proceedings of the Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra: Audiovisual Translation Scenarios*, ed. by Mary Carroll, Heidrun Gerzymisch-Arbogast and Sabine Nauert, Copenhagen 1-5 May, pp. 1-6
- Bassnett, Susan and Andre Lefevere (1990) *Translation, History, and Culture* (London: Pinter)
- Bassnett, Susan and Harish Trivedi (1998) *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge)
- Bassnett, Susan, Lawrence Venuti, Jan Pedersen and Ivana Hostová (2022) ‘Translation and creativity in the 21st century’, *World Literature Studies*, 14.1: 3-17
<<https://doi.org/10.31577/WLS.2022.14.1.1>> [accessed 10 September 2022]
- Batchelor, Kathryn (2008) ‘Third spaces, mimicry and attention to ambivalence’, *The Translator*, 14.1: 51-70 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2008.10799249>> [accessed 20 September 2019]
- (2014) *Decolonizing Translation: Francophone African Novels in English Translation* (Manchester and New York: St Jerome)
- (2018) *Translation and Paratexts* (Oxon: Routledge)
- Baumgarten, Nicole (2005) ‘On the women’s service? Gender-conscious language in dubbed James Bond movies’, in *Gender, Sex and Translation: The Manipulation of Identities*, ed. by Jose Santaemilia (Manchester: St. Jerome), pp. 53-70
- Béhar, Henri (2004) ‘Cultural ventriloquism’, in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Massachusetts and London: MIT Press), pp. 79-88

- Benjamin, Walter (1968) *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, transl. by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books)
- Berger, Verena (2016) “‘Going Home’: Mobility and return journeys in French and Spanish road movies”, *Transnational Cinemas*, 7.2: 168-182
- Berger, Verena and Miya Komori (eds) (2010) *Polyglot Cinema: Migration and Transcultural Narration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain* (Vienna: Lit)
- Berghahn, Daniela and Claudia Sternberg (eds) (2010) *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Beseghi, Micòl (2017) *Multilingual Films in Translation* (Oxford: Peter Lang)
- Betz, Mark (2009) *Beyond the Subtitle: Remapping European Art Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Biscio, Marie (2013) ‘The subtitling of French contemporary accented films: *Le Grand Voyage*’, *New Voices in Translation Studies*, 9: 69-83
- Blair, Thomas L. (2014) *High Rise, Hard Living, on Being Black in London’s Tower Blocks* (London: Editions Blair)
- Blake Norman F. (1981) *Non-Standard Language in English Literature* (London: Deutsch)
- Blatt, Ari J. (2008) ‘The play’s the thing: Marivaux and the *banlieue* in Abdellatif Kechiche’s *L’Esquive*’, *French Review*, 81.3: 516-527
- Bleichenbacher, Lukas (2008) *Multilingualism in the Movies* (Tübingen: Francke Verlag)
- Bloom, Peter (1999) ‘Beur Cinema and the politics of location: French immigration politics and the naming of a film movement’, *Social Identities*, 5.4: 469-487

- Blum-Reid, Sylvie (2013) 'Gatlif's manifesto: Cinema is travel', in *Open Roads, Closed Borders: The Contemporary French-Language Road Movie*, ed. by Michael Gott and Thibault Schilt (Bristol: Intellect), pp. 203-217
- Bogucki, Łukasz (2004) 'The constraint of relevance in subtitling', *Journal of Specialised Translation*, 1: 71-88
- Bosseaux, Charlotte (2008) 'Buffy the Vampire Slayer: Characterization in the musical episode of the TV series', *The Translator*, 14.2: 343-372
- (2015) *Dubbing, Film and Performance: Uncanny Encounters* (Bern: Peter Lang)
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. by John B. Thompson, transl. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Oxford: Polity Press)
- Brambilla, Chiara (2015) 'Exploring the critical potential of the borderscapes concept', *Geopolitics*, 20.1: 14-34
- Brookey, Robert and Jonathan Gray (2017) "'Not merely para": Continuing steps in paratextual research', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 34.2: 101-110
- Brown, Andy, Rhia Jones, Mike Crabb, James Sandford, Matthew Brooks, Mike Armstrong and Caroline Jay (2015) 'Dynamic subtitles: The user experience', in *Proceedings of the Association for Computing Machinery (ACM) International Conference on Interactive Experiences for TV and Online Video (TVX 2015)*, ed. by David Geerts, Lieven D Marez and Caroline Pauwels (New York: Association for Computing Machinery), Brussels June 3-4, pp. 103-112
<<https://doi.org/10.1145/2745197.2745204>> [accessed 10 June 2022]
- Caffrey, Colm (2009) *Relevant Abuse? Investigating the Effects of an Abusive Subtitling Procedure on the Perception of TV Anime using Eye Tracker and Questionnaire* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Dublin City University)

- Caporale, Marzia (2009) 'The cinematic gaze as social activism: Yamina Benguigui from documentary to fiction', *Al-Raida Journal*, 0: 32-39
 <<http://alraidajournal.com/index.php/ALRJ/article/view/113>> [accessed 10 October 2022]
- Chamberlain, Lori (1988) 'Gender and the metaphors of translation', *Signs*, 13.3: 454-472
- Chaume, Frederic (2004) 'Film Studies and Translation Studies: Two disciplines at stake in audiovisual translation', *Meta*, 49.1: 12-24
- (2018) 'An overview of audiovisual translation: Four methodological turns in a mature discipline', *Journal of Audiovisual Translation*, 1.1: 40-63
 <<https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v1i1.43>> [accessed 20 September 2019]
- Chiaro, Delia (2006) 'Verbally expressed humour on screen: Reflections on translation and reception', *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6.1: 198-208
- (2007) 'Lost, found or retrieved in translation? Cross-language humour on screen', in *Lingua, Cultura e Ideologia Nella Traduzione di Prodotti multimediali (Cinema, Televisione, Web)*, ed. by Maria Grazia Scelfo and Sandra Petroni (Rome: Aracne), pp. 123-138
- Chion, Michel (2008) *Le Complexe de Cyrano: La langue parlée dans les films français* (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma)
- Clifford, James (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)
- (1998) 'Mixed feelings', in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. by Pheng Chea and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), pp. 362-370
- Cohan, Steven and Ina Rae Hark (eds) (1997) *The Road Movie Book* (London and New York: Routledge)

- Corrius, Montserrat, Eva Espasa and Patrick Zabalbeascoa (eds) (2020) *Translating Audiovisuals in a Kaleidoscope of Languages* (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag)
- Corrius, Montserrat and Patrick Zabalbeascoa (2011) 'Language variation in source texts and their translations: The case of L3 in film translation', *Target*, 23.1: 113-130
- (2019) 'Translating code-switching on the screen: *Spanglish* and L3-as theme', *Journal of Audiovisual Translation*, 2.2: 72-91 < <https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v2i2.96> > [accessed 15 October 2020]
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1989) 'Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics', *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: 139-167
- Cronin, Michael (2000) *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation* (Cork: Cork University Press)
- (2009) *Translation Goes to the Movies* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Crow, Liz (2005) *Nectar: A New Approach to Film Accessibility* <<https://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/40/library/Crow-Film-accessibility.0508.pdf>> [accessed 20 March 2021]
- Curti, Giorgio H. (2009) 'Beating words to life: Subtitles, assemblage(s)capés, expression', *GeoJournal*, 74: 201-208
- Danan, Martine (1991) 'Dubbing as an expression of nationalism', *Meta*, 36.4: 606-614
- Daoudi, Fatiha (2015) *Analyse de situation aux frontières terrestres algéro marocaines : vie quotidienne d'une population partagée* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Grenoble Alpes)
- Davies Hayon, Kaya (2018) *Sensuous Cinema: The Body in Contemporary Maghrebi Film* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic)

- Davis, Graeme (2015) 'Arthur Ransome and the dialect of Norfolk', *The Buckingham Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 8: 79-98
 <<http://www.ubplj.org/index.php/bjll/article/view/1085>> [accessed 15 August 2020]
- Deville, James (2017) 'Trailer or leader? The role of music and sound in cinematic previews', in *The Routledge Companion to Screen Music and Sound*, ed. by Miguel Mera, Ronald Sadoff and Ben Winters (Abingdon and New York: Routledge), pp. 240-254
- de Beauvoir, Simone (1949) *Le Deuxième sexe* (Paris: Gallimard)
- de Bonis, Giuseppe (2014a) 'Dubbing multilingual films between neutralisation and preservation of lingua-cultural identities: A critical review of the current strategies in Italian dubbing', in *The Languages of Dubbing: Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*, ed. by Maria Pavesi, Maicol Formentelli and Elisa Ghia (Bern: Peter Lang), pp. 243-266
- (2014b) 'Alfred Hitchcock presents: Multilingualism as a vehicle for... suspense. The Italian dubbing of Hitchcock's multilingual films', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 13: 169-92
- (2015) 'Translating multilingualism in film: A case study on *Le Concert*', *New Voices in Translation Studies*, 12: 50-71
 <<https://www.iatis.org/images/stories/publications/new-voices/Issue12-2015/Articles/03-article-DeBonis-2015.pdf>> [accessed 1 March 2020]
- de Higes-Andino, Irene (2014) 'The translation of multilingual films: Modes, strategies, constraints and manipulation in the Spanish translations of *It's a Free World...*', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 13: 211-231

- de Higes Andino, Irene, Ana M. Prats-Rodriguez, Juan J. Martínez-Sierra and Frederic Chaume (2013) 'Subtitling language diversity in Spanish immigration films', *Meta*, 58.1: 134-145
- Delabastita, Dirk (1989) 'Translation and mass communication: Film and TV translation as evidence of cultural dynamics', *Babel*, 35.4: 193-218
- (ed) (1996) *Wordplay & Translation. Special Issue of The Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication 2* (Manchester: St Jerome)
- Delabastita, Dirk and Rainer Grutman (2005) 'Fictional representations of multilingualism and translation,' *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 4: 11-34
<<https://doi.org/10.52034/lanstts.v4i.124>> [accessed 4 February 2020]
- de Lauretis, Teresa (1987) *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, Fiction* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press)
- Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari (1987) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, transl. by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- de Linde, Zoe and Neil Kay (1999) *The Semiotics of Subtitling* (Manchester: St. Jerome)
- de Lotbinière-Harwood, Susanne (1991) *Re-Belle et Infidèle/The Body Bilingual* (Toronto: Women's Press)
- de Marco, Alessandra (2013) 'Translating gender on screen across languages: The case of *Transamerica*', in *Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice in Translation and Gender Studies*, ed. by Eleonora Federici and Vanessa Leonardi (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars), pp. 122-132
- de Marco, Marcella (2006) 'Audiovisual translation from a gender perspective', *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6: 167-184
<http://www.jostrans.org/issue06/art_demarco.php> [accessed 20 March 2020]

- (2012) *Audiovisual Translation through a Gender Lens* (New York: Rodopi)
- (2016) ‘The “engendering” approach in audiovisual translation’, *Target*, 28.6: 314-325
- Derrida, Jacques (1974) *Of Grammatology*, transl. by Gayatri C. Spivak (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University)
- Deryagin, Max (2018) ‘Subtitle appearance analysis part 1: The font’, *Max Deryagin’s Subtitle Studio*, 30 August <www.md-subs.com/saa-subtitle-font> [accessed 18 January 2021]
- Deutscher, Max (2014) ‘Il n’y a pas de hors-texte’ - once more’, *Symposium*, 18.2: 98-124
- Di Biase, Carmine. G. (ed) (2006) *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period* (Amsterdam: Rodopi)
- Díaz-Cintas, Jorge (2001) ‘Striving for quality in subtitling: The role of a good dialogue list’, in *(Multi)Media Translation: Concepts, Practices and Research*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 199-211
- (2011) ‘Dealing with multilingual films in audiovisual translation’, in *Translation Sprachvariation Mehrsprachigkeit*, ed. by Wolfgang Pöckl, Ingeborg Ohnheiser and Peter Sandrini (Frankfurt: Peter Lang), pp. 215-233
- (2012) ‘Clearing the smoke to see the screen: Ideological manipulation in audiovisual translation’, *Meta*, 57.2: 279-293
- Díaz-Cintas, Jorge and Aline Remael (2007) *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling* (Manchester: St. Jerome)
- Díaz-Cintas, Jorge and Pablo Muñoz Sánchez (2006) ‘Fansubs: Audiovisual translation in an amateur environment’, *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6: 37-52

- Dobson, Julia L. (2016) 'Jacques Audiard – twenty-first century auteur', *Studies in French Cinema*, 16.3: 187-189
- (2017) 'Dis-locations: Mapping the banlieue', in *Filmurbia: Screening the Suburbs*, ed. by David Forrest, Graeme Harper and Jonathan Rayner (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 29-48
- Doran, Meredith (2007) 'Alternative French, alternative identities: Situating language in *la banlieue*', *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 11: 497-508
- Dore, Margherita (2019) *Humour in Audiovisual Translation: Theories and Applications* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Downey, Gregory J. (2008) *Closed Captioning: Subtitling, Stenography, and the Digital Convergence of Text with Television* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)
- Dubois, Régis (2009) 'Bienvenue chez les prolos: le cinéma populaire français et la lutte des classes', *Contretemps*, 2: 123-150 <<https://www.contretemps.eu/ue-gauche-antilles-badiou-leninisme/>> [accessed 30 September 2020]
- Dunn, Leslie C. and Nancy A Jones (eds) (1994) 'Introduction', in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-13
- Đurovičová, Nataša (1992) 'Translating America: The Hollywood multilinguals 1929-1933', in *Sound Theory/Sound Practice*, ed. by Rick Altman (London: Routledge), pp. 138-153
- Đurovicová, Nataša and Kathleen E. Newman (eds) (2009) *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives* (New York: Routledge)
- Dwyer, Tessa (2005) 'Universally speaking: *Lost in Translation* and polyglot cinema', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 4: 296-310 <<https://doi.org/10.52034/lanstts.v4i.143>> [accessed 4 February 2020]

- (2017) *Speaking in Subtitles: Revaluating Screen Translation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)
- Egoyan, Atom and Ian Balfour (eds) (2004) 'Introduction', in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film* (Massachusetts and London: MIT Press), pp. 21-32
- Eleftheriotis, Dimitris (2010) *Cinematic Journeys: Film and Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)
- Ellender, Claire (2015) *Dealing with Difference in Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling Linguistic Variation in Films* (Oxford and New York: Peter Lang)
- (2016) "'On dirait même pas du français": Subtitling amusing instances of linguistic and cultural otherness in Dany Boon's *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* and *Rien à déclarer*', *Skase Journal of Translation and Interpretation*, 9.1: 2-25
- Encrevé, Pierre (1970) 'Dialectes et patois', in *Encyclopædia Universalis*, ed. by Claude Grégory (Paris: SA), pp. 531-533
- Everett, Wendy (2004) 'Leaving home: Exile and displacement in contemporary European cinema', in *Cultures of Exile: Images of Displacement*, ed. by Peter Wagstaff and Wendy Everett (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 17-32
- (2009) 'Lost in transition? The European road movie, or a genre "adrift in the Cosmos"', *Literature Film Quarterly*, 37.3: 165-175
- Ezra, Elizabeth and Terry Rowden (eds) (2006) *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader* (New York: Routledge)
- Fauvel, Maryse (2004) 'Yamina Benguigui's *Inch'Allah dimanche*: Unveiling hybrid identities', *Studies in French Cinema*, 4.2: 147-157
- Fawcett, Peter (1983) 'Translation modes and constraints', *The Incorporated Linguist*, 22.4: 186-190

- Federici, Federico M. (ed) (2009) *Translating Regionalised Voices in Audiovisuals* (Rome: Aracne)
- Fenner, Angelica (2007) 'Aural topographies of migration in Yamina Benguigui's *Inch'Allah Dimanche*', *Camera Obscura: A Journal of Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies*, 22.3: 93-127
- Feral, Anne-Lise (2011a) 'Sexuality and femininity in translated chick texts', in *Translating Women*, ed. by Luise von Flotow (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press), pp. 183-201
- (2011b) 'Gender in audiovisual translation: Naturalizing feminine voices in the French *Sex and the City*', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18.4: 391-407
- Field, Syd (1979) *Screenplay: The Foundations of Screenwriting* (New York: Dell)
- Foerster, Anna (2010) 'Towards a creative approach in subtitling: A case study', in *New Insights into Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility: Media for All 2*, ed. by Jorge Díaz-Cintas, Anna Matamala and Josélia Neves (Amsterdam: Rodopi), pp. 81-98
- Fox, Wendy (2016) 'Integrated titles: An improved viewing experience?', in *Eyetracking and Applied Linguistics*, ed. by Silvia Hansen-Schirra and Sambor Grucza (Berlin: Language Science Press), pp. 5-31
- (2018) *Can Integrated Titles Improve the Viewing Experience? Investigating the Impact of Subtitling on the Reception and Enjoyment of Film using Eye Tracking and Questionnaire Data* (Berlin: Language Science Press)
- Friends of the Norfolk Dialect, *Books* (2016) <<http://www.norfolkdialect.com/books.htm>> [accessed 15 August 2020]
- Gambier, Yves (2006) 'Multimodality and audiovisual translation', in *Proceedings of the Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra: Audiovisual Translation Scenarios*, ed. by

- Mary Carroll, Heidrun Gerzymisch-Arbogast and Sabine Nauert, Copenhagen 1-5
May, pp. 1-8
- (2009) ‘Créativité et décision: Le traducteur audiovisuel n’est pas une roue de secours’, in *Translating Regionalised Voices in Audiovisuals*, ed. by Federico Federici (Rome: Aracne), pp. 179-195
- (2021) ‘Context, contextualisation and (multimodal) text’, *Studies about Languages /Kalbu studijos*, 39: 5-18 <<http://doi.org/10.5755/j01.sal.1.39.28965>> [accessed 15 March 2022]
- García, Ofelia (2009) *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective* (Malden and Oxford: Basil/Blackwell)
- García, Ofelia and Li Wei (2014) *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Gatlif, Tony (2004) ‘Director’s Statement’, in *Exils Press Kit* (Princes Films and Pyramide Distribution), unpaginated
- Genette, Gérard (1997) *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, transl. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press)
- Geyer, Klaus and Margherita Dore (2020) ‘Introduction: New perspectives in dialect and multimedia translation’, in *TRAlinea Special Issue: The Translation of Dialects in Multimedia IV* <<http://www.intralinea.org/specials/article/2467>> [accessed 25 February 2022], pp. 1-4
- Godard, Barbara (1990) ‘Theorizing feminist discourse/translation’, in *Translation, History, Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere (New York: Pinter), pp. 87-96
- Goreau-Ponceaud, Anthony and Paul Veyret (2016) ‘Dheepan, un film postcolonial’, *EchoGéo, Sur le Vif (2016)*: 1-15 <<https://doi.org/10.4000/echogeo.14456>>

- Gott, Michael (2011) *Re-charting French Space: Transnationalism, Travel and Identity from the Postcolonial banlieue to post-Wall Europe* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Texas)
- (2022) ‘Introduction: New directions in cinéma-monde, from Quebec to Kinshasa and the moon’, *Contemporary French Civilization*, 42.1: 1-15
- Gott, Michael and Thibault Schilt (eds) (2013) ‘Introduction’, in *Open Roads, Closed Borders: The Contemporary French-Language Road Movie* (Bristol: Intellect), pp. 1-18
- (eds) (2018) *Cinéma-monde: Decentred Perspectives on Global Filmmaking in French* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)
- Gottlieb, Henrik (1994) ‘Subtitling: Diagonal translation’, *Perspectives*, 2: 101-121
- (1997) *Subtitles, Translation & Idioms* (Copenhagen: Centre for Translation Studies, University of Copenhagen)
- (2001) ‘Subtitling people: Nine pedagogical pillars’, in *Screen Translation. Six Studies in Subtitling, Dubbing and Voice-over*, ed. by Henrik Gottlieb (Copenhagen: Center for Translation Studies, University of Copenhagen), pp. 41-52
- (2018) ‘Semiotics and translation’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies and Linguistics*, ed. by Kirsten Malmkjær (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 45-63
- Goudaillier, Jean-Pierre (2001) *Comment tu tchatches ! : dictionnaire du français contemporain des cités* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Laros)
- Gramling, David (2016) *The Invention of Monolingualism* (New York: Bloomsbury)
- Gray, Jonathan (2010) *Show Sold Separately: Promos, Spoilers, and other Media Paratexts* (New York and London: New York University Press)

- Greco, Gian M. (2016) 'On accessibility as a human right, with an application to media accessibility', in *Researching Audio Description: New Approaches*, ed. by Anna Matamala and Pilar Orero (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 11-33
- Green, Jonathon (2014) 'Multicultural London English: The new "youthspeak"', in *Global English Slang: Methodologies and Perspectives*, ed. by Julie Coleman (London: Routledge), pp. 62-71
- Guillot, Marie-Noëlle (2012) 'Stylisation and representation in subtitles: Can less be more?', *Perspectives*, 20: 479-494
- (2017) 'Subtitling and dubbing in telecinematic text', in *Pragmatics of Fiction*, ed. by Miriam A. Locher and Andreas H. Jucker (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton), pp. 397-424
- Guldin, Rainer (2016) *Translation as Metaphor* (London: Routledge)
- Hargreaves, Alec G. (2012) 'The transculturation of French Studies: Past, present, and future', *Bulletin of Francophone Postcolonial Studies*, 3: 2-8
- Hargreaves, Alec G., Charles Forsdick and David Murphy (2010) *Transnational French Studies: Postcolonialism and littérature-monde* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)
- Hargreaves, Alec G. and Leslie Kealhofer (2010) 'Back to the future? Language use in films by second-generation North Africans in France', in *Polyglot Cinema: Migration and Transcultural Narration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, ed. by Verena Berger and Miya Komori (Vienna: Lit), pp. 75-88
- Harrod, Mary (2012) 'Linguistic difference as ontological sameness in *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (2008)', *Studies in French Cinema*, 12.1: 75-86
- Hatim, Basil and Ian Mason (1997) *The Translator as Communicator* (London: Routledge)

- Haworth, Rachel and Angela Kimyongür (2022) 'Introduction: Watching the transnational detectives', *Modern Languages Open*, 0.1: 1-3
 <<https://modernlanguagesopen.org/articles/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.416>> [accessed 25 November 2022]
- Hayes, Dean (2013) *The Southern Accent and "Bad English": A Comparative Perceptual Study of the Conceptual Network between Southern Linguistic Features and Identity* (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of New Mexico)
 <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/ling_etds/15> [accessed 20 August 2020]
- Hayward, Susan (2006) *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge)
- Heiss, Christine (2004) 'Dubbing multilingual films: A new challenge?', *Meta*, 49.1: 208-220
- (2014) 'Multilingual films and integration? What role does film translation play?', in *Media and Translation – An Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. by Dror Abend-David (London: Bloomsbury Publishing), pp. 3-24
- Higbee, Will (2007) 'Re-presenting the urban periphery: Maghrebi-French filmmaking and the *banlieue* film', *Cineaste*, 33.1: 38-43
- (2011) "'Et si on allait en Algérie?'" Home, displacement and the myth of return in recent journey films by Maghrebi-French and North African *Émigré* directors', in *Screening Integration: Recasting Maghrebi Immigration in Contemporary France*, ed. by Sylvie Durmelat and Vinay Swamy (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), pp. 58-76
- (2013) *Post-Beur cinema: North African Émigré and Maghrebi-French filmmaking in France since 2000* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)
- Higbee, Will and Song Hwee (2010) 'Concepts of transnational cinema: Towards a critical transnationalism in Film Studies', *Transnational Cinemas*, 1.1: 7-21

- Higson, Andrew (1989) 'The concept of national cinema,' *Screen*, 30.4: 36-47
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/30.4.36>> [accessed 20 October 2019]
- (2006) 'The limiting imagination of national cinema,' in *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader*, ed. by Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden (New York: Routledge), pp. 15-26
- Hiramoto, Mie (2013) 'Hey, you're a girl? Gendered expressions in the popular anime, *Cowboy Bebop*', *Multilingua*, 32.1: 51-78
- Hoad, Phil (2010) 'A Prophet shows us a multilingual future for cinema', *Guardian*, 28 January <<https://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2010/jan/28/jacques-audiard-a-prophet>> [accessed 22 November 2021]
- Hodson, Jane (2014) *Dialect in Film and Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Hollis, Isabel (2012) 'Gendered spaces and wounded bodies: Yamina Benguigui's *Inch'Allah dimanche*', *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 15.2: 197-213
- Holohan, Conn (2011) 'Wrong turns: Radical spaces in the road movies of Tony Gatlif', *Transnational Cinemas*, 2: 21-35
- IMDb, *Welcome to the Sticks* <<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1064932/>> [accessed 15 December 2022]
- Ireland, Brian (2003) 'American highways: Recurring images and themes of the road genre', *The Journal of American Culture*, 26: 474-484 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/1542-734X.00107>> [accessed 20 February 2021]
- Ivarsson, Jan (1992) *Subtitling for the Media* (Stockholm: TransEdit)
- Ivarsson, Jan and Mary Carroll (1998) *Subtitling* (Simrishamn: TransEdit)
- Jaafar, Ali (2005) 'Le Grand Voyage', *Sight and Sound*, 15.11: 66-67

- Jäckel, Anne (2001) 'The subtitling of *La Haine*: a case study' in *(Multi)media Translation: Concepts, Practices and Research*, ed. by Yves Gambier (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 223-235
- Jakobson, Roman (1959) 'On linguistic aspects of translation', in *On Translation*, ed. by Reuben Arthur Brower (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press), pp. 232-239
- Jameson, Fredric (1984) 'Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism', *New Left Review*, 146: 53-92
- Johnston, Christina (2010) *French Minority Cinema* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi)
- Joseph-Hernández, Daniel. E. (2017) Reflections on the Subtitling and Dubbing of Anime: The Translation of Gender in *Perfect Blue*, a Film by Kon Satoshi (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa)
- Junkerjürgen, Ralf and Gala Rebane (eds) (2019) *Multilingualism in Film* (Berlin: Peter Lang)
- Kaindl, Klaus (2005) 'The plurisemiotics of pop song translation: Words, music, voice and image', in *Song and Significance. Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*, ed. by Dinda Gorlée (Amsterdam: Rodopi), pp. 235-262
- Kalinak, Kathryn. M. (2010) *Film Music: A Very Short Introduction* (New York, Oxford University Press)
- Kaplan, Caren (1996) *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Duke University Press)
- Kapsaskis, Dionysis (2008) 'Translation and film: On the defamiliarizing effect of subtitles', *New Voices in Translation Studies*, 4: 42-52

- Karamitroglou, Fotios (1998) 'A proposed set of subtitling standards for Europe',
Translation Journal, 2.2 <<https://translationjournal.net/journal/04stndrd.htm>>
 [accessed 25 July 2021]
- Kealhofer-Kemp, Leslie (2013) 'Mothers, daughters, and the transmission of memory in documentaries directed by women of Maghrebi origin in France', *Studies in French Cinema*, 13.3: 227-240
- (2015) *Muslim Women in French Cinema: Voices of Maghrebi Migrants in France* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)
- Kerswill, Peter (2005) 'This is London speaking', *New Scientist*, 3 December, 50-1
- King, Gemma (2014) 'The power of the treacherous interpreter: Multilingualism in Jacques Audiard's *Un prophète*', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 13: 78-92
- (2017) *Decentring France: Multilingualism and Power in Contemporary French Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- (2018) 'No laughing matter?: Navigating political (in)correctness in *Intouchables*', *Francosphères*, 7.1: 1-14 <<https://doi.org/10.3828/franc.2018.1>> [accessed 20 July 2020]
- (2021) *Jacques Audiard* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- (2023a) 'Cinéma-monde, Jacques Audiard's *Les Frères Sisters* and the limits of national cinemas', *French Screen Studies*, 23.1: 100-111
- (2023b) 'Sign language and cinéma-monde in Marie Heurtin: On Deaf cinema and troubling the notion of French national language', *Journal of Romance Studies*, 23.1: 49-65
- Köksal, Özlem and Ipek A Çelik Rappas (2019) 'A hand that holds a machete: Race and the representation of the displaced in Jacques Audiard's *Dheepan*', *Third Text*, 33.2:

256-267 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2019.1590067>> [accessed 15 March 2020]

Kozloff, Sarah (2000) *Overhearing Film Dialogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Krapp, George P. (1925) *The English Language in America* (New York: Century)

Kruger, Jan. L., Stephen Doherty, Wendy Fox and Peter de Lissa (2018) ‘Multimodal measurement of cognitive load during subtitle processing: Same-language subtitles for foreign language viewers’, in *Innovation and Expansion in Translation Process Research*, ed. by Isabel Lacruz and Riitta Jääskeläinen (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins), pp. 267-294

Kung Szu-Wen (2016) ‘Audienceship and community of practice: An exploratory study of Chinese fansubbing communities’, *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, 3.3: 252-266 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/23306343.2016.1225329>> [accessed 19 January 2021]

Laayouni, Yahya (2016) ‘From Marseille to Mecca: Reconciling the secular and the religious in *Le Grand Voyage*’, *Journal of Religion and Film*, 20.2: 1-28

Laderman, David (1996) ‘What a trip: The road film and American culture’, *Journal of Film and Video*, 48.1-2: 41-57

——— (2002) *Driving Visions: Exploring the Road Movie* (Austin: University of Texas Press)

Lagedamon, Marie (2016) ‘Hedimag face à de nouveaux défis, après 30 ans de succès dans les camions magasin’, *La Voix du Nord*, 9 April <<https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/565584/article/2019-04-09/hedimag-face-de-nouveaux-defis-apres-30-ans-de-succes-dans-les-camions-magasins>> [accessed 20 February 2023]

- Lalanne, Jean-Marc (2004) 'Entretien Abdellatif Kechiche : M. Hulot dans le 9-3', *Les Inrockuptibles*, 7 January <<https://www.lesinrocks.com/cinema/entretien-abdellatif-kechiche-lesquive-0104-7820-07-01-2004/>> [accessed 07 August 2020]
- Landers, Clifford E. (2001) *Literary Translation: A Practical Guide* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters)
- Langer Rossi, Laura (2019) 'The translated text. The aesthetic impact of language on transnational cinema', in *Multilingualism in Film*, ed. by Ralf Junkerjürgen and Gala Rebane (Berlin: Peter Lang), pp. 35-56
- Lanzoni, Rémi F. (2014) *French Comedy on Screen: A Cinematic History* (Palgrave Macmillan New York)
- Lawrence, Amy (1991) *Echo and Narcissus: Women's Voices in Classical Hollywood Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Leperlier, Henry (2012) 'Translation and distortion of linguistic identities in Sinophone cinema: Diverging images of the "Other"', in *Transmissibility and Cultural Transfer: Dimensions of Translation in the Humanities*, ed. by Jennifer K. Dick and Stephanie Schwerter (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag), pp. 137-155
- Lepoutre, David (2001) *Coeur de banlieue : codes, rites et langages* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob)
- Leveridge, Francesca and Pierre-Alexis Mével (2023) 'Cinéma-monde and subtitling', *Journal of Romance Studies*, 23.1: 27-47 <<https://doi.org/10.3828/jrs.2023.16>> [accessed 2 April 2023]
- Li, Bo (2010) 'Heteroglossia, dialects and literary translation: A case study of Wang Chenho's *Rose Rose I Love You* and its English translation', *Translation Quarterly*, 55: 64-99

- (2015) ‘Subtitling *Made in Hong Kong* and missing heteroglossia’, in *Translation and Academic Journals: The Evolving Landscape of Scholarly Publishing*, ed. by Yifeng Sun (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 179-193
- Lippi-Green, Rosina (1994) ‘Accent, standard language ideology, and discriminatory pretext in the courts’, *Language in Society*, 23.2: 163-198
 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4168513>> [accessed 5 November 2020]
- (1997) *English with an Accent Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* (London: Routledge)
- Lodge, R. Anthony (1993) *French: From Dialect to Standard* (London: Routledge)
- Luyken, Georg-Michael (1991) *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television: Dubbing and Subtitling for European Audience* (Manchester: European institute for the Media)
- Majerska, Ewa and Laura Rascaroli (2006) *Crossing New Europe: Postmodern Travel and the European Road Movie* (London and New York: Wallflower)
- Majumdar, Margaret (ed) (2002) *Francophone Studies: The Essential Glossary* (London: Arnold)
- Mamula, Tijana (2013) *Cinema and Language Loss: Displacement, Visuality and the Filmic Image* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Mamula, Tijana and Lisa Patti (eds) (2016) *The Multilingual Screen: New Reflections on Cinema and Linguistic Difference* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic)
- Marivaux, Pierre (1730) *Le Jeu de l’amour et du hasard* (Paris: Comédie Italienne)
- (1968) *Seven Comedies by Marivaux*, ed. by Oscar Mandel, transl. by Oscar Mandel and Adrienne Mandel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press)
- Marks, Laura U. (2000) *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham: Duke University Press)

- Marleau, Lucien (1982) 'Les sous-titres... un mal nécessaire', *Meta*, 27.3 : 271-285
 <<https://doi.org/10.7202/003577ar>> [accessed 23 January 2021]
- Marshall, Bill (2012) 'Cinéma-monde? Towards a concept of Francophone cinema',
Francosphères 1.1: 35-51
- Martin, Florence (2016) 'Cinéma-monde: De-orbiting Maghrebi cinema', *Contemporary French Civilization*, 41.3-4: 461-475 <<https://doi.org/10.3828/cfc.2016>> [accessed 15 March 2021]
- Martínez-Lorenzo, Mercedes (2020) 'Subtitling for social and language minorities: Subtitling of oral errors and dialectal features in the case of minoritised languages',
Journal of Audiovisual Translation, 3.2: 310-327
 <<https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v3i2.2020.123>> [accessed 30 June 2022]
- Mason, Laura (2022) 'Intersectional Audiard: Masculinity and race in *Dheepan* and *The Sisters Brothers*', *Mise au point*, 16: unpaginated
 <<https://journals.openedition.org/map/5937?lang=en>> [accessed 10 May 2023]
- Massidda, Serenella (2020) 'Fansubbing: Latest trends and future prospects', in *Handbook of Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility*, ed. by Łukasz Bogucki and Mikołaj Deckert (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 189-208
- Mazdon, Lucy (2001) *France on Film: Reflections on Popular French Cinema* (London: Wallflower)
- McClarty, Rebecca (2012) 'Towards a multidisciplinary approach in creative subtitling',
MonTI. Monografías de Traducción e Interpretación, 0: 133-153
- (2013) 'In support of creative subtitling: Contemporary context and theoretical framework', *Perspectives*, 22.4: 592-606
- McCrea, Patrick S. (2019) 'Linguistic classification: the persistent challenge of the *Langues d'oïl*', in *French Language Policies and the Revitalisation of Regional Languages in*

- the 21st Century*, ed. by Michelle A. Harrison and Aurélie Joubert (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 37-62
- McCullough, Mary (2015) 'The husband, the wife, and the mother-in-law: Power and relationships in Yamina Benguigui's *Inch'Allah Dimanche*', *L'Erudit Franco-Espagnol*, 7: 82-92
- McGregor, Andrew (2021) 'Liminal *lieux de mémoire*', *Francosphères*, 10.1: 79-90
<<https://doi.org/10.3828/franc.2021.6>> [accessed 16 March 2023]
- Mehrez, Samia (1992) 'Translation and the postcolonial experience: The Francophone North African text', in *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. by Lawrence Venuti (London and New York: Routledge), 120-138
- Mélinard, Michael (2004a) '« Cette jeunesse n'a pas de place dans le paysage audiovisuel ». Entretiens avec Abdellatif Kechiche', *L'Humanité*, 7 January
<<https://www.humanite.fr/node/297898>> [accessed 28 September 2020]
- (2004b) 'J'aime que la vie entre avec sa maladresse', *L'Humanité*, 25 August
<<https://www.humanite.fr/jaime-que-la-vie-entre-avec-sa-maladresse-tony-gatlif-310978?amp>> [accessed 20 April 2023]
- Mereu Keating, Carla (2016) *The Politics of Dubbing. Film Censorship and State Intervention in the Translation of Foreign Cinema in Fascist Italy* (Oxford: Peter Lang)
- Mével, Pierre-Alexis (2007) 'The translation of identity: Subtitling the vernacular of the French cité', *MHRA Working Papers in the Humanities*, 2: 49-56
- (2012) *Can We Do the Right Thing? Subtitling African American Vernacular English into French* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham)
- (2017) *Subtitling African American English into French: Can We Do the Right Thing?* (Oxford: Peter Lang)

- (2020) ‘Accessible paratext: Actively engaging (with) D/deaf audiences’, *Punctum*, 6.1: 203-219 <<https://punctum.gr/download/accessible-paratext-actively-engaging-with-d-deaf-audiences/?tmstv=1674690885>> [accessed 12 April 2021]
- Meylaerts, Reine (2006a) ‘Heterolingualism in/and translation: How legitimate are the other and his/her language? An introduction’, *Target*, 18.1: 1-15
- (2006b) ‘Literary heteroglossia in translation: When the language of translation is the locus of ideological struggle’, in *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines*, ed. by João Ferreira Duarte, Alexandra Assis Rosa and Teresa Seruya (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 68-85
- (2013) ‘Multilingualism as a challenge for translation studies’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina (New York: Routledge), pp. 131-142
- Mielusel, Ramona (2018) *Franco-Maghrebi Artists of the 2000s: Transnational Narratives and Identities* (Leiden and Boston: Brill)
- Milroy, James and Lesley Milroy (1985) *Authority in Language: Investigating Language Prescription and Standardisation* (London: Routledge)
- Minh-ha, Trinh T. (1989) *Woman, Native, Other: Writing, Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indiana University Press)
- (1992) *Framer Framed: Film Scripts and Interviews* (London: Routledge)
- (1999) *Cinema-Interval* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Minutella, Vincenza (2012) ‘“You fancying your Gora coach is okay with me”: Translating multilingual films for an Italian audience’, in *Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility at the Crossroads*, ed. by Aline Remael, Pilar Orero and Mary Carroll (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), pp. 313-334

- Mohamed, Rana N. (2021) ‘Negotiating alternative linguistic practices: the struggle between *verlan* usage and the *Académie Française*’, *MAKINGS*, 2.1: 1-14
<<https://makingsjournal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Rana-Mohamed-2021.pdf>> [accessed 10 December 2022]
- Moine, Raphaëlle (2011) ‘Les classes populaires dans le cinéma français contemporain : la France d’ailleurs’, *Raison présente*, 180: 57-66
<<https://doi.org/10.3406/raipr.2011.4348>> [accessed 5 November 2020]
- (2018) ‘Stereotypes of class, ethnicity and gender in contemporary French popular comedy: From *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* (2008) and *Intouchables* (2011) to *Qu’est-ce qu’on a fait au Bon Dieu ?* (2014)’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 18.1: 35-51
- Montgomery, Colleen (2008) ‘Lost in translation: Subtitling *banlieue* subculture’, *Cinephile - The University of British Columbia’s Film Journal*, 4: 8-12
- Monti, Silvia (2009) ‘Code-switching and multicultural identity in screen translation’, in *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue: Linguistic And Translational Insights*, ed. by Maria Freddi and Maria Pavesi (Bologna: CLUEB), pp. 165-185
- (2014) ‘Code-switching in British and American films and their Italian dubbed version’, *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 13: 135-168
- (2016) ‘Reconstructing, reinterpreting, and renarrating code-switching in the Italian dubbed version of British and American multilingual films’, *Altre Modernità: Ideological Manipulation in Audiovisual Translation*, (February), 68-91
<<https://doi.org/10.13130/2035-7680/6849>> [accessed 15 February 2020]
- Mulholland, Rory (2014) ‘“Racist” French cinema hit “too politically incorrect” for UK and US audiences’, *The Telegraph*, 13 October
<<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11158603/Racist->

[French-cinema-hit-too-politically-incorrect-for-UK-and-US-audiences.html](#)>

[accessed 16 July 2020]

- Mulvey, Laura (1975) 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', *Screen*, 16: 6-18
- Myers-Scotton, Carol (1993) *Social Motivations for Code-switching* (Oxford: Clarendon)
- Naficy, Hamid (2001) *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press)
- Nestingen, Andrew and Trevor G. Elkington (eds) (2005) *Transnational Cinema in a Global North: Nordic Cinema in Transition* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press)
- Neves, Josélia (2005) *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard-of-hearing* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Surrey-Roehampton)
- (2018) 'Subtitling for deaf and hard of hearing audiences. Moving forward', in *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, ed. by Luis Perez-Gonzalez (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 82-95
- Niranjana, Tejaswini (1992) *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism and the Colonial Context* (California and Oxford: University of California Press)
- Nornes, Abé M. (1999) 'For an abusive subtitling', *Film Quarterly*, 52.3: 17-34
- (2007) *Cinema Babel: Translating Global Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- O'Sullivan, Carol (2007) 'Multilingualism at the multiplex: A new audience for screen translation?', *Linguistica Antverpiensa*, 6: 81-95
- <<https://doi.org/10.52034/lanstts.v6i.181>> [accessed 20 October 2019]
- (2011) *Translating Popular Film* (London: Palgrave)
- Ockers, Luc (1991) 'Fernsehuntertitelung: liegen der Computer und der Übersetzer im Clinch?', *Germanistische Mitteilungen*, 34: 31-42

- Orgeron, Devin (2008) *Road Movies: From Muybridge and Méliès to Lynch and Kiarostami*
(New York: Palgrave Macmillan)
- Oscherwitz, Dayna (2010) *Past Forward: French Cinema and the Postcolonial Heritage*
(Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press)
- Oster, Patricia (2018) ‘« Ne nous tutoyons plus, je t’en prie ». Jeux de mots et enjeu du langage dans le théâtre de Marivaux’, in *Enjeux du jeu de mots : Perspectives linguistiques et littéraires*, ed. by Esme Winter-Froemel and Angelika Zirker (Berlin: De Gruyter), pp. 81-92
- Pedersen, Jan (2005) ‘How is culture rendered in subtitles?’, in *Proceedings of the Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra: Challenges of Multidimensional Translation*, ed. by Sandra Nauert, Saarbrücken 2-6 May 2005, pp. 1-17
<http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2005_Proceedings/2005_Pedersen_Jan.pdf> [accessed 22 September 2020]
- (2007) ‘Cultural interchangeability: The effects of substituting cultural references in subtitling’, *Perspectives*, 15.1: 30-48 <<https://doi.org/10.2167/pst003.0>> [accessed 22 September 2020]
- (2011) *Subtitling Norms for Television: An Exploration Focussing on Extralinguistic Cultural References* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)
- (2017) ‘The FAR model: Assessing quality in interlingual subtitling’, *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 28: 210-229
<https://www.jostrans.org/issue28/art_pedersen.pdf> [accessed 21 January 2021]
- Pennycook, Alastair (2017) ‘Translanguaging and semiotic assemblages’, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 14.3: 269-282

- Perego, Elisa (2009) 'The codification of non-verbal information in subtitled texts,' in *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*, ed. by Jorge Díaz-Cintas (Bristol: Multilingual Matters), pp. 61-72
- Pérez L. de Heredia, María and Irene de Higes Andino (eds) (2019) 'Multilingualism and identities: New portrayals, new challenges', in *Multilingualism and Representation of Identities in Audiovisual Texts. MonTI Special Issue 4*, pp. 9-31
- Pérez-González, Luis (2007) 'Intervention in new amateur subtitling cultures: A multimodal account', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 6: 67-80
- (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, Methods and Issues* (Abingdon: Routledge)
- Pettit, Zoë (2004) 'The audio-visual text: Subtitling and dubbing different genres', *Meta*, 49.1: 25-38 <<https://doi.org/10.7202/009017ar>> [accessed 10 March 2021]
- Planchenault, Gaëlle (2010) 'Displacement and plurilingualism in *Inch 'Allah Dimanche*: Appropriating the Other's language in order to find one's place', in *Polyglot Cinema: Migration and Transcultural Narration in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain*, ed. by Verena Berger and Miya Komori (Vienna: Lit), pp. 99-110
- (2012) 'Accented French in films: Performing and evaluating in-group stylisations', *Multilingua*, 31: 253-75 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2012-0012>> [accessed 28 September 2020]
- (2020) 'Racialised voices of Maghrebi-French women in films: Making race (in)visible and (in)audible', *Journal of Language and Discrimination*, 4.2: 197-222 <<https://doi.org/10.1558/jld.18490>> [accessed 24 October 2022]
- Polezzi, Loredana (2001) *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (London: Ashgate)
- (2006) 'Translation, travel, migration', *The Translator*, 12.2: 169-188

- (2012) ‘Translation and migration’, *Translation Studies*, 5.3: 345-356
- Pooley, Timothy (1996) *Chtimi: The Urban Vernaculars of Northern France* (Clevedon and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters)
- Porton, Richard (2005) ‘Marivaux in the ‘Hood’: An interview with Abdellatif Kechiche, transl. by Joanna Dezio, *Cineaste*, 31.1: 46-49
- ‘Pour une littérature-monde en français’, *Le Monde des livres*, 16 March 2007
<<http://www.etonnants-voyageurs.com/spip.php?article1574>> [accessed 14 March 2021]
- Rajaram, Prem K and Carl Grundy-Warr (eds) (2007) ‘Introduction’, in *Borderscapes: Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory’s Edge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2007) pp. ix-xl
- Ramière, Nathalie (2006) ‘Reaching a foreign audience: Cultural transfers in audiovisual translation’, *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6: 152-166
- (2010) ‘Are you “Lost in Translation” (when watching a foreign film)? Towards an alternative approach to judging audiovisual translation’, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 47.1: 100-115
<<https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.307090980920415>> [accessed 19 September 2020]
- Ramos Pinto, Sara (2017) ‘Film, dialects and subtitles: An analytical framework for the study of non-standard varieties in subtitling’, *The Translator*, 24.1: 17-34
- Rich, Ruby B. (2004) ‘To read or not to read: Subtitles, trailers, and monolingualism’, in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Massachusetts and London: MIT Press), pp. 153-169

- Richards, Olly (2008) 'Will Smith says Welcome to the Sticks', *Empire*, 20 May
 <<https://www.empireonline.com/movies/news/will-smith-says-welcome-sticks/>>
 [accessed 10 February 2023]
- Riffard, Claire (2006) 'Francophonie littéraire : quelques réflexions autour des discours critiques', *Lianes*, 2: 1-10 <<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01064514/document>>
 [accessed 11 October 2021]
- Rizzo, Alessandra (2018) "'Somers Town". Multilingual settings explored in audiovisual translation contexts', *CULTUS*, 10.2: 93-111
- Robson, Gary D. (2004) *The Closed Captioning Handbook* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier)
- Romero-Fresco, Pablo (2013) 'Accessible filmmaking: Joining the dots between audiovisual translation, accessibility and filmmaking', *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 20: 201-203
- (2019) *Accessible Filmmaking: Integrating Translation and Accessibility into the Filmmaking Process* (London: Routledge)
- Rosello, Mireille (2011) 'Ismäel Ferroukhi's babelized road movie', *Thamyris/ Intersecting: Place, Sex & Race*, 23: 257-276
- Rozema, Patricia (2004) 'Little life lines in "Desperanto"', in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Massachusetts: MIT Press), pp. 65-67
- Rubel, Paula G. and Abraham Rosman (eds) (2003) *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on Translation and Anthropology* (Oxford and New York: Berg)
- Rushdie, Salman (1983) *Shame* (New York: Vintage International)
- Said, Edward (1979) *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books)

- Sanaker, John K. (2010) *La rencontre des langues dans le cinéma francophone: Québec, Afrique subsaharienne, France-Maghreb* (Québec: Presses de L'Université Laval)
- Santaemilia, Jose (ed) (2006) *Gender, Sex and Translation* (Manchester: St Jerome)
- Sanz Ortega, Elena (2015) *Beyond Monolingualism: A Descriptive and Multimodal Methodology for the Dubbing of Polyglot Films* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh)
- Schilt, Thibaut (2010) 'Itinerant Men, evanescent women: Ismaël Ferroukhi's *Le grand voyage*', *The French Review*, 83: 786-797
- Sellier, Geneviève (2016) 'De battre mon cœur s'est arrêté (Audiard, 2005) : la masculinité comme souffrance', *Studies in French Cinema*, 16.3: 205-214
- Șerban, Adriana (2012) 'Translation as alchemy: The aesthetics of multilingualism in film', *MonTI: Monografías de Traducción e Interpretación*, 4: 39-63
<<http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=265125413002>> [accessed 20 October 2020]
- Sharif, Raihan (2016) 'Beyond metropolises: Hybridity in a transnational context', *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory*, 25: 157-173
<<https://doi.org/10.13023/disclosure.25.13>> [accessed 19 September 2019]
- Shea, Louisa (2012) 'Exit Voltaire, enter Marivaux: Abdellatif Kechiche on the legacy of the enlightenment', *The French Review*, 85.6, 1136-1148
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23214098>> [accessed 15 November 2020]
- Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam (1985) 'The cinema after Babel: Language, difference, power', *Screen*, 26.3-4: 35-58
- Silverman, Kaja (1988) *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)

- Silvester, Hannah (2018) *Translating Banlieue Film: An Integrated Analysis of Subtitled Non-standard Language* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow)
- Simon, Sherry (1996) *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London and New York: Routledge)
- (2018) ‘Space’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Culture*, ed. by Sue-Ann Harding and Ovidi Carbonell Cortés (London: Routledge), pp. 97-112
- (2019) The hotel as a translation site: Place and non-place, difference and indifference’, *Dibur Literary Journal*, 7: 45-53
 <https://arcade.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/article_pdfs/Dibur-v07i01-pp045-054-Simon.pdf> [accessed 05 February 2021]
- Sinha, Amresh (2004) ‘The use and abuse of subtitles’, in *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film*, ed. by Atom Egoyan and Ian Balfour (Massachusetts and London: MIT Press), pp. 171-192
- Sjogren, Britta (2006) *Into the Vortex: Female Voice and Paradox in Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press)
- Smirnova, Liudmila and Alain Dawson, Alain (2019) ‘« La ch’tite famille » : derrière le film à accent local, un chantier de politique linguistique ?’, *GLOTTOPOL Revue de sociolinguistique en ligne*, 31: 95-112 <http://glottopol.univ-rouen.fr/telecharger/numero_31/gpl31_05smirnova_dawson.pdf> [accessed 1 November 2020]
- Smith, Alison (2010) ‘All quiet on the filmic front? Codeswitching and the representation of multilingual Europe in *La Grande Illusion* (Jean Renoir, 1937) and *Joyeux Noël* (Christian Carion, 2005)’, *Journal of Romance Studies*, 10.2: 37-52
 <<https://doi.org/10.3828/jrs.10.2.37>> [accessed 02 February 2020]

- (2013) ‘Crossing the linguistic threshold: Language, hospitality and linguistic exchange in Philippe Lioret’s *Welcome* and Rachid Bouchareb’s *London River*’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 13.1: 75-90
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1386/sfc.13.1.75_1> [accessed 10 January 2021]
- Spiekermann, Erik and E. M. Ginger (1993) *Stop Stealing Sheep and Find Out How Type Works* (California: Adobe Press)
- Spivak, Gayatri C. (1988) ‘Can the subaltern speak?’, in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (London: Macmillan), pp. 271-313
- (1993) *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (London and New York: Routledge)
- Starkey, David (2011) ‘UK riots: It’s not about criminality and cuts, it’s about culture... and this is only the beginning’, *The Telegraph*, 19 August
<<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/8711621/UK-riots-Its-not-about-criminality-and-cuts-its-about-culture...-and-this-is-only-the-beginning.html>> [accessed 10 December 2020]
- Strand, Dana (2009) ‘Être et parler: being and speaking French in Abdellatif Kechiche’s *L’Esquive* (2004) and Laurent Cantet’s *Entre Les Murs* (2008)’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 9: 259-272
- Susam-Sarajeva, Şebnem (2009) ‘The case study research method in Translation Studies’, *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 3.1: 37-56
- Swamy, Vinay (2007) ‘Marivaux in the suburbs: Reframing language in Kechiche’s *L’Esquive* (2003)’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 7: 57-68
- Szarkowska, Agnieszka and Julianna Boczkowska (2020) ‘Colour coding subtitles in multilingual films – a reception study’, *Perspectives*, 30.3: 520-536

- Szarkowska, Agnieszka, Jorge Díaz-Cintas and Olivia Gerber-Morón (2021) ‘Quality is in the eye of the stakeholders: What do professional subtitlers and viewers think about subtitling?’, *Universal Access in the Information Society*, 20: 661-675
<<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10209-020-00739-2>> [accessed 19 January 2021]
- Szarkowska, Agnieszka, Jagoda Żbikowska and Izabela Krejtz (2013) ‘Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing in multilingual films’, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 10.3: 292-312
- Tarr, Carrie (2003) ‘Women of Maghrebi origin in recent films from France’, in *Women Filmmakers: Refocusing*, ed. by Jacqueline Levitin, Judith Plessis and Valerie Raoul (Vancouver: University of Columbia Press), pp. 322-330
- (2005) *Reframing Difference: beur and banlieue Filmmaking in France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- (2007) ‘Introduction: French cinema: “transnational” cinema?’, *Modern and Contemporary France*, 15.1: 3-7
- (2009) ‘Franco-Arab dialogues in/between French, Maghrebi-French, and Maghrebi Cinema(s)’, *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 13: 291-302
- (2012) ‘Introduction: Women’s film-making in France 2000–2010’, *Studies in French Cinema*, 12.3: 189-200
- Taylor, Christopher (2006) ‘The translation of regional variety in the films of Ken Loach’, in *Translating Voices, Translating Regions*, ed. by Nigel Armstrong and Federico Federici (Rome: Aracne), pp. 37-52
- (2013) ‘Multimodality and audiovisual translation’, in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 5 vols (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), iv, pp. 98-104

- (2016) ‘The multimodal approach in audiovisual translation’, in *Audiovisual Translation: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges*, ed. by Yves Gambier and Sara Ramos Pinto (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 39-52
- Thompson, Peter (2000) Getting Beyond “Read ‘em, Quick!” – Some Practical, Slow Notes on Subtitles and Superimpositions
<<http://www.chicagomediaworks.com/files/subtitles.pdf>> [accessed 16 November 2021]
- Thorpe, Vanessa (2018) ‘Master a roadman’s vocabulary and your teenager might be easier to understand...’, *Guardian*, 8 July
<<https://www.theguardian.com/theobserver/commentisfree/2018/jul/08/may-i-have-a-word-roadman-street-teen-speak>> [accessed 10 December 2022]
- Titford, Christopher (1982) ‘Sub-titling: constrained translation’, *Lebende Sprachen*, 27.3: 113-116
- Toler, Michael (2007) ‘An interview with filmmaker Ismael Ferroukhi’, *World Literature Today*, January-February: 34-37
- Tortoriello, Adriana (2012) ‘Lost in subtitling? The case of geographically connotated language’, in *Audiovisual Translation across Europe: An Ever-changing Landscape*, ed. by Silvia Bruti and Elena Di Giovanni (Oxford: Peter Lang), pp. 97-112
- Trudgill, Peter (1986) *Dialects in Contact* (Oxford: Blackwell)
- (1999) ‘Dedialectisation and Norfolk dialect orthography’, in *Writing in Nonstandard English*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, Gunnel Melchers and Poussa Pahta (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 323-329
- Trudgill, Peter and Jack K. Chambers (1980) *Dialectology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

- Tuominen, Tiina, Catalina Jiménez Hurtado and Anne Ketola (2018) 'Why methods matter: Approaching multimodality in translation research', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 17: 1-21
- Turek, Sheila (2010) 'Foreigners in the margins: English subtitles in "Inch'Allah dimanche"', *The French Review*, 83.3: 560-572
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25614063>> [accessed 27 February 2020]
- Turner, Victor (1967) *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press)
- (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldin)
- (1981) 'Social dramas and stories about them', in *On Narrative*, ed. by William J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 137-164
- TV Tropes, *Fish out of Water*
<<https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/FishOutOfWater>> [accessed 5 July 2020]
- *Going Native* <<https://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/GoingNative>> [accessed 5 July 2020]
- Tveit, Jan-Emil (2009) 'Dubbing versus subtitling: Old battleground revisited', in *Audiovisual Translation: Language Transfer on Screen*, ed. by Jorge Díaz-Cintas and Gunilla Anderman (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 85-96
- Tymoczko, Maria (1999a) 'Post-colonial writing and literary translation', in *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 19-40
- (1999b) *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (Manchester: St Jerome)

- Vanderschelden, Isabelle (2007) 'Strategies for a "transnational"/French popular cinema', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 15.1: 37-50
- (2014) 'Looking elsewhere to film and capture life: Transnational journeys, nomadism, and cultural métissage in Tony Gatlif's cinema', *Black Camera*, 6.1: 108-123
- (2016) 'Screenwriting the Euro-noir thriller: The subtext of Jacques Audiard's artistic signature', *Studies in French Cinema*, 16.3: 248-261
- Vincendeau, Ginette (1999) 'Hollywood babel: The coming of sound and the multiple-language version', in *Film Europe and Film America. Cinema, Commerce and Cultural Exchange 1920-1939*, ed. by Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby (Exeter: University of Exeter Press), pp. 207-224
- (2005) 'Les Acteurs méridionaux dans le cinéma français des années 1930', in *L'Acteur de cinéma : approches plurielles*, ed. by Vincent Amiel, Jacqueline Nacache, Geneviève Sellier and Christian Viviani (Rennes: Presses Universitaires des Rennes), pp. 217-32
- (2009) 'Within a closed world', *Sight & Sound*, 19:11: 20
- (2010) 'The Frenchness of French cinema: the language of national identity, from the regional to the trans-national', in *Studies in French Cinema: UK Perspectives 1985-2010*, ed. by Will Higbee and Sarah Leahy (Bristol: Intellect), pp. 337-52
- Vitali, Ilaria (2009) 'Marivaudage ou tchatche ? Jeux de masques et travestissements linguistiques dans *L'Esquive* d'Abdellatif Kechiche', *Francofonia*, 56: 3-16
- Voellmer, Elena and Patrick Zabalbeascoa (2014) 'How multilingual can a dubbed film be? Language combinations and national traditions as determining factors', *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 13: 232-250

- von Flotow, Luise (1991) 'Feminist translation: Contexts, practices and theories', *TTR*, 4.2: 69-84
- (1997) *Translation and Gender* (Manchester: St. Jerome)
- (2010) 'When Hollywood speaks "International French:" The sociopolitics of dubbing for Francophone Québec', *Quebec Studies*, 50: 27-45
- von Flotow, Luise and Daniel E. Josephy-Hernández (2018) 'Gender in audiovisual translation: Advocating for gender awareness', in *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, ed. by Luis Pérez González (London: Routledge), pp. 296-311
- Wahl, Chris (2005) 'Discovering a genre: The polyglot film', *Cinemascope*, 1: 1-8
- (2008) 'Du Deutscher, Toi Français, You English: Beautiful!: The polyglot film as a genre', in *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context*, ed. by Miyase Christensen and Nezih Erdögan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars), pp. 334-350
- Wei, Li (2011) 'Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities in multilingual Chinese youth in Britain', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43: 1222-1235
- Williamson, Liam and Raquel de Pedro Ricoy (2015) 'The translation of wordplay in interlingual subtitling: A study of 'Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis' and its English subtitles', *Babel*, 60.2: 164-192 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.60.2.03wil>> [accessed 15 July 2020]
- Wise, Hilary (1997) *The Vocabulary of Modern French: Origins, Structure and Function* (London: Routledge)
- Wolfe, Stephen and Mireille Rosello (2017) 'Introduction', in *Border Aesthetics: Concepts and Intersections*, ed. by Johan Schimanski and Stephen Wolfe (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books), pp. 1-24

- Wood, Jason (2007) *100 Road Movies* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing)
- Yau, Wai-Ping (2012) 'Power, identity and subtitling in a diglossic society', *Meta*, 57.3: 564-573.
- Zabalbeascoa, Patrick (1996) 'Translating jokes for the dubbed television situation comedies', *The Translator*, 2.2: 235-257
- (2005) 'Humour and translation – an interdiscipline', *Humour: International Journal of Humour Research*, 18.2: 185-207
- (2012) 'Translating heterolingual audiovisual humor: Beyond the blinkers of traditional thinking', in *The Limits of Literary Translation: Expanding Frontier in Iberian Languages*, ed. by Javier Muñoz-Basols, Catarina Fouto, Laura Soler González and Tyler Fisher (Kassel: Reichenberger), pp. 317-338
- Zabus, Chantal (2007) *The African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel*, 2nd edn (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi)
- Zárate, Soledad (2021) *Captioning and Subtitling for d/Deaf and Hard of Hearing Audiences* (London: UCL Press)