

A CASE STUDY OF *TU* AND *VOUS* USE IN THE FRENCH  
DUBBING AND SUBTITLING IN AN AMERICAN FILM

Sarah Reed, B. A.

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APPROVED:

Lawrence Williams, Major Professor  
Marie-Christine Koop, Committee Member,  
Chair of the Department of Foreign  
Languages and Literatures  
Dorian Roehrs, Committee Member  
James D. Meernik, Acting Dean of the  
Toulouse Graduate School

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Translation and subtitling has always been a complicated dimension of the motion picture industry for years. The problem of dealing with linguistic elements in films and conveying them to audiences of different languages across the globe encompasses many difficulties regarding forms and structures of other languages. One of the more highly researched topics in French linguistic studies has been the use of address pronouns and a range of aspects related to their use and interpretation. Many studies have been conducted over the last sixty years in order to determine and understand these variables. An analysis of several of these studies reveals the many complexities involved in second-person pronoun choice in the French language and the development of the idea of pronoun choice as an act of social identity. The focus of this study is to provide an analysis of the use of formal and informal address pronoun use in the French subtitling and dubbing of an American film, *Maid in Manhattan*, in order to add, on a broader level, a way to differentially examine perceived norms in a variety of contexts within this medium.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Dubbing and Subtitling

Translation as a means of communication in the audiovisual medium has exploded over the last several decades. In fact, "the growth of translation and interpretation degrees throughout Europe and the rise in the number of audiovisual translation courses within these degrees" (Chaume, 2004, p. 13) has created a high demand in the analysis of audiovisual texts from a translation studies perspective. However, it is a given understanding that from the beginning, translation has been a problem in the motion picture industry; dealing with the verbal element and how to convey the dialogue to audiences who had different native languages. The solution to this problem, of course was answered in two forms; subtitling, and dubbing.

The beginning of subtitling came about during the silent films era, where audiences could not hear the voices of the actors; what was best known was the use of title cards that appeared between scene changes or intertitles. Following the invention of the so-called talkie movie, intertitles became pointless, this however, moved the problem of translation into a whole new area. "There very soon emerged the idea of replacing the original sound track by a new recording" (Ivarsson, n.d., p. 15). Dubbing established itself as the dominant means for translation in the 1930's, however some, feeling that dubbing was too expensive, began to consider the possibility of a return to intertitles; with the titles, however, inserted into the lower part of the screen during the film, instead of between sequences. "Thus, the subtitle was born, and at a fraction of the price of dubbing: ten to twenty times cheaper" (Bravo Gozalo, 2004, p. 210).

## 1.2 Aim(s) and Scope of the Study

This thesis focuses on one American film and conducts a study of the French subtitling and dubbing in order to provide a language- and discourse-centered comparison of the subtitling versus the dubbing. The comparative analysis is centered around a variable pragmatic feature of discourse, namely familiar versus formal uses of the second-person pronouns *tu* and *vous*. More specifically, one aim of this thesis is to develop a method and, potentially, guidelines for determining a scale of film-internal consistency and reliability. While the constraints involving subtitling and dubbing are often discussed, there is not much published information analyzing them in detail. Therefore, this analysis aims to add, on a broader level, a way to examine differentially certain practices within the use of subtitling and dubbing.

## 1.3 Overview of *Tu* and *Vous* Use

The use of address pronouns has been rather thoroughly researched over the years. There are many different aspects that concern the use of *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* in French. Over the past sixty years many studies have been conducted in order to specify the constantly changing variables that affect the choice of address pronoun. In order to better understand these variables, the review of previous studies in the following section provides a historical overview of *tu* and *vous* use as well as a selected number of studies focusing on *tu* and *vous* use in specific contexts.

The seminal work on this use of address pronouns was done by Brown and Gilman in 1960. They stated that the use of *tu* and *vous* is a binary system based on solidarity and power. Solidarity being shown by reciprocal use, while power is expressed



in non-reciprocal use. Brown and Gilman (1960) said that the opposition of *tu-vous* was progressively engaged as a sign of power; physical size, age, wealth, origins, sex, profession or social function. The use of pronouns, however, was essentially determined by the social hierarchy. Moreover, Brown and Gilman noted that once solidarity had been established in pronominal use, *tu* became generalized, thus, the only nonmarked semantically simple pronoun, while *vous* (showing nonsolidarity and distance) remained marked and semantically complex.

Whereas Brown and Gilman (1960; see also Gilman and Brown, 1958) viewed each pronoun (*Tu* and *Vous*) as lexical items with intrinsic, inherent semantic properties, more recent work has developed a somewhat different perspective. Morford (1997), for example, recognizes that although the study by Brown and Gilman helped to advance research in this area, another viewpoint is needed.

Particularly problematic are the notions that pronominal address largely reflects a static order of relationships defined in terms of macrosociological categories; that single instances of address use are unambiguously meaningful in and of themselves; and that the social signification and evolution of these address systems may be accounted for without regard to the full range of metapragmatic frameworks in terms of which native speakers understand any such address system. (Morford, p. 5)

Morford uses work by Silverstein (1992, 1996) in order to explain the French pronominal system's ability to index formality and to highlight aspects of identity.

[F]irst and most straightforwardly, [the French pronominal system has] the capacity to "index," or point to, the relative formality of settings and occasions, as well as degrees of deference and / or intimacy between speaker and addressee; and second, [it has] the capacity to signal certain aspects of an individual speaker's identity within the wider social order. (Morford, p. 5)

In addition to having two competing frameworks for analyzing *tu* and *vous* use, the expansion of new technologies has led to all kinds of new varying factors that seem to complicate research on the discourse of computer-mediated communication. Recent studies, for example, have captured the essence of second-person pronoun use in online French-language chat environments (Williams and van Compernelle, 2007), French-language Internet discussion forums (Williams and van Compernelle, 2009), French-language blogs (Douglass, 2009), and hypertext (Williams, 2009). Based on these studies, the system of address pronouns in an online environment has become very generalized. The online medium removes geographic constraints, and participation in online environments allows for selecting one's preferred online community (or communities) and communication environment(s). These factors contribute to an absence of social hierarchy (or one that is quite different) and a diminished importance on formality. Online interaction creates a certain type of social distance that allows for a generalized and symmetric use of *tu* reciprocity in many cases. However, *tu* and *vous* use does vary within each medium, that is to say that there is a higher use of *vous* in discussion fora and blogs, generally, than within synchronous chat, perhaps due to the more formal nature of the former two types of computer-mediated communication. Hypertext has created some interesting variable factors as well, such as multiple points of entry, authorship, and selective editing. Overall, the studies conclude that address pronoun use is mostly based on personal choice within the cyber realm.

## CHAPTER 2

### PREVIOUS STUDIES OF *TU* AND *VOUS*<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1 Maley (1972)

In a comprehensive historical overview of *tu* and *vous* use, Maley (1972) provides insight into the complex nature of the French pronoun paradigm over time and space. First, the breakdown of the feudal system in France (late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) is marked by the decline of the *ancien français* and the development of a new codified Modern French. Next, however, according to Maley (1972), the development of a style of true literary French did not come about until the second half of the sixteenth century, with the printing of such books as Robert Estienne's French/Latin dictionary, John Paslgrave's *Esclairissement de la langue française* and DuBellay's *La deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*. Writers of this period remain silent on the discourse of *tu* and *vous* use except for Estinne Pasquier, whose nine volume commentary, *Les Recherches de la France*, makes only one reference in the eighth volume. It states that *tu* is to be used to address one's inferiors or persons with which one has a close personal relationship, and *vous* is to be used when addressing an equal or a person of quality. The article also is the first to note the possibility of a *vouvoient* with an inferior when there is an absence of constraint and affectation in association with the personality of the speaker.

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<sup>1</sup> The label of each main section of this chapter is the name of the author of each study reviewed as a way to cite the authors indirectly since direct paraphrasing is involved. Moreover, in some cases specific wording is used directly from the sources since it is not always possible to find synonyms.

Then, due to large influence in the court in the seventeenth century, *vous* triumphed as a term of politeness; the grammarians and ladies and gentlemen of the court worked to purify the language. This was the largest and most widespread interest in the correctness and elegance of speech and writing to date.

The first dictionary published by the French Academy in 1694 notes that one only uses *tu* when speaking to inferior persons. *Tutoiement* was used very sparingly among the upper and middle classes of the time, even Racine addressed his wife, children, sister and friends with *vous* in his correspondences. By the end of the seventeenth century the *tu/vous* use had been fairly standardized. Pronominal use remained the same through the beginning of the early eighteenth century and up to the French Revolution; based on class status. Members of the same social class used pronouns reciprocally, there were however, deviations based on emotion (anger, affection, sorrow). In 1793, at the time of the Revolution, the Committee for Public Safety condemned the use of *vous* and ordered everyone to use reciprocal *tu* on all occasions. However, the fall of Robespierre and The Empire followed by the Restoration, returned the previous customs of *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* according to social class.

In 1857 Louis Capart published a French grammar that states that valets wished to be addressed in the third person and that gender also plays a role in the choice of *tu* or *vous*; use of *tu* between friends of the same gender is common, however not between friends of the opposite sexes, this implied sexual intimacy. By the late nineteenth century this became common place with husbands and wives using *tutoiement*. Children began using it in the last third of the nineteenth century to address their parents.

Grammarians in the following centuries made little commentary on the use of *tutoiement* and the *vouvoiement*, including those from the twentieth century. The 1932 grammar publication of the French Academy makes no distinctions between *tu-vous* use. According to Maley (1972, p. 1004), the most extensive commentaries of the twentieth century are made by C. M. Robert in 1917 and K. R. Nyrop in 1935. Summarized together they collectively state that reciprocal *tu* is used between children, young students, soldiers, brothers, sisters, husbands and wives. For those of the upper class, *vous* is used reciprocally in front of strangers and in the presence of servants. *Tu* is used between parent and child (except in aristocratic families with bourgeoisie traditions) and between friends. Reciprocal *vous* is used between fiancés, as *tutoiement* indicates too great an intimacy, in-laws, master and servant, servant and child, older students, older students and teacher and soldier and superior.

Maley (1972) also notes that since World War II, *tutoiement* has considerably increased due to a wider acceptance of familiarity in discourse in a larger variety of settings. The younger generation especially are very liberal with its use. Also, with the 1967 declaration of the Roman Catholic Church in France decreeing that God was to be addressed as *tu* and the insistence of the Communist Party of France to use *tutoiement*, old habits of class barriers concerning pronominal use have been lessened. One can assume that with the coming generations, *tutoiement* will become more common than it is now.

## 2.2 Bryan (1972)

According to Bryan (1972), French people use *tutoiement* more readily today than ever before. Not all young people use the *tu* form reciprocally, and the tendency is not always immediately to use *tutoiement*.

There are many different aspects that concern the use of *tutoiement*. To begin with there are many regional differences disputed among the French. The differences in the use of the *tu* is not just different from region to region, rather, it is province to province, region to region, family to family and even individually based among familial relationships. However, one thing all the French agree on, is that there are two different forms of the *tu*, paternal and fraternal.

The paternal *tu* has a bad reputation due to its emergence during the colonization of France and use towards non-French colonials. It is said even, that certain French persons would never use *tu* in conversation with an African or an Arab in order to avoid bringing up painful memories. These French systematically use *vouvoiement* even when surrounded by Africans or Arabs who freely employ *tutoiement* among one another. Nowadays, the paternal *tu* still exists; used between employers and their employees, the Mayor and his constituents in general and within the family (especially between relatives of a vast age difference). However, the use of the paternal *tu* is not reciprocal.

The fraternal *tu*, however, is reciprocal. For several years now the younger generations have reciprocally used *tutoiement*. However, their use of *tutoiement* is also based on function. If two young people are engaged in commerce in a store, one an employee the other a customer, the *vouvoiement* would be employed, if not the seller

may misunderstand and think the customer is speaking down to them. However, if two employees were conversing among one another we would most likely hear *tutoiement*. The younger generation has started to systematically use *tutoiement* among one another based on the recognition that they are from the same age group.

However, there does exist a common understanding of where the lines are drawn in the younger generation. For example, among a managerial staff, if there were two different teams, Team A and Team B, those working within the same team will usually use *tu* with one another, especially if the general manager is young and has set the example already. However, members of the Team A would use the *vouvoiement* while conversing with members of Team B, because there exists no familiarity between them.

So how do we know the difference in these subtleties? It is a difficult distinction, given that sometimes the misuse can be construed as not as a sign of politeness, rather a throwback to the hierarchy of bourgeoisie times.

Actors and artistes now use the informal *tu* among each other to show their complicity. At certain universities professors and students use *tutoiement*, however sometimes an oral invitation is necessary before this happens.

In summary, the French pride themselves in knowing these subtle distinctions as a part of their culture. It is difficult for a foreigner to know how/when/why to employ the formal or the informal. However, a good piece of practical advice is to always start with the formal when speaking and wait to see how you are then addressed in return. If they use *tu* then they have included you into a certain group in which only the two of you belong. If you want to enter into the game, tutois them in return.

### 2.3 Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby, and Warren (2003)

According to the authors of this study, address rules are rarely adequately described in textbooks or grammars. A choice of address form usually occurs very early in a spoken encounter, and it usually involves both the relationship and attitudes of interlocutors.

While Brown and Gilman (1960) maintain that a binary system involving two competing semantic parameters of solidarity and power account for pronoun use, new research (Simon, 2003) may now provide a clearer theoretical foundation and model for the analysis of address pronouns, according to Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norrby, and Warren (2003; see also Clyne, Norrby, and Warren, 2009).

The main working hypothesis states that the dichotomy *tu* and *vous* can no longer be understood simply in terms of solidarity vs. power. It can also be framed as social distance relations within a theory of politeness (see, however, Morford, 1997). These relations—marked and unmarked—are felt within a community during a given period of its social and linguistic development. Change within the community is a cyclical function that is asynchronous between regional, social and national varieties of the speakers of the language. Finally, worldwide email communication and the use of English as a lingua franca have led to an increased use of *tu*, a growing insecurity about the place of *vous*, and an increase in strategies to avoid *vous* or a decision between *tu* or *vous* all together.

The study on the French uses of *tu* and *vous* were conducted in Montpellier, France in order to capture the distinctions and variations between Paris and non-Metropolitan (i.e., southern France, in this case).



Data were collected by participant observation on visits to the cities, two focus groups (each lasting two hours) of sixteen persons classified by age, gender, and occupation; a questionnaire on address use, attitudes and perceptions of changes; the use of chat groups; and a mail survey of a sample of forty public institutions to investigate policies on address use.

These were the results for France: Address pronoun use appears to be more liberal than originally thought. Substantial changes took place since Brown and Gilman's study in 1960. Maley showed in 1974 that the younger generation was more liberal in the use of the familiar *tu* than the older generation, however as the seventies wore on *vous* made a surprising comeback according to Coffen (2002).

1) The greater use of *tu* correlates with the younger age group with a decline as people age. The choice of address pronouns among the younger and older can be explained through phases in the life cycle. The shift from adolescence and early twenties to entry into the work place is marked by a shift in social relations maintained by the individual and therefore a shift in pronoun use with a greater use of *vous*. The relative ages of interlocutors is an important factor in pronoun choice in French.

2) *Tu* is used reciprocally among members of close family and friends. In the late 60s's, this was the norm regardless of age. In contemporary society this is still the case. *Tu* is also the norm for relations between people of equal status, having known each other for a certain length of time. Social relations in France have become more informal.

3) *Vous* is still an important aspect of the address system. Reciprocal *vous* is still the pronoun of choice in initial encounters between strangers and people who want to avoid familiarity. Even though used by people of all classes however, it still maintains its association with the bourgeois status and is considered "conservative."

4) When asymmetry exists in *tu* and *vous* use it is mainly between different generations of a family or during phases of uncertainty which can exist in the transitional phase between *tu* and *vous*.

5) Context is important. The use of *tu* and *vous* can point not only to the relationship, but also the setting. Morford gives the example of two lawyers who use *tu* at the office however, *vous* while in the courtroom in order to acknowledge the official setting.

6) French has a default set of nominal terms for addressing strangers, *The rules of distance*.

#### 2.4 Peeters (2004)

Is *tutoiement* justifiable when speaking to someone of the same age? All that really exists today is a system of inherited principals, sometimes contradictory, that are impossible to uphold. There are, of course, a certain number of precise directives, however, they are often applied on a limited basis. Since World War II, the French Army respects the principle that an officer must use *vous* with his superiors. Even in retirement homes, where the official policy is to use *vous*, the vast majority of its

occupants mostly use the informal *tu*. Peeters (2004) also notes that *tutoiement* of God was made official by the Vatican from 1962-1965 (p. 2).

The main objective of this study is to demonstrate other more contemporary and more generalized uses of the *vouvoiement-tutoiement*, starting with a comparison of *français à l'ancien* and the critical hypothesis of Brown and Gilman.

#### 2.4.1 Power and Solidarity

The new system of *tu-vous* still hasn't totally triumphed over the old one. The two pronouns are often liberally interchanged in a way such that is not of this period. Brown and Gilman formulated a hypothesis that has been the subject of much scrutiny, and that I correct. Their hypothesis concerned several European languages, of which a majority use the same analogous system like that used by the French language, saying that in all these languages there exists a semantic power and solidarity. The two authors were the first to admit that power and solidarity don't necessarily always exist everywhere in the same way; because the emergence of new ideas concerning solidarity in accordance with changes in the social order, that which is considered solidarity in one place, may not be elsewhere.

During the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, Brown and Gilman said that the opposition of *tu-vous* was progressively engaged as a sign of power; physical size, age, wealth, origins, sex, profession or social function. The use of pronouns however, was essentially determined by the social hierarchy. The nobles used *tu* with the general public while they used *vous* with their superiors. Within the family circle the parents used *tu* with their children while the children, in order to learn the non-reciprocal nature

of the system of power, used *vous* with their parents. The use between equals however, is interesting during this period. There actually existed two systems, one in which *tu* is the lexicalisation of the primitive semantic "you," while the other is *vous*.

Thanks to social mobilization and the diffusion of different ideologies at the beginning of the eighteenth century, other norms became widespread, however these did not become commonplace until the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the official decree of 1792 abandoning the use of *vous*, following the fall of Robespierre in 1795, it has been observed little by little that *tutoiement* started to spread among classmates, colleagues and in the family. Conversely, the *vouvoiement* began to signify distance or non-solidarity. The use of pronouns became largely reciprocal or symmetrical, determined by the degree of solidarity that existed between the interlocutors.

Brown and Gilman noted that once solidarity had been established in pronominal use, that the *tu* became generalized, in the sense that the number of social relationships defined as having a certain degree of solidarity to merit the reciprocal use of *tu* was augmented. This however, brings to question the original hypothesis. It of course would be much easier to say that the two systems coexisted before the coming of ideological equality; one was dependent upon the other. *Tu* thus, became the only non marked semantically simple pronoun, while *vous* showing non-solidarity and distance, has always been marked and semantically complex.

#### 2.4.2 *On se tutoie?*

*Tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* aren't set in stone: which is to say, that when we use *vous* with a person, it won't always be like that. But that raises the question, when is the best moment to change between *tu-vous*? When a *tutoiement* is unexpected, it is not always appreciated. For example, a man who uses *tu* with his fiancée, may stand to be corrected by her, because she feels it too quick to have already passed from *vous* to *tu*.

The use of *tu* usually doesn't occur until after one person has asked the other's permission. There are several different strategies to use *tutoiement* without asking directly, for example, one can completely leave out the verb in a question, "*encore un peu de café,*" indicating the familiar. One can shorten the phrase, "*ça va,*" instead of "*tu vas bien aujourd'hui,*" or finally one can use the third person in interrogative sentences, "*Alors, on se promène un peu?*" Sometimes the *vous* inadvertently gives way to *tu*. In these cases, there is usually a perfunctory exchange of excuses followed by a vague version of the question:

--"*Oh, je t'ai tutoyé . . . je ne me rendais pas compte.* [Oh, I used *tu* with you . . . I didn't (even) realize it.]

--"*Bah, on est entre amis, non?*" [Well, we're among friends, right?]

Sometimes the event is paired with a somewhat ceremonial, informal tradition marking the importance of the transition.

*Tutoiement* often signals a point of no-return, a degree of intimacy that is difficult to renounce, while the *vouvoiement* constitutes less engagement and is much easier to modify. In general, the non-forced passing from *tu* to *vous* doesn't really exist. Gardner-

Chloros's study points out to us that the physical plays a role in the decision to *tutoie* or *vouvoie* someone.

#### 2.4.3 Marked Uses of *Tu* and *Vous*

How do we explain the alternations between *tu* and *vous* that can be observed between the same interlocutors? Alternations of this kind are marked far beyond their relation to power. For example, in a moment of consolation with another person, one would be more prone to *tutoiement* in order to express a certain level of intimacy, however the use of *tu* can also be in a desire to insult another person. It is not unusual that in situations of disagreement the *vouvoiement* ceases due to high levels of emotion and a desire to effectively communicate one's point of view. Non reciprocal uses of *tu* and *vous* aren't completely in the past, however, they have become more rare, less natural and expected; they aim to show a specific message.

#### 2.4.4 Recent Tendencies

It has been observed over the last 30 years that high-school aged French students seem to have adopted the use of reciprocal *tu*. The same was found in a study by Schoch in 1978 in Switzerland. After having observed three age groups, she noted that they only used reciprocal *vous* in situations of formality, the younger generation preferred an almost exclusive use of *tu*. The choice of pronouns among the younger and older generations had less to do with socioprofessional differences than in the intermediate age group; in fact, in the intermediate group there was little to indicate a tendency for a preference of either pronoun. Schoch determined that the regression of

*tu* is a result of the weakening of the "adolescent spirit;" which is to say that after turning 25 one no longer is part of the "adolescent mind-set" and they become more aware of certain social relations and contexts. Gardner-Chloros stated in her findings that both the gender and age of the interlocutors played a role in their choice of address pronouns; Vincent found the same in Quebec in 2001. However it should be noted that Canadians use reciprocal *tu* much more freely than the French. Thibault suspected this may have something to do with its linguistic function; used as suffix, as part of certain spontaneous expressions and because of the general tendency to de-formalize *nous* by using *on* (p. 12).

In general, it is shown that *tutoiement* is far more widespread than *vouvoiement*, even more so in Canada than in France. There are many varying factors; age, sex, context, emotion, nature of the discourse, and politeness all play a role. Without a doubt however, there are most certainly other parameters that we have yet to even acknowledge or be aware of, particularly concerning geography and region, importance of cities, proximity to another foreign language, etc.

## 2.5 Gardner-Chloros (1991)

In order to study the French second-person pronoun phenomenon, Gardner-Chloros (1991) used direct observation. Her study involved an oral questionnaire to seventy eight random participants in Alsace, Mulhouse, Colmar, and Haguenau (France). The questionnaire was then followed up with interviews of thirty four persons (nineteen women, fifteen men) aged twenty to eighty and of varying intellectual statuses. This study however, has chosen to focus on other varying factors that have not been

explored such as age difference between speakers, the choice of *tu* and *vous* when meeting for a first time in comparison with already established relationships, and pronoun selection based on the levels of certainty of the speaker.

### 2.5.1 The Focus Group

The questionnaire consisted of six questions: 1) When meeting a person for the first time, how do you decide which pronoun to use, what are the criteria?; 2) Among people who you know, with whom do you use *tu* and with whom do you use *vous*?; 3) Are there times when you hesitate between *tu* and *vous*? When? Are there times when you try to avoid the distinction all together? Can you give some examples of when you have run into this problem?; 4) Do you think it is a good idea to get rid of the distinction between *tu* and *vous*? Why or why not?; 5) Has there been a type of evolution in your behavior in connection with the choice between *tu* and *vous*?; and 6) If you speak another language other than French, and it has distinctions between *tu* and *vous*, is your choice of those pronouns the same as it would be in French? If not, please explain the differences.

The interviews provided the study with the opportunity to have more in-depth comments regarding address pronouns. The interviewees discussed the possible changes of this principle within certain domains, within individual relationships, differences between French and other language situations, the influence of other languages on choice and the possible evolution of pronominal use.

First, they discussed the "hard and fast" rules of *tu* and *vous* use. For *tu*, these situations usually boiled down to when the interlocutor is younger, between close family



and friends (this excludes in-laws and grandparents, however) and in familiar relationships of persons younger than 30. The pronoun *vous* is used for unknown persons, first meetings, when speaking about people who are at least 10 years older than the speaker, for persons over 30, with persons who are not familiar, with colleagues who are in a higher position and with in-laws.

### 2.5.2 Exceptions to the Rules

The most frequent exceptions to these rules were as follows: 1) Context: In the context of sports or leisure activities the *tu* is more generalized than in a working context, even with new and older persons. However there is a distinction within leisure activities for example, at the opera *vous*, at a rock concert *tu*. 2) Social hierarchy at work: Those who are in lower ranking positions *se tutoient* to differentiate between themselves and superiors, however, superiors tend to *vouvoient* everyone in order to seem neutral. 3) Exterior: The style of interlocutors is also a factor, when one is dressed in a "cool" style *tu* is appropriate, however being well dressed gives way to *vous*. The physical appearance of a person also influences pronominal choice, when a person gives you a feeling of being "at ease" or facilitates a "friendly" atmosphere the *tu* would be the more common choice. 4) Personal aspects: Usually speakers wait for a signal from their interlocutor to direct their pronominal choice. Sometimes the gender of a person plays a certain role; being of the same gender for example. It is not common to openly discuss the *tu* and *vous* use. Instead, it is something that needs to be "felt." However, when people do indeed feel that *vous* should be used for them (i.e., being addressed as *vous*), they will likely ask.

Based on the findings of my study, it would be impossible to precisely define a set of guidelines for pronominal choice. We can indicate certain factors that should and can be considered as part of the selection, however when in doubt *vous* often seems to be a default or a more suitable choice.

## 2.6 Gardner-Chloros (2007)

This study involved an informal conversation of six women from the south of France was recorded and studied. The women were aged 40 to 66, were of the middle class and met regularly (once a month) for a chat (in the more traditional sense of the word). An excerpt from the conversation shows nonreciprocal *tu* and *vous* use discussed by the women; one even suggesting that the reason a particular couple still uses *vous* when speaking to certain friends—after having known them for 15 years—is due to their age difference (15 years). The conversation also showed several examples of gossip characteristics. In picking out unusual *tu* and *vous* uses to comment on, the speakers are testing norms and testing their own agreement about what is acceptable and what isn't.

Since the construction of identity emerges partly from the expression of one's opinions and tastes and partly out of the corollary, the handling of disagreement and agreement is an important aspect of this process. For example, one of the women in the group is married to the local doctor who tries at all costs, not to use *tu*. However, how can she, as his wife, *tutoie* those with whom he uses *vous*? Using one type form with one person in a peer group and another form with all the others is a very "marked" type of behavior. *Tu* and *vous* choices with one member of the group implies the same use

with the others. Another woman in the group expresses her struggle to address one set of grandparents with *tu* and the others with *vous*; she notes that this difference isn't based on familiarity, rather that it was chosen for her, not of her own initiative. Another woman, talks about how her mother-in-law was actually offended by her use of the *vous* towards her while using *tu* with some friends whom she met at the same time. There was an amount of perceived difficulty in her choice and she comments that it was more a choice based on habit, rather than a reflection of feelings. This shows there is no "norm" for *tu* and *vous* use, however usually just implications for which there are acceptable and unacceptable solutions.

The discussion focuses repeatedly on paradoxical and unexpected *tu* and *vous* choices; unusual behavior between people who are close is a heavily discussed topic. The women even go so far as to comment on the connection between pronoun choice and naming practices and how that tradition even still exists. There is an awareness among the women of the age factor in *tu* and *vous* choices; particularly concerning children in reference to their parents. Gender is also a recognized factor; people find it is easier to use *tu* with a person of the same gender.

The topic of *tu* and *vous* use has called out a discussion even among a group of same gendered familiar Francophone speakers. Despite their closeness within the circle there still exists puzzlement and disagreement from time to time. A possible hypothesis is that *tu* and *vous* use is more an indicator of persona relations rather than social convention or power among women. One could even use this data in application with other studies based on personal style to say that style itself is used to project identity, and that T/V choices are an essential aspect of this. *Tu* and *Vous* use provides a "rich

seam" of evidence when considering its relation to individuals, their relationships and their identity-related linguistic choices.

## 2.7 Constable (1980)

In the country of Mali, in West Africa, the main goal for children in school was to acquire a command and control of the French language, which remains the official national language, and local languages are still limited to the informal sector. Therefore, French is a factor in social mobility, based on educational attainment.

Brown and Gilman's (1960) analysis on the historical development of the *tu* and *vous* pronouns in several European languages from the Middle Ages to present day stated that reciprocal use of *vous* was used between persons of nobility, reciprocal use of *tu* was used among the lower classes and nonreciprocal use of *tu* and *vous* was used between persons of non-equal status. However, speakers of French as a second language were totally ignored in the report, but for a passing reference: "In French Africa, on the other hand, it is considered proper to recognize caste differences between the European and the African, and the non-reciprocal address is used to express it. The European says *tu* and requires *vous* from the African" (p. 265). Constable (1980) notes that there was no mention of address forms in French between Africans.

This gap in the research led Constable to conduct a study, for which one hundred and two questionnaires were administered to and completed by participants—fourth-year university students—of different educational levels. The educational levels were distributed in the following manner: University Level, 24; 6th Form Level, 26; Pre-0 Level, 31; and Early Secondary Level, 21.

For the first question a minority ( $n = 20$ ) claimed they would choose French when addressing an unknown African for the first time. The more educated the respondent however, the more likely they were to choose indigenous languages, perhaps suggesting their understanding for the need to promote them. No one claimed to systematically avoid French on the first encounter. Some said that given the speed of the encounter, they would choose to use a French greeting (for brisk encounters). Apparent education and officialness of the situation seem to dominate choice.

When using *tu* as an address pronoun, the answers are easily separated into Brown and Gilman's power/solidarity categories: 152 indicated that they would address friends, family, colleagues, same age group or familiar persons with *tu* (solidarity), while 32 would use it with young children (power). There were, however, unsolicited uses of the power semantic not mentioned in Brown and Gilman's (1960) study: 18 would use *tu* to express status, inferior level, vulgarities, or when talking to people who are "scantily dressed" (Constable, 1980, p. 18). The overall impression is that *tu* is used consistently, but not in a completely generalized way. When using *vous*, 68 participants indicated that they use it with strangers, 64 said they would use it with people above them, teachers, older people. Twelve respondents also attested to using *vous* within the family, among parents and children (power).

The issue of race was then investigated (African vs. European ways of addressing each other). Respondents were asked to assign certain judgements to *tu* and *vous*. In the case of *tu*, the choices were the following: normal, friendly, insulting, warm, unnatural, showing solidarity, uneducated, showing superiority. Fifty-one respondents interpreted the use of *vous* differently when used by a European (E) from

when used by an African (A). Normal and polite dominated; Normal:(A) 50, (E) 43, Polite: (A) 58, (E) 51. The most frequent other judgement was to show respect, and the second most popular choice was to show educational status, indicating that the power semantic is more tightly interwoven with the solidarity semantic than in France.

The next question addressed the use of *tu* with an unknown African and European. Sixty-seven respondents expected the use of *tu* from an African, while 90 expected the use of *tu* from a European. Of the respondents who felt that *tu* showed warmth, friendliness or solidarity, 76 felt this when receiving *tu* from an African, 34 if receiving from a European. However the power semantic is clearest when choosing to show superiority. Nearly one fifth interpret *tu* from a fellow African as indicating superiority rather than solidarity.

The power semantic however, is most discernible in relationships with young children, as seen in the following results from Constable (1980):

- 1) Give *tu* and expect *vous* to pupils (19); to young children (37); never (13).
- 2) Give *tu* and expect *vous* to inferiors (57); to other inferiors (6).
- 3) Give *vous* and expect *tu*; Never(5); to teachers (29); to elders/parents (38); to superiors (67).

According to Constable (1980), the indigenous languages of Mali do not normally use pronominal variation to show respect; there are possible lexical variations, however. "Malian French has retained the rich social and linguistic possibilities of nineteenth century French to an extent which has been lost in the French of France" (p. 20). *Tu* and *vous* use to express power is still current. Brown and Gilman (1960) indicate that this is evidence of a static society; however, despite their suggestion that social mobility favors

the disappearance of *tu* and *vous* use, the Malian society still employs a large use of varied French address pronouns.

## 2.8 Lyster (1996)

This is a study to detect the sociolinguistic norms in the use of three language features in the written and oral production of adolescent native speakers in formal and informal contexts of the French language. It presents written data from a sample of 81 adolescent native speakers in the Quebec City area and oral data from a subsample of 44 participants.

Lyster (1996) states that the ability of native speakers varies in accordance with social context. Research shows sociolinguistic weaknesses in proficiency of F1 (foreign exchange) students in Canada in comparison with native speakers of their same age. In both written and oral production, F1 students performed significantly lower in their use of *vous* and conditional verb forms to express politeness. Research then shows that this nonnative-like sociolinguistic competence remained the same into the high school years. This however, is said to be explained by the absence (in F1 classrooms) of the social function of *vous* in the classroom; teachers generally say *tu* to individuals and fellow teachers. However, the students also use T when addressing more than one person. While teachers used *tu* and *vous* equally, (52.7 and 43.7%), students used *tu* 96% of the time. *vous* is therefore a marker of formality and opportunity for students to use *vous* as a maker of plurality are infrequent.

Of the 81 subjects tested, 40 were females and 41 were males. Students were randomly assigned form A or B of the tests. Of the 44 oral tests administered

individually, 21 were females and 23, males. For the written tests students were asked to write an informal note to their mother/landlord and a formal note to their teacher/landlord. Zero percent of the native students used *vous* in their notes and 96.3% used *vous* in their formal letters. *Tu* was consistently used in the "notes" or informal, and *vous* was almost exclusively used in the formal letters; 78 of the 81 native speakers used *vous* in the formal sense. Only one native speaker avoided the use of second-person pronominal reference in what was a short letter, and the other combined the use of *tu* and *vous* in a deviant fashion.

The oral production test consisted of two different forms, each with five formal and five informal situations. Students were tested individually by being shown slides of the people they were to address. Before the test the students were introduced to a constant (x) informal characters (Lise/Jean) who appeared randomly throughout the test in the informal situations.

The use of *tu* and *vous* in the oral situations was more varied than in written context. *Tu* is used consistently to address peers with two exceptions: One native speaker began addressing his friend with *vous* and then switched to *tu* realizing his error, and one used *vous* to mark plurality. *Vous* was consistently used to address adults with the following exceptions: Two native speakers used *tu* to request help from the teacher in math (one switched to *vous* in the middle however), two native speakers used *tu* to request to borrow the librarian's ruler, five native speakers used *tu* to address the unknown adult pushing them in line and one native speaker used *tu* to offer to carry and unknown teacher's books, one native speaker combined *tu* and *vous* to give



directions to an unknown adult. There was no significant difference between male and female subjects in their use of *tu* and *vous* in oral production.

In written production *vous* was dominant in formal correspondence, in oral production it was used to address unknown adults in situations where directions were being given or help was being requested or offered. When reacting with a teacher or librarian (known variable), *vous* was predominated, however *tu* was observed less frequently. These findings indicate that *vous* is not falling into nonuse in Québec. Thibault (1991), likewise, states that the use of *vous* is still evident in Montréal; however, *tu* is generally more prevalent because it is used as an interrogative suffix, yet this does not indicate a weakening of the sociostylistic opposition between *tu* and *vous*. It is more likely due to the tendency to use the subject pronoun *on* instead of *nous*.

## 2.9 Dewaele (2004)

This study concentrates on the effects of situational and sociobiographical variables on the self-reported and actual use of pronouns of address in native (NS) and non-native French (NNS). Data was collected in different situations from 125 respondents by a written questionnaire. A focus group of 9 native and 52 non-native speakers collected data on the actual use of address pronouns.

This study contains seven hypothesis:

1. NS and NNS will differ in their choice of address pronoun
2. Gender and age of the speaker will affect the choice of address pronoun.
3. Frequency of use of French by the NNS will affect the choice of address pronoun.

4. NNS who have a system of multiple pronouns, will differ in their choice of address pronoun compared to the NNS who have a single pronoun of address in the L1 (First year university student).
5. Gender and age of the interlocutor will affect the choice of address pronoun.
6. The status of the interlocutor known/unknown will affect the choice of address pronoun.
7. The status of the interlocutor and the subsequent exolingual or endolingual character of the interaction will affect the choice of address pronoun.

In the first study, 125 multilinguals filled out a written questionnaire with closed-ended questions relating to pronoun choice. The group of non-native speakers (NNS) consisted of 50 NS of English, 27 of Dutch and 11 of other languages. There were 68 females and 38 males with a mean age of 31.4 four years. The NS group consisted of 24 native European Francophones (mean age, 31).

Known vs. unknown status was crucial: *vous* used predominantly with strangers, *tu* with familiar people. NS vs NNS also significantly affects the choice of pronoun. The difference between NS and NNS is significant in three situations only, known interlocutor, older interlocutor and interlocutor of the same age. The difference was marginally different in situations of unknown interlocutor and younger interlocutor. NNS has a higher use of *vous* and a lower use of *tu* in these two categories. There is no significant difference between NS and NNS when addressing males and females. There is a correlation between age and the use of *vous* is significant in two situations, interaction with a stranger and with a male interlocutor (this however not being linked to the participants gender). NS almost always address strangers with *vous* and male

interlocutors attract more *vous* than females. Older interlocutors are address with *vous* than of persons with the same age. The younger NNS prefer *tu*, the NNS's gender has no discernible effect on pronoun choice when speaking with male interlocutors. Study one supports Hypotheses 1 and 4 through 6 and partially supports Hypothesis 2 and 3.

In the second study, 61 university students (34 females, 28 males) were enrolled in the bachelor of the arts French program in London and had received 5 to 11 years instruction in French (proficiencies varying from intermediate to advanced). Participants completed a questionnaire concerning their linguistic history; 29 rarely spoke French outside school, 13 did so occasionally and 20 did regularly. The study is based on one-to-one audio recorded conversations between participants based on a list of twelve topics ranging from personal to more general. Of 1,187 pronouns of address, 442 were *vous* and 745 were *tu*. Thirteen participants did not use *tu* a single time, 24 used it the entire time, the other alternated between the *tu* and the *vous*. The NNS who switch back and forth are normally less advanced speakers. Sometimes the transition required explicit comments with NNS. There was no significant difference in the use of *tu* between male and female. There was a difference in use between NS and NNS (NNS using more *tu* than NS). More frequent use of French is linked to a more frequent use of *tu*. Age of the interlocutor affected their choices, those of the same-age using *tu*, those with an age difference using *vous*. Finally there was a more significant use of *tu* between two NNS than a NNS and a NS. The findings support Hypotheses 1, 3 and 4, reject 2, partially support Hypothesis 5 and show no support for Hypothesis 7.

The conclusions of these combined studies by Dewaele (2004) are that age and gender of the speaker have a stronger effect. Male and older interlocutors are more

often addressed with *vous* than females and younger interlocutors. Status was the most important exogeneous variable; strangers were almost always addressed with *vous* by both NS and NNS. However the NS used *tu* much more frequently with known interlocutors but almost never with unknowns. NNS follow this pattern, but not as consistently. The development of pronoun choice is determined firstly by levels of grammatical competence and sociolinguistic knowledge, and secondly on variable reliance on implicit versus explicit knowledge. This study shows a total lack of control and confusion about the pronoun system for some NNS. Standard deviations were higher for NNS and similar patterns emerged for low-frequency users and high frequency users. The instability of the system gradually lessens with the advancement of the interlocutor.

#### 2.10 Williams and van Compernelle (2007)

This article discusses the new use and developments of French second-person pronouns in the electronic environment. The first study collected data over two separate occasions (once over a weekend, once during a weekday) for a period of five hours. The first sample was during the late-morning/early-afternoon hours, the second early-evening hours. Authors reviewed the chat transcripts and identified all uses of second person pronouns. The second study collected the same data, however times were chosen at random and the authors participated actively in these conversations engaging persons they did not know with *vous*. The data for both studies were taken from the same four channels each time; channels that are geared toward people in similar age groups (eighteen to twenty-five; twenty-five to thirty and thirty-five plus).

The results were as follows:

- 1) Age 18-25 used 352 2nd person pronouns, 321 *tu* /31 *vous*
- 2) Age 25-35 used 351 2nd person pronouns, 309 *tu* /42 *vous*
- 3) Age 35+ used 454 2nd person pronouns, 408 *tu* /46 *vous*

Of the *vous* used there are four different types which were used as follows:

- 1) Age 18-25 used *vous* 31 times; 0 singular; 18 plural; 0 role play; 13 automated
- 2) Age 25-35 used *vous* 42 times; 0 singular; 23 plural; 4 role play; 15 automated
- 3) Age 35+ used *vous* 46 times; 0 singular; 26 plural; 13 role play; 0 automated

Non-automated non-roleplay *vous* singular is almost nonexistent, and the data show that *tu* is overwhelmingly the second person pronoun of choice in chat. The majority of *vous* plural that was used occurred when a participant entered or left the chat room and wanted to direct the message to all users. It is assumed that *vous* is used in jest in role-playing because of the immediate switch to and from *tu* after the chat exchange occurred. The use of *vous* in automated messages is either generated by the server, or as a preprogramed response set by the user his/herself.

In order to support the hypothesis of *tu* as a generalized form used in public French-language chat rooms and that the users were not simply regular visitors, another test involved the authors entering the chat rooms using different screen names and using *vous* whenever a single participant was being addressed. In these instances, the authors were either non-reciprocally greeted, prompted to use *tu*, or questioned by other chatters about why they were using *vous*.

Based on this study, there appears to be a generalized, symmetrical system of *tu* reciprocity. Previous studies and current practices in cyberspace suggest the lack of

geographic constraints and the ability to select one's online community and communication environment are two very important variables. Because of this new medium, there is an absence of a social hierarchy, a diminished importance on formality, and a new type of social distance that can be created and maintained.

### 2.11 Williams and van Compernelle (2009)

This article discusses the use of second-person pronouns in online French language discussion fora using the specific sites of Doctissimo and Meilleur du chef. Approximately four hundred thousand words were collected from over two hundred discussion threads and then analyzed in three different ways to determine the default address pronoun. The study is based on the hypothesis that *vous* should be used as the dominant pronoun because based on tradition, the users in the fora do not know one another. This article argues that two primary factors influence pronominal use; the medium itself and each user's preference to maintain traditional offline paradigm. *Tu* and *vous* have shown instability throughout history however, the development of this electronic medium and the anonymity it provides has produced many new variables for some elements of the French language.

In all online communication, even when users can create a profile online for other users to see, macrosociological features are inaccessible; users have little or no knowledge of their interlocutors' backgrounds.

Doctissimo and Meilleur du chef are separate web sites available to anyone with an Internet connection. They were chosen for the similarity in organizational structure and the large amounts of data available. Four topics were selected at random from each

site, and they each had a minimum of twenty-five threads. *Tu* and *vous* use was coded separately by both authors. There were some initial divergences in how each author interpreted the use of the pronouns in discussions with multiple threads.

The analysis of Doctissimo data shows three of four topics having a high rate of *tu* vs *vous* use (91 to 98%) however, in the fourth thread it was lowered due to the high rates of participation by pharmacists, doctors and other professionals giving advice to nonprofessionals (66%). The percentages of *tu* vs. *vous* use were lower in Meilleur du Chef (80%). There was also one post that was significantly lower in this set of data as well because of high rates of new participants who only visited once or twice and were not aware of the common form of address pronouns in the online forum. Even though anomalies were present in both sets of data, it is clear that *tu* is more widely used with an overall rate of 84.5% combined.

Because some of the data could be influenced by the fact that users had a previous connections with one another the next analysis is based only on the first five responses in each of the 200 discussion threads selected. The typical pattern in a thread like this is

1. Initiated question
2. Initial response
3. Follow up question
4. Additional comment or question
5. Reply from the person addressed in turn 4

Because the first turn in almost all threads addresses all users, 100% of pronouns were *vous plural*, there were only three instances in Doctissimo where *tu* was

used. In both sites the use of non-second person subject pronouns remains relatively steady. *Tu* and *vous* data increases from zero to a rate that remains stable from Turns 2 through 5. The reverse is true for *vous* plural which decreases from Turns 1 and 2, however still consistently found from Turn 2 through 5. Participants adjust to expected patterns of use based on what they observe as they read the threads and replies. There were even explicit requests for *tutoiement*, which illustrate the widespread use and possible acceptance of *tu* in discussion fora.

Overall the analysis provided data that in the majority of cases there was a preference for *tu* use. However, the levels of *tu* and *vous* use are different within each forum. It is clear however, that the *vous* use has not diminished to the level that it has in synchronous chat. Because there exists little data on this medium, the only basis for comparison was a study based on synchronous chat, that is to say, that very little is still known about these two types of discourse.

## 2.12 Douglass (2009)

Since the mid 1990s electronic personal journals, or blogs, have exploded onto the online scene, as of July 2008, according to Douglass (2009), there were an estimated 112.8 million blogs with one 175,000 new blogs being created everyday. While Japanese and English remain at the forefront of languages used, French-language blogs have started to rise; the percentage of people who have created their own blogs is higher in France than in the US. This study provides an analysis of three types of blogs; current events, sports and entertainment blogs, and personal blogs. Regardless of format or style, three key purposes of blogs have been denoted as



individual pursuits, business endeavors and educational uses. The first French blog is credited to a 17-year old from Québec in 1995, henceforth blogs continued to grow reaching the height of their popularity from 2002-2005. As the French blogosphere started to grow, it was necessary to adapt French vocabulary; the French terms *blogue* and *bloc-notes* were proposed in both Canada and France, however the English spelling *blog* remains the most frequently used.

The majority of French learners are taught the rules for second-person pronoun use early in their studies. They generally learn that *tu* is used among students, young people, those who know each other well, within the family, with children and with pets. While *vous* is used among strangers, people who do not know each other, people meeting for the first time or with those who are older or in a higher-level position. Students are also taught to use *vous* when they are unsure of which pronoun to use, and to follow the lead of the speaker. They also learn that use can vary from region to region. However these factors are never clearly defined and are subject to many variations, sometimes even reflecting an individual's identity.

Since patterns vary over time, it is important to analyze their contextual use, especially within new mediums. Computer-mediated communication includes both synchronous and asynchronous communication and studies have shown an overwhelming preference for *tu* in many contexts. Blogs provide a new context with a journal style format and in addition have a comments function that provides an opportunity for interaction among users, allowing for communication directed at specific users or the public at large. This then poses the question of pronoun use; how should address pronouns be used?

Data for this study was collected during June 2008 from ten French language blogs, five from Canada, five from France. The blogs were then divided into the three previously mentioned categories. From each blog, one entry with at least twenty comments was selected for analysis. Once each blog was chosen, twenty comments were selected from each blog for analysis, this usually entailed selecting the first twenty comments that were in French. However, in three of the blogs the first twenty comments contained few instances of *tu* and *vous* use because the users interacted almost exclusively with the entire group at large, using third person pronouns, finally around comments thirty to thirty-one they began addressing one another; for these blogs the twenty comments were selected later on. Blogs are posted in a one-to-many structure which then allows for comments to be in this format or a one-to-one format. Therefore, three types of comments were expected; commenter to the group, commenter to the blog owner and commenter to another commenter. Two additional types of comment structures were later found; blog owner to commenter and commenter to the famous person who is the subject of the blog. In the analysis of *tu* and *vous* use, each part of a comment directed at a different addressee was counted separately.

Overall, *tu* was the most frequently used form (68.2%) and *vous* (31.8%). Both the French and the Canadian data followed the same trend, 61.9% *tu* use versus 38.1% *vous* use in French blogs; 72.3% *tu* use versus 27.7% *vous* use in Canadian blogs. However, in the current even blogs *vous* was preferred by 71.9%, perhaps due to their more formal nature. Canadian bloggers were inconsistent with this data finding, with nearly a 50% split between *tu* and *vous*. In the sports and entertainment category, *tu* was preferred by 80%.

Personal choice was one of the many factors influencing patterns of *tu* and *vous* use. The country of origin did not appear to have direct impact, there were differences based on category. The 30% use of *vous* in the data suggests that in fact not everyone in the blogosphere uses *tu*.

### 2.13 Williams (2009)

This study provides an overview of some of the issues and challenges in the reading, interpretation and navigation of hypertext within the world wide web. The results of this study suggest that fundamental differences between traditional, printed text and hypertext create a susceptibility to conflicting uses of these pronouns in order to highlight the nature and interpretive mode of communication. Prior to widespread accessibility of the internet, hypertext was the only readily available discourse in a reader-friendly format. However, now the website has become a vehicle for all other types of discourse; allowing users to access search engines, email, podcasts, blogs, chat rooms, wikis, discussion forums etc. The use of second person pronouns allows for a clear demonstration of the subtle differences between traditional printed text and hypertext. *Tu* and *vous* forms appear to be used in conflicting ways since they are both used to address the reader. It is important to note the possible analyzation of *vous* in the plural format, since each hypertext is designed to address multiple users.

One of the most noticeable differences in hypertext is its organization. Where printed text is meant to be read in left to right format, hypertext is usually arranged by zones denoted by the use of typographical features. There are many conflicting uses of both *tu* and *vous* within the same hypertext, however in different zones of it. Multiple

points of entry within a hypertext also create a lack of traditional linear narrative. One of the main differences between hypertext and text however, is authorship; hypertext seems likely to have many different authors, therefore affecting consistency. Multiple authors as well as multiple editors can result in conflicting patterns as well within hypertext. Having one or more editors who work on the same hypertext at many different times, sometimes over a period of months or years, usually produces different versions of a webpage itself. Hypertext differs from text because it can be authored and edited selectively.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE FILM

#### 3.1 Selection of the Film

The film selected for this study was *Maid in Manhattan* (2002). This particular film was selected based on its shift in character roles and how that would effect the changes in *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* within the subtitling and dubbing.

#### 3.2 Plot Summary

A maid at a high end hotel in Manhattan brings her son to work one afternoon and asks a co-worker to keep an eye on him while she tends to her chores for the afternoon. While cleaning the room of a spoiled socialite the maid is convinced to try on one of the guest's expensive outfits. The maid's son then appears at the door after he has had a chance meeting with a senatorial candidate at the hotel. The candidate then assumes the maid to be the guest of that room (really the spoiled socialite) and he naturally begins to pursue her. The love affair is, of course, complicated by the involvement of the actual client for whom she was mistaken and thus the intrigue of "keeping the secret" ensues. Once the maid's true identity is discovered, it puts the senator and the maid into a new social orientation with one another.

The shifts within the social hierarchy in this movie make it an excellent selection for this particular study. Based on the changes in solidarity and power within the characters evolving relationships with one another, we can hypothesize that there will be changes within the use of address pronouns; it can be assumed that the senator

speaking with the maid as the maid would use reciprocal V, however the senator trying to pursue the guest he is falling in love with would switch to a use of reciprocal T.

There are other relationships to be considered outside of the fluctuating main romance. The maid's relationships with her colleagues at the hotel, her mother, and her superiors; the senator's relationship with his campaign manager, fellow politicians, the maid's son and the staff of the hotel, etc.

### 3.3 List of Characters

The main characters:

Marisa Ventura:	Maid
Christopher Marshall:	Senatorial Candidate
Caroline Lane:	Spoiled Socialite
Jerry Siegel:	Campaign Manager
Ty Ventura:	Son
Paula Burns:	Hotel Assistant Manager
John Bextrum:	Hotel Manager
Stephanie Kehoe:	Maid/Best Friend
Veronica Ventura:	Mother
Lionel Bloch:	Head Butler
Keef Townsend:	Head of Security
Marcus Ventura:	Ty's Father
Un-named:	
Cashier at Barney's; Paparazzi; French Hotel Guests	

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Method and Hypotheses

For this study, the use of the *tu* and the *vous* can mainly be analyzed from the perspective of power vs. solidarity or in terms of social indexicality. There are no fixed geographic constraints effecting how the characters should or should not greet one another, and all the relationships between characters is either familiar or a first-time meet. The only developing relationship throughout the film is that of Senatorial Candidate Marshall with Marisa (whom he initially believes to be a guest at the hotel).

The data for this study are based on the English dialog, French subtitles, and French dubbing transcribed by the author. The data were then analyzed on three levels:

- 1) Interactions between Marisa (as the maid) and other characters
- 2) Interactions between the senatorial candidate and other characters
- 3) Interactions between Marisa and Senatorial Candidate Marshall (noting the change once her true identity is discovered)

Based on the data collected and the previously discussed analyses of *tu* and *vous* use, this study submits eight Hypotheses:

- 1) That reciprocal *tu* will be used among hotel employees of the same rank.
- 2) That reciprocal *tu* will be used in "intimate" or "close" relationships.
- 3) That reciprocal *vous* will be used between hotel directors and hotel personnel.
- 4) That reciprocal *tu* and *vous* will be used between hotel clientele and hotel guests.

- 5) That reciprocal *vous* will be used for first time meetings.
- 6) That reciprocal *tu* will be used among the family.
- 7) That there will be a shift from *vous* to *tu* between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa-as-Caroline as their relationship develops.
- 8) That there will be a shift back from *tu* to *vous* once Senatorial Candidate Marshall realizes Marisa's true identity.

#### 4.2 *Tu* and *Vous* use: Marisa (maid) and Other Characters

Table 1 shows the interaction between Marisa-as-maid and the other characters in the movie. The use of *tu* and *vous* is indicated in the two right columns with discrepancies of address pronouns from the subtitle to the dubbing.

A look at the table for study 1 shows us that there are not many discrepancies between the subtitles and the dubbing of the use of T/V between Marisa-as-Maid and the other characters. We do notice however that with the character Keef (head security officer), there is a discrepancy. It should be noted however, that based on the transcription of the English dialogue, Marisa has a very familiar relationship with this employee. For example, dialogue exchanged in English:

Keef: Nice lunch?

Marisa: All right, what's up, mystery man?

Keef: How many times you watched the monitors with me?  
How many times we enjoyed the comings and goings?

Marisa: Thousands.

Keef: You know I'm beholden to report employees misbehaving.



And there's only one thing could make me shut my mouth.

Marisa: You dirty old man.

Clearly this type of familiar language denotes an intimate relationship. However we can see that in the subtitle of the movie the address pronoun of choice is *tu*, where as in the dubbing it is altered to *vous*. This is a curious selection based on the clearly familiar relationship shared by the two characters. Nonetheless, the translators have created a different type of social indexicality (i.e., on a continuum of social proximity/ social distance) in each case.

Another discrepancy within the subtitling and the dubbing is found between the two characters of Marisa and Lionel (the head butler). However, based on Lionel's clearly superior rank within the hotel personnel it can be argued that *vous* would be a more appropriate choice of address pronoun. However again, the subtitle uses *tu* while the dub remains in the formal *vous*.

The final discrepancy of address pronoun for this table occurs between Marisa while dressed as a maid and the salesclerk at Barney's (a well known department store). Marisa is in a hurry and running an unexpected errand, and the salesclerk is on the telephone and very unobliging:

Salesclerk: Excuse me, miss? Where are you going?

Marisa: In back to see if Carrie's here.

Salesclerk: Carrie's not here. So could you just step away? Away!  
Away. Away from there.

Thank you.

(to friend on phone) Hi. Sorry. Okay, so you go first. No, you! No, you.  
Get out.

(To Marisa) Excuse me, just a moment.

(To friend on phone) You know what? I have customers, so go on quick.  
Yeah. Then what? No, he didn't.

Marisa: Can I just ask you one question?

Salesclerk: You know what, ma'am? You have to wait. Okay?  
(To friend on phone) What? No, a maid.

Marisa: Yo.

Salesclerk: You can't be back here. What are you doing?

Marisa: Being that we're sisters in the service business . . .  
. . . and I'm in a rush . . .  
. . . I'd say you start serving your low-end customers . . .  
. . . because that's the reason you're here.  
Unless we're not good enough for you to service.  
In which case, I'm sure your manager is.  
What do you say, ladies?  
Am I right?

While in the subtitle the salesclerk addresses Marisa as *vous*, Marisa addresses the salesclerk firstly as *vous* but then switches to *tu* once she is ignored. This is clearly a marked use of non-reciprocal pronouns in order to show the frustration that Marisa's character feels for the salesclerk. However, in the dubbing both women use reciprocal *vous*. We will leave the analysis of pronominal use between the two Marisa's and the Senator for Table three.

For all other instances in this table, pronouns are used reciprocally and in the expected manner. This table supports Hypotheses 3 through 7, however not hypotheses 1 or 2, as *tu* is not always used in the familiar relationship between Marsia and Keef, and there are discrepancies in *tu* and *vous* with the head butler in regards to his position over Marisa. Hypotheses 7 and 8 will be analyzed in a following table.

Table 1

*Interactions between Marisa-as-Maid and Other Characters: Tu/Vous*

Pairing	Interaction	Subtitles	Dubbing
1	Marisa → son	T	T
	son → Marisa	T	T
2	Marisa → other employees (Cora, Keef)	T	Cora:T, Keef:V
	Other employees → Marisa	T	T
3	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
4	Marisa → Ms. Burns	V	V
	Marisa → Lionel	V	V
5	Marisa → Senator	V	V
6	Marisa → Lionel	T	V
7	Caroline → Marisa	V	V
8	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
9	Salesclerk → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Salesclerk	T	V
10	Marisa → Other women	T	V
11	Marisa → Son	T	T
	Son → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → Keef	T	V
12	Marisa → Ex-Husband	T	T
	Mother → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → Mother	T	T
13	Marisa → son	T	T
	Son → Marisa	T	T
14	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
	Caroline → Marisa	V	V
15	Son → Marisa	T	T
	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Stephanie → Marisa as Caroline	V	V

Table 1 (continued)

16	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Ty	T	T
17	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
	Paula → Marisa	V	V
18	M. Bextrum → Marisa	V	V
19	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
20	Marisa → son	T	T
	son → Marisa	T	T
21	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
22	Caroline → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Caroline	V	V
23	Lionel → Marisa	V	V
24	Keef → Marisa	T	V
	Marisa → Keef	T	V
25	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Jerry → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Jerry	V	V
24	Marisa → son	T	T
25	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
26	Jerry → Lionel	V	V
27	Lionel → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Stephanie	T	T
	Marisa → Other Maids	V	V
	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T
	Other Maids → Marisa	T	T
28	Stephanie → Marisa	T	T

Table 1 (continued)

29	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Jerry → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Jerry	V	V
	Caroline → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Caroline	V	V
30	Marisa → son	T	T
	Note: Marisa as Caroline → Senator	T	T
31	Hotel Employee → Marisa & Lionel	V	V
32	Marisa → Caroline	V	V
	Caroline → Marisa	V	V
	Paula → Marisa	V	V
	M. Bextrum → Marisa	V	V
33	Keef → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Lionel	V	V
34	Senator → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Senator	V	V
35	Marisa's Mother → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → son	T	T
	Marisa → Marisa's Mother	T	T
36	Press → Marisa	V	V
37	Ty → Marisa	T	T
	Marisa → son	T	T
38	Marisa → Ty/Senator	V	V
	Senator → Marisa	T	T
	Talking about voting: Senator → Marisa	V	V

#### 4.3 *Tu* and *Vous* use: Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Other Characters

Table 2 shows all the interactions of Senatorial Candidate Marshall with other characters in the film. It reveals only one discrepancy between *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* within the subtitles and dubbing of the film. With hotel personnel and staff, the paparazzi, first time encounters between characters, and new acquaintances, reciprocal *vous* is used. Senatorial Candidate Marshall uses reciprocal *vous* when meeting the real Caroline for the first time, because she is not Marisa-as-Caroline as he expected. Non reciprocal *tu* and *vous* is used between Marisa's son and Senatorial Candidate Marshall, which is to be expected between adults and children.

However, between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and his campaign manager there is a change between the subtitling and the dubbing. In the subtitles of the film both the Senator and Jerry address one another using reciprocal *tu*, however in the dubbing they address one another using reciprocal *vous*. This is an interesting change based on the English dialogue shared between the two characters and the power dynamic between them. As Jerry is the senatorial candidate's employee, the senatorial candidate is clearly his superior. One might expect to see in a use of non-reciprocal *tu* and *vous* use in this case. However, the dialogue presents the two to have a very familiar relationship, for example:

Jerry: Where are you going?

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: For a walk.

Jerry: No, there's a League of Women Voters lunch downstairs.  
We should do a drive-by.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: A quick pit stop?

Jerry: Yeah, in and out. Leave them laughing.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: Hey, Jer, quick question. Be honest.

Jerry: Sure thing.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: Do I look as stupid as you think I am?

Jerry: No. I mean, you're not stupid. What are you talking about?

Come on. Where are you going? No.

You have a problem with the ladies' lunch?

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: I have a problem trying to upstage Victor Delgado. Remember him?

The guy running against me for Senate, scheduled to speak downstairs?

Jerry: He's not speaking until 1:30.

I know this offends your sense of fairness, but I'd like to win.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: You don't give up.

Jerry: No, of course not. That's why you hired me.

Look, you go to the luncheon, okay?

You go to Maddox's thing on Monday.

"Hello," "goodbye," you're home free.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: Define "free."

Jerry: Look, they have people who will walk your dog for you.

I mean, I know that's a crazy idea.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: I want to walk my own dog.

Relax. You're starting to lose your hair.

If it were argued that the dynamic between these two characters is clearly marked as being familiar/close through the use of humor and satire, it would be expected, then, based on the dialog, that a reciprocal *tu* would be used between the characters.

However, such is not the case.

One final difference to note is that in the final scene with Jerry and Senatorial Candidate Marshall, the dubbing makes a change from reciprocal *vous* to reciprocal *tu*. It should be noted that this final scene occurs six months later in the story line, so this change can be seen as a shift in the dynamic of their relationship, passing from *vous* to *tu*.

This table supports Hypotheses 4 and 5, as Senatorial Candidate Marshall uses reciprocal *vous* with both the hotel personnel and the guests he does not know. Senatorial Candidate Marshall also uses reciprocal *vous* with the real Caroline as well. Non reciprocal *vous* is used only between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa's son. Hypothesis 2 is not supported as Senatorial Candidate Marshall uses reciprocal *vous* in the dubbing with his campaign manager. Hypothesis 1 is non-applicable for this table and Hypotheses 8 and 9 are discussed in the final table.

Table 2

*Interactions between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Other Characters: Tu/Vous*

Pairing	Interaction	Subtitles	Dubbing
1	Senator → Jerry	T	V
	Jerry → Senator	T	V
2	Senator → Lionel	V	V
	Lionel → Senator	V	V
3	Jerry → Senator	T	V
	Senator → Jerry	T	V
4	Senator → Ty	T	T
	Ty → Senator	V	V
5	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
6	Senator → Press	n/a	V
	Press → Senator	V	V

(Table continues)



Table 2 (continued)

	Senator → Rufus	T	T
	Jerry→senator	T	V
	Senator→Jerry	T	V
7	Senator → Dog Walker	V	V
	Dog Walker → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Ty → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Ty	T	T
8	Jerry→Senator	T	V
	Senator→Jerry	T	V
	Lionel → Senator	V	V
	senator→Lionel	V	V
9	Jerry→Senator	V	V
	Jerry → Senator	T	V
10	Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Caroline	V	V
	Senator → Lionel	V	V
	Lionel → Senator	V	V
11	Senator → Girl on Street	V	V
	Girl on Street → Senator	V	V
12	Jerry→senator	T	V
	Senator→Jerry	T	V
	Senator → Driver	V	V
	Senator → Ty, Marisa	V	V
	Senator → Ty	T	T
	senator→Marisa as Carolie	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
13	Jerry→senator	T	V
	Senator→Harry	V	V
	Harry → Senator	V	V
	Senator→Jerry	T	V
14	Senator → Marisa as Caroline	V	V
	Marisa as Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Caroline → Senator	V	V

Table 2 (continued)

	Senator → Caroline	V	V
15	Caroline → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Caroline	V	V
16	Senator → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Senator	V	V
	Jerry → Senator	T	V
17	Press → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Ty	T	T
	Jerry → Senator	T	T
	Ty → Senator	V	V
	Senator → Hotel Employees	V	V
	Senator → Marisa	T	T
	Senator → Marisa	V	V

#### 4.4 *Tu* and *Vous* use: Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa

The third and final table of data shows all the interactions and the setting in which they occur between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa. Marisa's character is noted as Marisa-as-Caroline and Marisa-as-Maid accordingly. The study has hypothesized a shift from reciprocal *vous* to reciprocal *tu* as the relationship between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa-as-Caroline develops, and also a shift back to reciprocal *vous* once her identity is discovered. The context of the scenes is an important variable so the dynamic of their relationship can be noted in reference to the shift between *tu* and *vous*.

First it is important to note the variables to be considered simply in the selection of *tu* and *vous* use. Brown and Gilman's study described the historical evolution of *tu* and *vous* use based on a power semantic. This theory was then later expanded to include variables of regional dialect, background, class, education, age, sex, ideology

and even religion. Some studies show selection based on an idea of "linguistic politeness." However, while these are all important factors, there are a much larger number of factors that are now considered that are perhaps important to note in our analysis of the subtitling and dubbing chosen for this particular relationship.

Gardner-Chloros took the study even farther, looking at *tu* and *vous* use as an "act of identity." Her focus group led to the hypothesis that *tu* and *vous* use is more an indicator of persona relations rather than social convention or power. That *tu* and *vous* choices are an essential aspect of projecting identity, relations between individuals and their relationships and their identity-related linguistic choices.

The choice between *tu* and *vous* for the characters is then even further complicated by the context of their relationship. In Gardner-Chloros's 1991 study she originally addressed the issue of *tu* and *vous* use and the appropriate context in which the shift can be made.

Her findings showed that there are several "hard and fast" rules of *tu* and *vous* use. For *tu*, these situations usually boiled down to when the person to which you speak is younger, between close family and friends (this excludes in-laws and grand parents however) and in familiar relationships of persons younger than 30. The *vous* is used for unknown persons, first meetings, when speaking about people who are at least 10 years older than the speaker, for persons over 30, with persons who are not familiar, with colleagues who are in a higher position and with in-laws.

However, she also noted the common exceptions expressed by the participants in her survey and three of them particularly pertain to this study.

1. Her participants noted that the context of the activity is important when considering pronominal choice; when participating in leisure activities rather than in a work environment *tu* is more appropriate. However, this is also based on the type of activity; eg: rock concert=*tu*, opera=*vous*.
2. The exterior of the situation is also important to consider, and a large factor in this study. Gardner-Chloros noted that the style of interlocutors is a factor; when one is dressed in a "cool" style *tu* is appropriate, however being well dressed gives way to *vous*. The physical appearance of a person also influences pronominal choice, when a person gives you a feeling of being "at ease" or facilitates a "friendly" atmosphere the *tu* would be the more common choice.
3. Finally, she notes that personal aspects affect pronoun choice. Sometimes the sex of a person plays a certain role; being of the same sex for example. It isn't common to openly discuss the *tu* and *vous* use, rather it is something that needs to be "felt." However, when a person does feel that they should be *vouvoyé*, they will ask.

Throughout the subtitling and the dubbing there are no discrepancies between reciprocal *tu* and *vous* use. However, based on the three findings of Gardner Chloros, context, exterior and personal aspects, one would expect an earlier shift from *vous* to *tu*.

In the first scene that Marisa meets with Senatorial Candidate Marshall she is Marisa-as-Maid, the obvious choice of pronoun for this section would be reciprocal *vous*. Scenes two and three, Marisa-as-Caroline meets with Senatorial Candidate Marshall and goes for a walk in the park. One can argue that in scene three it may be appropriate to pass from *vous* to *tu*, however, based on points two and three from

Gardener-Chloros's study it is not. In scene three it is important to consider the social hierarchy, even though Marisa-as-Caroline is taken to be a rich socialite, Senatorial Candidate Marshall still holds a higher and more respected position than her. Also personal aspects, not being of the same sex, can have an influence on pronoun choice. Lastly, the exterior is a variable as well; Marisa-as-Caroline is incredibly well dressed, thus giving way to a more formal feeling for the scene.

Scene four finds the two characters at an impromptu meet on the streets of New York, dressed in informal attire at a later date. We could say that this would be the appropriate time for a shift in pronoun choice, however reciprocal *vous* is still used. Considering the first point of Gardener-Chloros, context, makes it clear why this is the appropriate choice.

Marisa: You're telling people in the Bronx about the projects?

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: No, I'm just gonna take the press up there . . .  
. . . and shine light on the living conditions.

Marisa: Interesting.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: What are you not saying?

Marisa: Nothing.

Senatorial Candidate Marshall: Tell me.

Marisa: Maybe you should spend real time in the projects . . .  
. . . and then you wouldn't have to make up speeches and memorize them.

The dialog between the two characters starts off informally, however, when Senatorial Candidate Marshall discusses the projects Marisa clearly becomes irritated with him. This perhaps, can account for not having a shift in this scene.

In scene five Marisa-as-Caroline goes to the gala to break things off with Senatorial Candidate Marshall. Context is another important factor here, as she is being forced to end all association with him in order to keep her job at the hotel. In a previous scene with her best friend the difference between their social classes is clearly impressed upon her.

Scene with best friend:

Steph: You are not in love with this man. He is not in love with you.

You have no connections, affiliations or loyalties.

You're from two different worlds. Do you hear me?

It is perhaps that context, pressure and division of their two worlds that needs to remain clear and possibly explains the continued use of reciprocal *vous*.

Scene six occurs after the Senator and Marisa have spent the night together, there is no dialogue exchanged, however Marisa leaves a note for the Senator:

Borrowed your sweatshirt, I'll return it.

Love,

C

Both the subtitles and the dubbing use this as the opportunity to shift from *vous* to *tu*.

In scenes seven and eight, Marisa's true identity is discovered by Senatorial Candidate Marshall and there is a unanimous shift from *tu* back to *vous* between the two characters. This harshly puts in to perspective the division between the social class

of the two characters and also impresses Senatorial Candidate Marshall's anger and outrage as he chases Marisa into the street screaming at her.

Scene nine is the final meet between the two character's six months later and has an interesting dynamic. When Senatorial Candidate Marshall finally locates Marisa and goes to speak with her he begins with reciprocal *tu*. However, the dialogue changes and the two character's "start over" and they switch from *tu* to *vous*, indicating a jest or a game of sorts that they are meeting again, for the first time.

Plain Text: English

*Italicized Text: Subtitles*

**Bold Text: Dubbing**

Can we start over?

*On repart de zéro?*

**Est-ce qu'on peut recommencer?**

Second chance, second date?

*2<sup>e</sup> chance, 2<sup>e</sup> rendez-vous?*

**Second chance, second rencontre?**

You as you, me as me.

*Tu es toi, je suis moi.*

**Toi en tour que toi, moi en tour que moi?**

No secrets.

*Pas de secrets.*

**Aucun secret?**

What do you think?

*Qu'en penses-tu?*

**Qu'est-ce que t'en dis?**

Marisa Ventura.

*Marisa Ventura . . .*

**Marisa Ventura . . .**

Housekeeping.

*femme de chambre.*

**femme de ménage.**

Chris Marshall. Candidate for Senate.  
*Chris Marshall, candidat au Sénat.*  
**Chris Marshall. Candidat au Sénat.**

I'd appreciate your vote.  
*Votez pour moi.*  
**J'aimerais avoir votre vote.**

In Table 3, the label *Marisa* is used to indicate that Maria's true identity has been discovered, and she is not playing the role of someone else.

Table 3

*Interactions between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and Marisa: Tu/Vous*

Scene	Interaction	Subtitles	Dubbing
1: Beresford bathroom	Marisa-as-Maid → Senator	V	V
	Senator Marshall → Marisa-as-Caroline	V	V
2: Walking toward park	Marisa-as-Caroline → Senator Marshall	V	V
	Senator Marshall → Marisa-as-Caroline	V	V
3: In/around park	Marisa-as-Caroline → Senator Marshall	V	V
	Senator Marshall → Marisa-as-Caroline	V	V
4: Impromptu Meet on the Street	Marisa-as-Caroline → Senator Marshall	V	V
	Senator Marshall → Marisa-as-Caroline	V	V
5: Gala	Marisa-as-Caroline → Senator Marshall	V	V
	Senator Marshall → Marisa-as-Caroline	V	V
6: Note Marisa Leaves	Marisa-as-Caroline → Senator Marshall	T	T
7: Discovery at Beresford	Senator Marshall → Marisa	V	V
8: Argument on the Street	Senator Marshall → Marisa	V	V
	Marisa → Senator	V	V
9: Final Meet	Senator Marshall → Marisa	T	T
	Senator Marshall → Marisa	V	V



## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

There are many complexities involving pronoun choice and use in the French language. Even 20th century grammarians have made little commentary on its use. The study of many collective summaries can be generalized in saying that reciprocal *tu* is used between children, young students, soldiers, brothers, sisters, husbands & wives, children & parents and between friends.

However, when making a choice in pronoun use there are many new aspects still to be considered. French people, especially the younger generation, use *tutoiement* more readily than ever before; and that is because of the constant evolvement of the variables that influence parameters between interlocutors. Efforts to chart out rules for *tu* and *vous* use are constantly coming up against contradictions; switching can be a marker of singularity, intimacy, expressions of negative emotions, etcetera. There are also geographic, social, and historical variables that influence choice. In reality, only context can truly reveal why the choice between a certain pronouns was made. *Tu* and *vous* use is more based on an interlocutor's identity, considering variables of physical context, work relations and self presentation. This is the notion of social indexicality, which is the largest variable in address pronoun choice.

Social indexicality is comprised of two main parts, the social identities of the participants (i.e., a way of showing with which groups and which individuals one wishes to be identified or differentiated), and social distance (ie: the distance perceived and portrayed between/among interlocutors in a social group).

Social identity is constructed partly from the expression of one's opinions and tastes, and partly out of the corollary. Different identities in different communicative circumstances produce different use of *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement*. For example, using one type of form of address pronoun with an individual person and then the other form within the a group of speakers is a very marked type of behavior. This provides complexities when *tu* and *vous* choices with one member of the group implies the same use with others. However, sometimes the difference isn't based on familiarity, rather it is chosen for the speaker. For example between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law, the mother-in-law may prefer that the daughter-in-law addresses her with *vous* because she wishes to identify herself in this way.

Social distance between interlocutors is the other half of understanding social indexicality. For example, a woman who choses to use *vous* with her boss despite the fact that she is on first-name terms with him, that her other colleagues address the boss using *tu* and that he is younger than she is, suggests that using *vous* is a matter of her personal choice and way of indicating respect by marking their social distance.

The choice between *tu* and *vous* is sometimes paradoxical and unexpected, there is a constant evolvment of address pronoun use and thus, it can not be clearly defined. However, the types and degrees of social distance that are perceived and portrayed are inextricably related to the social identities of interlocutors.

The hypothesis in the analysis section of this study are based on several factors however, largely based on social indexicality.

Hypothesis one is based on the idea that reciprocal *tu* will be used among hotel employees of the same rank. For several years now, younger generations in France

have reciprocally used *tutoiement*. The younger generations of Francophone speakers have started to systematically use *tutoiement* among one another based on the recognition that they are from the same age group. As well as being from the same age group, fraternal *tu*, is also recognized based on function. That is to say, among interlocutors from the same class. For example, at a hotel, like in the chosen film, members within the same social rank and team would use the reciprocal *tu* with one another. However, while addressing a superior member of the managerial staff, the *vouvoiement* would be used as a sign of respect and marked social distance. This hypothesis was proved accurate throughout the subtitling and dubbing of the film, with only one exception. The data collected showed that reciprocal *vous* was used in the dubbing for the relationship between Marisa and Keef (another hotel employee) with whom she has a very familiar relationship (see results section one).

Hypothesis two states that reciprocal *tu* will be used in intimate and close relationships. The use of *tu* and *vous* was originally studied in dichotomy of solidarity versus power. However it is now understood through social indexicality within a theory of politeness. These relationships are felt within the social group. The use of *tu* and *vous* points to the relationship of the two interlocutors. *Tu* is the norm for relations between people of equal status, having known each other for a certain length of time. This hypothesis had a very large discrepancy in the relationship between Senatorial Candidate Marshall and his campaign manager Jerry. After a study of the English dialogue it can be assessed that they have a very informal relationship; they have worked together a long time, and Jerry is involved in every aspect of Senatorial Candidate Marshall's personal life in order to better run his campaign. One would

naturally assume that, based on this information, the choice in the subtitling and dubbing would be reciprocal *tu*. However, unlike the subtitling, the dubbing chose to use reciprocal *vous* until the final scene in the movie (several months later). The data collected disproves this hypothesis and raises a very large question mark in regards to the editorial choices made concerning the address pronoun use in the dubbing between these two characters.

Hypothesis three states that reciprocal *vous* will be used between hotel managerial staff and hotel personnel. Because the study of *tu* and *vous* use began with Brown and Gilman and was originally based on a dual scale of power and solidarity one might expect a use of non-reciprocal *tu* and *vous* use between higher ranking members of the staff and other personnel. However, because of the social context associated with non-reciprocal pronoun use and perhaps the desire to show equality and marked social distance at the same time, reciprocal *vous* is the more "polite" choice between colleagues who are in a higher position. This hypothesis is proven true with one given exception. The relationship between Lionel (the head butler) and Marisa (a lower ranking employee) uses reciprocal *tu* in the subtitling and reciprocal *vous* in the dubbing. This is surprising based on the analysis of their relationship, which is clearly formal, as Marisa constantly addresses Lionel as "sir" in the English dialogue. They exchange pleasantries with one another, however there is a marked separation in their relationship than in Marisa's others.

Hypothesis four and five can be analyzed together because of the nature of dialoging occurring in the movie. Hypothesis four states that reciprocal *vous* will be used between hotel employees and hotel clientele while hypothesis five states that reciprocal

*vous* will be use for all first time meetings. Within all of the studies and data collected concerning the use of *tu* and *vous* there seems to be only one hard and fast rule. Of all the discrepancies concerning the choice between address pronouns, it is indisputably uncontested that between unknown interlocutors reciprocal *vous* is always used. The reason these two hypothesis can be simultaneously proven correct is that the majority of dialogue between all hotel personnel and clientele (with the exception of Marisa and Caroline and Lionel and Senatorial Candidate Marshall) are first time exchanges. It is naturally expected in those two cases that reciprocal *vous* would be used based on the social distance between the characters. Therefore it is expected that reciprocal *vous* will always be used. These two hypotheses prove to be 100% accurate.

Hypothesis six states that reciprocal *tu* will be used among members of the family. The history of *tutoiement* and the *vouvoiement* began with the decline of the ancien francais and the development of a new codified French. There were many influences throughout the codification of the language and its growth. Influences from the court and grammarians widespread the use of the *vouvoiement*, even among members of the family, throughout the seventeenth century. With the fall of the Empire and the Restoration it became even further defined by social class. However it was in the late nineteenth century that grammarian Louis Capart published a grammar stating different rules regarding the use of *tu* between friends and members of the same sex. It was at this time that *tutoiement* finally found a common place among husbands and wives and children and parents; this however excludes grand-parents and in-laws. Today that custom has continued and it is only in very rare cases that *vouvoiement* is

used within the family. Both the subtitling and the dubbing of this film confirm this hypothesis at 100%.

Hypothesis seven predicts there will be a shift from reciprocal *vous* to reciprocal *tu* once the Senator and Marisa's relationship develops. This can also be explained in correlation with hypothesis eight, which states that there will be a shift back once her true identity is discovered. As stated before in previous explanations, reciprocal *vous* is used for persons in non-familiar relationships or in first time meetings. Because the rules of *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* aren't set in stone it is always difficult to know when to change from *vous* to *tu*. This can be difficult to understand and is always linked to social indexicality because *tutoiement* marks a point of n-return or degree of intimacy that is difficult to renounce. This is why a shift back in either direction is considered marked and significant of some sort of dynamic change in the relationship of interlocutors, it aims to show a specific message. Naturally, the Senator and Marisa begin their relationship using reciprocal *vous*, however, as time progresses and the context, exterior and personal aspects of their relationship evolve, so does their use of pronoun choice. As their relationship progresses, hypothesis seven is supported one hundred percent, however one would expect an earlier shift perhaps. Hypothesis eight is also one hundred percent accurate; once Marisa's true identity is discovered there is a shift back, marking a social distance and coldness between the characters. It should also be noted in the final scene when the characters meet again for the last time, that there is one final shift back from *vous* to *tu*, again showing a specific message, perhaps of showing the characters are on the same social plane.

This study concludes that address pronoun use depends on many factors outside of the language itself. By analyzing the subtitling and dubbing of a film in context with researched studies of the history of *tu* and *vous*, this study has better explained certain idiosyncratic choices made by the translation teams for this particular film. Address pronouns are used in a variety of ways to show the nature of the social relationships of the characters to one another in the film. With translation it is sometimes difficult to convey the specific type(s) of relationships that exist among characters in a film because idioms and social conventions can not always be directly translated, expressed, or demonstrated. Therefore, the creators of the dubbing and subtitling in this film have clearly used address pronouns in a manner that can, in many instances, highlight and demonstrate—to some extent—the complexities of interpersonal relationships. In general, it can be stated that the many varying factors all play a role in the choice between *tutoiement* and *vouvoiement* in the French language. This study has helped to explain why perhaps, certain choices were made and has brought to light some of the constraints of this issue outside the real-life social atmosphere. Certainly, there are other parameters in subtitling and dubbing that will continue to change as the French language and its many dimensions evolve over time and space. The findings of this study show that it would be impossible to define a precise set of guidelines for *tu* and *vous* use in subtitling and dubbing, however, it seems that when in doubt, the obvious choice still remains *vous* to express social distance and *tu* to express familiarity. Likewise, the ability to choose one form or another indicates that these pronouns create a clear sense of symmetry (*Tu-Tu*; *Vous-Vous*) or asymmetry (*Tu-Vous*; *Vous-Tu*) among interactants.

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