AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
ON HOLLYWOOD FILM TRANSLATION

RACHEL FLYNN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the importance of audiovisual translation (AVT) as a facilitator of cross-cultural communication. It considers the hegemonic power of Hollywood and the ideological significance of dubbing its films for a French audience. Contributing to modern popular culture, Hollywood blockbusters reach millions of individuals worldwide; thus, the cultural, ideological and political embeddedness of its dubbed products warrants analysis within a Translation Studies framework. Situated within the context of Franco-American political relations of 2003, when the two nations disagreed over the Iraq invasion, this case study reflects upon the ways in which incidences of Frenchness and Americanness in blockbuster films were translated before and after the disagreement. By considering dubbed films within two contexts, the findings of this research highlight the interconnectedness between context, ideology, translation and meaning transfer. This interdisciplinary research creates a discussion regarding the far-reaching implications of AVT in relation to cultural ideology and international politics.

KEYWORDS: Franco-American relations, audiovisual translation (AVT), Hollywood dubbing, ideology, linguistic manipulation

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Each year, Hollywood films reach billions of viewers. Audiences far and wide enjoy the movie-going experience, and continue to appreciate the stories being told by Hollywood's major film producers. The success and influence of Hollywood within the film industry is irrefutable; its products are far-reaching, touching the lives of individuals across the globe. Within North America, a great percentage of the films shown on big screens are Hollywood products, meaning that cinematic audiences are continuously subjected to the influence of their productions. Films are powerful in their ability to represent cultures and contexts in a specific way, for specific purposes, for specific audiences; these representations of other cultures and contexts quietly effect the opinions, thoughts, and perceptions of the target audience. So what happens when these Hollywood films, initially intended for an English-speaking, North American audience, are adapted for a different audience – perhaps an audience that includes the culture that was being represented in the original film? Hollywood's power is internationally influential, allowing for a great number of Hollywood films to enter the European market; thus, Hollywood is influencing viewers of various cultures, languages, and ideologies across the globe. How does the process of film translation affect the cross-cultural transfer of ideologies and cultural representations? Are biases and stereotypes transferred from one culture to another, or does ideological manipulation occur during the translation process? Within the field of Audiovisual Translation Studies, there is a need for further exploration of the role of the dubbing process in the cross-cultural transfer of ideological values, and the impact that it has on the filmic representation of cultural differences. This project will be centered on the concepts of film, dubbing, ideology and cultural representation.

This thesis aims to critically investigate the French dubbed versions of American Hollywood films for ideological differentiation and political contention. It is a case study in which the ideological and cultural implications of audiovisual translation (AVT) will be explored within the context of Franco-American political relations in 2002-2003. In early 2003, members of the United Nations Security Council were to vote concerning the next course of action regarding military intervention in Iraq; during this vote, France exercised their veto power. This decision, which will be discussed in further detail in the first chapter of this project, was deemed unfavourable amongst United States officials (and, subsequently, a portion of the U.S. population) who firmly believed that immediate military action in Iraq was required. This disagreement spurred the commencement of what would be a years-long, cumbersome relationship between France and the United States of America. For ease of reading, this dispute will henceforth be referred to as 'the Disagreement'. This environment of opposition and frustration is the context within which audiovisual film translation will be analyzed. The dialogue in source and target versions of Hollywood films will be examined within this environment, as well as within the environment of the years prior to the Disagreement; these two environments will allow for contextual comparison. This will be accomplished by combining elements of Political, Cultural and Film Studies with a Translation Studies approach, thus offering a unique perspective from which to view the ideological elements of audiovisual media transfer.

Audiovisual translation, as a tool for interlingual meaning transfer, is powerfully connected to language, culture and ideology. This multi-modal method of translation is a means for not only intercultural communication, but also cross-cultural influence. It is well known that Hollywood blockbuster films enjoy success both domestically and internationally. As an

institution, Hollywood is a hegemonic power whose grip is globally far-reaching, and thus plays an instrumental role in Anglo-American dominance within the entertainment industry. Institutional and financial authority typically ensure that blockbusters produced by Hollywood will cross borders and reach audiences beyond the confines of the United States of America, and even Canada. Few other film-producing institutions hold the same power and international control; it is truly a dominant player in the popular culture environment. It is for this reason that Hollywood blockbuster films have been selected as the topic of analysis for this study; they are typically the films that are successful enough to be marketed internationally (Danan 1995; Humbert 2003, 82), thus penetrating the minds of audiences from various cultural, linguistic and political backgrounds.

With this information in mind, the purpose of this case study will now be outlined. Consider the following passage: "Assessing the image of France and the French in today's America calls for a reminder of the wave of Francophobia which swept [the United States of America] at the outset of the latest Iraq war, and which was matched by a parallel rise in anti-American sentiment in France" (Verdaguer 2004, 441). In this context, how do translated displays of Frenchness and Americanness (as presented by Hollywood) compare before and after the Disagreement? Does the political ideology of the target socio-culture (France) affect the information being transferred by the source socio-culture (the United States of America)? Does the French dubbing appear to be resisting or manipulating content post-Disagreement that was not interfered with pre-Disagreement? These questions will be explored by examining a selection of films that have been categorized in relation to the Franco-American context surrounding the Disagreement; therefore, the English-language films and their French dubbed counterparts will be compared in the contexts of both peace and conflict. Specifically, two films have been chosen

in a seven-year period prior to the Disagreement (1995-2002), and two films have been selected from the post-Disagreement period (2005-2012)[1]. These time frames have been chosen to account for the lengthy process of film making, and to ensure that the films in the post-Disagreement category only include those that were actually written after the Disagreement. Therefore, this thesis aims to identify and analyze any ideological shifts between dubbed blockbuster films that were: A) written and distributed prior to the Disagreement, and B) written and distributed after the Disagreement. The films in category A will have been distributed and subsequently translated for a French audience during a time of relative Franco-American peace. In contrast, the films in category B will have been written, distributed and translated in a time of Franco-American political tension, anger and fear (Verdaguer 2004, 441).

In the first category (films written and distributed prior to the Disagreement) the following films will be examined: *French Kiss* [no title change in France] (1995) and *The Man in the Iron Mask* [*L'homme au masque de fer*] (1998). In the second category (those that were written and distributed in the years following the Disagreement) the following films will be explored: *Rush Hour 3* [no title change in France] (2007) and lastly, *The Pink Panther* [*La Panthère Rose*] (2006)[2]. These films constitute a range of genres (including comedy, romance, action-adventure, thriller, historical fiction and family); each of the films contains elements of

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[1] While examining more than four films would certainly provide further material and results to analyze, it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

[2] In researching films for this case study, a clear choice was the Hollywood film *Talladega Nights: The Legend of Ricky Bobby* [*Ricky Bobby: roi du circuit*] (2006). This film, with its obnoxious portrayals of both Frenchness and Americanness, was wildly successful with North American audiences (Box Office Mojo), but was not shown in theatres in France (the film was released in DVD format only). For this reason, unlike the above-mentioned films, it is difficult to be certain whether the French version of this film was seen by a lot of French viewers. Regardless, this film would likely still provide interesting insight should the original and dubbed versions be compared. It could be argued that the film's use of French characters, references and language are arbitrary, creating a potential connection between the representation of the French and the political context within which the film was produced. The film contains a number of instances that may be a source for ideological intervention. Therefore, while this film is not included in the present study, it may be of interest to scholars who wish to expand on the research questions presented here.

comedy, as "U.S. comedy […] is undoubtedly successful worldwide" (Chiaro 2010a, 25). Not limiting film selection to a single genre allows for comparison amongst popular Blockbuster genres and may thus assist in directing the research of future scholars in this area. Each of these films contains American portrayals of Frenchness; they have been selected for their elements that make use of French people, culture or stereotypes as a source for outwardly innocuous wit. In select instances in films within the post-Disagreement category, it could be argued that the use of the French (including its people, language, cities or landmarks) is arbitrary; aside from the political events occurring during the film writing and/or production process, it is difficult to establish logical, outward reasoning which would substantiate the need to represent elements of French. Moreover, some of these portrayals seem to emphasize the cultural, linguistic and stereotypical views of the U.S. population towards the French.

In the United States of America, these films earned high profits, sold a large volume of tickets, and, in select cases, even succeeded in winning entertainment awards (Box Office Mojo). In France, despite the force of anti-American sentiment sweeping the nation (Verdaguer 2004, 441), these Hollywood blockbusters still found notable success with a French audience (Box Office Mojo; Allociné). Without actually analyzing the source and target texts, the financial statistics of these films indicate that both the French and U.S. populations found humour and/or entertainment in Hollywood's (mis)representation of Frenchness (and, in some instances, distinct 'French-bashing'). This may lead one to question how this could be the case, particularly in terms of the post-Disagreement category, when the cultures were at ideological odds. If, through film, a U.S. institution was deriding the French, were French audiences truly in agreement (or unoffended), or was some other factor at play? From a Translation Studies perspective it evokes the question of manipulation, as dubbing is "...the most invisible and subtle form of

censorship..." (Zanotti 2012, 355). For this reason, it is important to critically analyze the film discourse and translation; such research will be useful for Audiovisual Translation Studies in shedding light on any ideological interception strategies that may be enforced during the dubbing process.

While scholars have explored AVT and its role as a facilitator of cross-cultural communication and censorship, to my knowledge, the effects of the Disagreement on culture and language through a Translation Studies lens have yet to be studied. Scholars have uncovered the power of AVT by conducting research from a number of unique perspectives, for example, from a Gender Studies (De Marco 2012, Feral 2011) or Cultural Studies perspective (Díaz Cintas 2012, Gottlieb 2004, Nedergaard-Larsen 1993). In many cases, research has been executed with the intention of analyzing various elements of either the AVT process or product, such as technical constraints and their implications. However, there is currently no scholarly work that examines the context and aftermath of the Disagreement from a Translation Studies perspective. Therefore, this research aims to fill a gap in the current knowledge of the AVT studies field; there is a need for further understanding of the role of the dubbing process in the cross-cultural transfer of ideological values, and the effects of ideology on the dubbing team. Furthermore, there is a gap in the understanding of how politics and translation effect the filmic representation of cultural differences, and this project aims to contribute to the bridging of that gap.

Prior to discussing the importance of audiovisual translation (specifically Hollywood dubbing) and its importance within this case study, political context must first be established. In order to contextualize the political situation that lays the foundation for this project, it is essential to consider Franco-American political relations circa 2002-2003. During this time, France and the United States of America faced a large-scale disagreement regarding the Iraq invasion.

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According to his address to the United Nations Security Council in September 2002 (Office of the Press Secretary 2002a-b), former President of the United States, Mr. George W. Bush, provided the United Nations with potential cause for action against one Iraq regime. Should this cause be proven justifiable, it could necessitate military invasion on the part of United Nations members. In early 2003, the United Nations was to determine further action in this regard. While the United States of America (alongside other nations) was in favour of invading Iraq, France (alongside other nations) urged further efforts for diplomatic, peaceful resolution. Ultimately, former French Foreign Minister Mr. Dominique de Villepin announced France's decision to use their veto power, thus officially disagreeing with the U.S. administration's push for military action. This Disagreement caused significant political tension (Verdaguer 2004, 441-2; Loughlin 2003), and an 'us versus them' mentality (Friedman 2003) between the two nations[3]. From scholarly journals to newspapers and media outlets, the Franco-American Disagreement regarding the Iraq invasion was (and remains) of interest to institutions and individuals internationally. Political journals have devoured this topic, therefore allowing for analysis and insight into the depth of the impact of the Disagreement in various avenues, including tourism and national identity. Its effects have been far-reaching, resulting in altered perspectives of Franco-American relations from pre-Disagreement days (Verdaguer 2004).

As this study will analyze the dubbing in films both pre- and post-Disagreement, it is important to consult Film Studies literature that discusses the political context of 2002-2003 Franco-American relations. For this reason, this study will draw upon the work of Pierre Verdaguer. In Verdaguer's 2004 case study, he examines displays of Frenchness as depicted in

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[3] In this thesis, the term "nation" is used when referring to France and the United States of America. The term is being used in terms of a geo-political description (i.e., a country) in order to convey a construction of an identity; it is not being used in reference to a "nation state".

U.S. films throughout history. In order to convey the ideological nature of his research, films are contextualized within a framework of 'Other-bashing', a term explained as "... a systematic attempt to discredit the cultural Other through the use of negative stereotypes" (Verdaguer 2004, 441). Verdaguer argues that, when presenting stereotypes of the French and their culture, U.S. films do so in an innocuous fashion (2004, 441). However, as his research is not conducted from a Translation Studies perspective, it does not take into account what can be discovered by analyzing the dubbing, nor does it consider the perception of the French (in regards to the manner in which their culture is presented by the American Hollywood film industry). Because the study was published in 2004, it is limited to films that were written, produced and subsequently distributed in 2003 or earlier. It is important to note that film production is an extensive process. A Hollywood film distributed in 2003, for example, would have been written and produced years prior to distribution. For this reason, Verdaguer's conclusions are exemplary for films that were written prior to the Disagreement; the years following the Disagreement are not accounted for, and merit analysis from both a Translation Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective.

While Verdaguer has demonstrated that the tendencies for U.S. portrayal of Frenchness have remained relatively constant throughout history, it is reasonable to presume that, due to the length, duration, and extent of the French-bashing and tension that occurred because of the Disagreement (2004, 441), there may be antagonistic images and/or cultural manipulation within the source language films and/or the target language translations in films that were written post-Disagreement. In such cases, the resulting films would not be distributed until one or more years later, therefore making the few years following the Disagreement the key time period from

which to analyze films and their translations using Verdaguer's notions of national ideologies, "anger and resentment" (2004, 441).

In addition to the key work of Verdaguer (whose paper provides a greater understanding of concepts essential to this project), scholars whose research has expanded knowledge within this field have also been consulted. These scholars include Frederic Chaume, Martine Danan, Jorge Díaz Cintas, Henrik Gottlieb, Brigitte Humbert, Birgit Nedergaard-Larsen, Zoë Pettit, Patrick Zabalbeascoa and Montse Corrius, and Serenella Zanotti. These authors discuss key concepts of audiovisual translation within their research, including the technical aspects of the dubbing process. Research by Peter Fawcett and Justin Vaïsse will also be essential to the understanding of concepts related to ideology and the construction of difference towards another community.

This project will be divided into five chapters, each of which will contribute to a comprehensive case study that will actively contribute to research within the interdisciplinary field of AVT. Chapter one will set the foundation (and context) for the remainder of the project, as understanding of the context is central to the understanding of the analyses to follow. This chapter will be divided into three sections, each aiming to contribute to an image of the relationship between France and the United States of America in the years surrounding 2002-2003. As such, three major concepts will be discussed: the Disagreement as an event; ideology and public opinion; and cultural representation within the media. The first section will provide context, concentrating on the events, tensions and key players of the Disagreement itself. It will begin by discussing what, in essence, the Disagreement is. It is important to have a clear understanding of the Disagreement because it is the event around which this project is centered; ultimately, the years leading up to and the years following the Disagreement are the contexts

within which audiovisual translation will be analyzed in the coming chapters. Basic knowledge of the timeline, nations and key members involved will allow for a comprehensive understanding of the environment of this project. By the conclusion of this section, the events, participants and tension of the Disagreement will have been outlined. The second section will focus on public opinion within France and the United States of America at the turn of the twenty-first century with specific focus on ideologies existing and proliferating within each culture. It will offer a preview into two major ideologies surrounding the discourse of Franco-American relations – namely, anti-French and anti-American ideologies. Needless to say, there is not one scholar who can accurately depict, describe or explicate these nations as allies or as foes, but existing research has created a lavish discourse with much information to be gleaned from the history of their relationship. This section will aim to contribute two ideas to the understanding of their history: Franco-American relations have always been characterized by a level of tension, particularly from an American perspective; and Franco-American relations were in a positive place just prior to the Disagreement. In support of the scope of this project, this section will focus on information from only the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Lastly, the third section will discuss representation in media, exploring how anti-French and anti-American ideologies are manifested within their respective cultures – specifically, the spreading of Other-bashing ideologies, stereotypes and biases that appear to be linked to the events of 2002-2003. This section will consider the role of stereotypes and media in the frustration and disconnect between the two nations. These concepts are vital to the understanding of the following chapters, as they will be applied to both the film and translation industries; ultimately, Francophobia and anti-American sentiment will be explored within audiovisual film translation. By the conclusion of this section,

the importance of these ideologies and their connection to the Disagreement will be understood, thus confirming the importance of context within this project.

Chapter two will further discuss the concepts and tools that will be used to explore the films within this case study; it will focus on the specific constraints of audiovisual translation allowing for a contextualized understanding of the ideological implications of the medium. This chapter will be divided into four sections that will discuss the theoretical framework and methodology; specifically the interaction between dubbing and ideology. It will begin by exploring discourse analysis as a means of ideological investigation, and will look at the resources and tools that will allow for in depth, ideological investigation of the films in the subsequent three chapters. Specifically, this section will describe the importance of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to this project, and will detail the specific elements of CDA that will be applied against the discourse of the selected films. The next section will discuss the medium of dubbing as a translation process. Technical constraints such as synchronisation and quality will be detailed so as to demonstrate the importance and implications of such constraints on this method of AVT. The chapter will then move into a discussion regarding ideology and its place within this project. Not only do the technical constraints of the medium hold ideological implications, but so do the institutions and individuals involved in the process; for this reason, the role of the translating team as well as the role of the film distributing companies will be included in the discussion on ideology. Cultural factors, particularly with regards to humour, will be an essential element to the ideological investigation of the selected films; as such, cultural ideology regarding humour will also be explored in the last section. By the conclusion of this section, the complexity of the dubbing process will be understood, as will the ideological implications that may affect the decisions of the translating team.

The case study itself will be conducted within chapters three and four. Using the above mentioned frameworks and concepts, these two chapters will comprise an analysis of the four selected films. Chapter three will focus on the translation of the pre-Disagreement films, while chapter four will focus on the films in the post-Disagreement category. Each of these chapters will have two sections (one for each film), each containing examples of shifts that occurred in the dialogue of the films. The English and dubbed French dialogue will be placed side-by-side, and the shift will be bolded to indicate where the shift took place. Corresponding screen shots can be found in the Appendix located at the end of this project. These chapters will contain only the examples where a shift occurred during the dubbing process; including all examples of representation(s) of Frenchness or Americanness is beyond the scope of this thesis, and thus will not be included. By conducting this analysis, then subsequently comparing the findings of the analyses of pre- and post-Disagreement films, it will be possible to analyze whether any shifts occur in terms of: i) U.S. portrayals of Frenchness, and ii) the French dubbing of U.S. portrayals of Frenchness. This investigation will allow for insight into the power of audiovisual translation as an ideological and political tool.

Chapter five will provide a commentary concerning the findings of the analyses conducted in the previous two chapters. It will reflect on both the technical and ideological aspects of the films, emphasizing the similarities and differences between the representations of cultural differences via discourse and translation. Through commentary, this chapter will explore any translational differences (and similarities) between pre- and post-Disagreement films, as well as any apparent ideological influences that were discovered during the analysis. The conclusion will include an acknowledgement that certain suppositions cannot be made based on the findings (or lack thereof) of this research project.

The principle goal of this research is to shed light on the ideological implications of film translation, demonstrating that translation can be a way of reviewing ideological tensions between nations.

CHAPTER ONE:

FRANCO-AMERICAN POLITICAL RELATIONS

SECTION ONE

THE DISAGREEMENT

"The most recent case of divergence between French and U.S. interests [...]
came in the context of the diplomatic manoeuvring that preceded, and has since
followed, the conduct of the Second Iraq war in March and April 2003."
(Pauly 2005, 3)

The Disagreement was a major political division between France and the United States of
America – their most recent in modern history. In this Disagreement, the two nations held
oppositional opinions regarding the most appropriate strategy for dealing with the crisis in Iraq
circa 2002-2003. Discussion regarding the Iraq crisis began months prior to the Disagreement
itself (which occurred in February of 2003). On September 12, 2002, the second plenary meeting
of the fifty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly convened in Manhattan,
New York. One of the goals of the session was to address the "four current threats to world
peace where true leadership and effective action are badly needed" (United Nations General
Assembly 2002, 2); Iraq leadership was listed as the second item which posed a threat to
international security and world peace. At that session, former President of the United States Mr.
George W. Bush made a statement to introduce both the concerns and intentions of the U.S.
government regarding that particular item. His statement, based on the findings of the U.S.
document, *Decade of Deception and Defiance* (Office of the Press Secretary 2002a)*,* outlined a

number of infractions which the U.S. administration felt necessitated urgent, military intervention within Iraq (i.e., systematic and continuous violation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions, and the development of weapons of mass destruction). Bush's statement, however, was more than a standard call for the unison of leaders worldwide (specifically, the unison of United Nations Security Council member nations); rather, Bush emphasized that "the United States would act – multilaterally if possible, but also unilaterally if necessary – to remove the threats posed to American interests by Iraq's development of WMD (weapons of mass destruction) and support for transnational terrorist groups including but not limited to al-Qaeda" (Office of the Press Secretary 2002b). Typically, when international issues of this caliber arise, Resolutions are drafted and subsequently voted upon by member nations of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC); the resulting vote determines whether the proposed plan of action (i.e., the Resolution) will move forward. Bush's statement was atypical in that it unabashedly declared an absence of hesitation to intervene in Iraq independently from the UNSC. Naturally, this particular declaration was an item of concern for partner UNSC nations, including France.

The issue that would eventually be deemed *the Iraq crisis* became a major topic of discussion for the United Nations Security Council. The UNSC is comprised of five permanent member nations and ten rotating, temporary members, each with voting power within the UNSC. The power of the veto, however, is reserved for only the five permanent members, and can be done so for strategic purposes: "The system of the UN Security Council that gives each of the five permanent members the veto means effectively that France, Russia, or China could thwart any American use of force deemed illegitimate" (Kaufman 2009, 220). France and the United States of America, both as permanent members of the UNSC, would be two of the fifteen nations drafting and voting upon a Resolution regarding the Iraq crisis. Each administration held key

players involved in the UNSC, either directly or indirectly affecting the decision-making of their nation. At that time, the President of France was Mr. Jacques Chirac (1995-2007), working with his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dominique de Villepin (2002-2004); Mr. George W. Bush was the President of United States of America (2001-2009), and his Secretary of State was Mr. Colin Powell (2001-2005). While both Presidents had ultimate authority and provided strategic leadership, Mr. de Villepin and Mr. Powell led discussions, debates and represented their respective countries when convened both inside and outside of United Nations Headquarters.

In late 2002 and early 2003, the UNSC was in deliberation regarding how to best deal with the regime of Iraq dictator, Mr. Saddam Hussein. As indicated by Bush in his September 2002 statement, Powell and the U.S. administration felt that Iraq leadership was a dangerous force of terrorism and a threat to international peace. At that time, Iraq was believed to be in possession of weapons of mass destruction – a possession which, if found to be true, would have been a breach of international law. While there was no concrete evidence to prove that Iraq did in fact have "nuclear capabilities", "all the indications make us think that she has reconstituted biological and chemical capacities" (Hoffman 2004, 5). Previous United Nations Resolutions had been written in order to ensure Iraq's compliance with weapons inspections – a process conducted with the hopes of either finding materials to destroy, or proving that the materials no longer existed within the country. However, when the demands of previous Resolutions were not met by the Iraq administration, subsequent Resolutions were drafted to reinforce the gravity of the UNSCs demands. By early 2003, Hussein's regime remained non-compliant with previously issued Resolutions, and had been uncooperative with United Nations inspectors regarding the alleged WMD program in Iraq (ibid., xxiv).

The concern of national and international security was shared by all members of the United Nations Security Council. Both France and the United States of America agreed that the issue should be urgently addressed, and on November 8, 2002, Resolution 1441 was adopted[4]. This Resolution confirmed the commitment of all UNSC members towards developing an appropriate, progressive next strategy. The passing of Resolution 1441 demonstrated that both France and the United States of America (along with fellow UNSC member nations) were in agreement that a new Resolution (i.e., a new strategy) must be drafted; this new Resolution would outline next steps and updated demands of Hussein's regime. Therefore, until this point, the French and U.S. administrations were united. The digression from partnership occurred in the months following Resolution 1441, during the drafting of the next Resolution. This new Resolution would outline the strategy to be used to address Hussein's alleged WMD program, and it was at this stage that the French and U.S. administrations revealed incompatible strategy proposals.

The United States of America was strongly in favour of an urgent military invasion in Iraq. Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State, expressed that Iraqi leadership had been uncooperative for too long. From the perspective of the U.S. administration, it was feared that Iraq was concealing WMD and that that was the reason for which previous United Nations demands had been ignored. The suggested course of action was imminent war, which the U.S. administration advocated was a justified strategy based on Iraq's history of non-compliance with the United Nations' weapons inspections process. Powell stated that, since peaceful, diplomatic resolution had thus far failed, the next step was to be immediate military intervention. These ideas were outlined in a U.S.-drafted Resolution given to fellow UNSC members (including France). The

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[4] Resolution 1441 can be viewed at:
http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/682/26/PDF/N0268226.pdf?OpenElement

draft Resolution had pushed to "authorize the unequivocal use of force against Saddam's regime" (Pauly 2005, 3).

France, along with a number of fellow nations, did not agree with the terms of the U.S-drafted Resolution. It was expressed that a militaristic strategy should not be the initial course of action – that war could be prevented by the use of a non-violent strategy: "Chirac consistently voiced his unambiguous opposition to the use of military force to disarm Iraq and employed all diplomatic measures at his disposal to block that course of action. For example, although France voted for Resolution 1441, it did so only because that measure did not explicitly sanction the use of force against Iraq" (ibid., 12). By challenging the necessity of imminent war as proposed in the U.S draft, the French administration had essentially spearheaded an opposition − an opposition in which further efforts for peaceful, diplomatic resolution would be sought by De Villepin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, (and President Chirac) during UNSC deliberations (Segell 2004, 380). For France, it was not felt that military action was the next or only course of action to take, and it was articulated that enhanced, strategic efforts for weapons inspections had not yet been exhausted.

De Villepin and the French administration expressed further concerns with the draft proposed by their U.S. allies. On February 14, 2003, De Villepin presented a statement to the UNSC declaring their intent to use their power of veto should the U.S.-drafted Resolution move forward. In that statement, it was expressed that unilateral force should not be used, and that the need for force should be determined by the UNSC as a whole rather than by individual member nations (De Villepin 2004, 10).

"In early 2003, when the issue in Iraq was being discussed in the United Nations Security Council, Dominique de Villepin, then Foreign Minister of France, claimed that more time should be given for the inspections in Iraq. [...] De Villepin claimed that the French Government opposed war primarily because it lacked international legitimacy and was a violation of state sovereignty. In addition, the French Government asserted that the war would only exacerbate the problems with terrorism and threaten regional stability, which should be the overriding goal." (Covarrubias and Lansford 2007, 38; De Villepin 2004, 81)

It was the position of France that there were too many unknown, unpredictable and dangerous elements that would be brought into the crisis should military intervention take place (particularly if such a drastic measure were to be implemented in haste). Brought to attention were the countless factors that needed to be considered regarding not only the process of invasion, but regarding the years to follow a mission in which success was not guaranteed – factors such as civilian safety, cultural differences between opposing armies and the eventual implementation of an honest, fair and successful government of the Iraq people. War was felt to be a short-term tactic that would not resolve the crisis in the long term; there was much more at stake that violence (particularly rushed violence) could not control. De Villepin feared that "the use of force could stir up rancor and hatred, and feed a confrontation of identities, a clash of cultures, and it is precisely one of the major responsibilities of our generation to avoid such a thing" (Hoffman 2004, xxiv-xxv). It was a concern that the U.S. administration "was not adequately prepared for the post-war situation in Iraq" (Covarrubias and Lansford 2007, 38), particularly regarding the unavoidable, unpredictable effects that would inevitably arise.

One of the key elements of De Villepin's statement, and of the position of the French administration as a whole, was the conviction that a peaceful resolution was still attainable with the Iraq administration. "France had always signaled that if it was not possible to disarm Iraq peacefully, it would join a military operation..." (Hoffman 2004, xxiv), however, it was explicitly stated by France that their nation would not support a strategy in which the *first* action taken was force. France believed that cooperation with Iraq could be sought without military involvement, and was determined to exhaust all possibility for non-violent resolution. This belief directly contradicted the U.S. strategy in which it was felt that peaceful resolution was no longer attainable – that those possibilities had already been exhausted. Ultimately, the level of urgency regarding force was a point of contention; the U.S. administration advocated the urgent use of force, while France countered that they would not approve of a strategy in which the immediate use of force was compulsory (Covarrubias and Lansford 2007, 38).

In order to supplement their disapproval of the U.S.-drafted Resolution, France proposed modifications. Their suggestion was to implement a new strategy that would strengthen the inspections process within Iraq (i.e., increase the quantity of inspectors on site, and extend inspections coverage to ensure that sites continued to be monitored even after inspections had taken place) (Hoffman 2004, xxv). This strategy involved a two-step plan in which, firstly, cooperation would be sought. De Villepin emphasized that all avenues for cooperation between Iraq and the UNSC would be exhausted. Secondly, should further efforts for diplomatic resolution fail, a re-evaluation would be conducted by the UNSC, ensuring that all members had a voice: "If [Iraq] makes its moves to disarm credible, then we will have no reason to go to war. If it fails, then we will have to put another resolution before the UN. […] Force can only be a last resort. The Middle East does not need a new conflict" (as expressed by De Villepin in an

interview with *Paris Match* on January 16, 2003). The French administration voiced concern that the U.S.-drafted Resolution was essentially a "blank cheque that could justify unilateral action at any moment", and both Chirac and De Villepin were vocal about their disagreement with such a Resolution (De Villepin 2004, 12). While France was not interminably resisting the possibility of disarming Iraq by force, the administration would simply not agree to a Resolution that did not "define a clear mechanism governing the eventual use of force" as determined by the UNSC as a whole (ibid., 12). Essentially, De Villepin called for a Resolution with clear guidelines as to how military resources would be used and to what end, should they eventually be required.

Chirac and De Villepin supported their opposition to the proposed U.S. strategy by highlighting the responsibility of the UNSC to act in good judgement. At a United Nations Press Conference on January 20, 2003, De Villepin prefaced their impending Disagreement with the U.S.-drafted Resolution by referencing similar crises occurring internationally; if the UNSC was to vote on a militaristic strategy, it would be setting a precedent for the management of other nations suspected of possessing and proliferating WMD. If the UNSC was to justify the use of force in Iraq based on suspected proliferation of WMD, the same course of action would have to be taken against nations posing similar threats; the example used was North Korea. It was articulated that setting such a precedent would not only be dangerous, but irresponsible to the safety of the international community: "…we cannot isolate Iraq from the other questions relating to proliferation. What we do for Iraq in relation to proliferation, we should also do for every other crisis. If war is the only way to solve the problem, we immediately find ourselves in an impasse" (ibid.).

Additionally, the United States of America had stated that a regime change in Iraq would be justified should any WMD be found in the country: "[Bush] argued that it was necessary to

remove the regime of Saddam Hussein in order to prevent the dictator from using weapons of mass destruction against the United States or giving them to terrorist groups like al-Qaeda" (Korb and Conley 2009, 234). This was a critical element of the Disagreement, as France did not feel that a regime change was the issue at hand; rather, French administration stated that the question was solely whether Iraq was in possession of WMD. De Villepin established that coercive measures, if necessary, would only be acceptable as a course of action towards the prevention of proliferation of WMD; on the contrary, coercive measures would not be acceptable if used for the purposes of a regime change in Iraq: "France shares the United States' determination to resolve a crisis which threatens us all. But she refuses the risk of an intervention which would not take all the demands of collective security fully into account [...] any action aimed at regime change would be at variance with the rules of international law..." (De Villepin 2004, 5).

In essence, there was "a fundamental policy disagreement" between the two nations (Hoffmann 2004, xxiv). An acceptable Resolution for Bush, Powell and the U.S. administration meant one in which any WMD were immediately destroyed, followed by a regime change within Iraq. An acceptable Resolution for Chirac, De Villepin and the French administration was one in which the UNSC could peacefully move forward with confirming whether or not Iraq did in fact possess any WMD, followed by their destruction. France advocated that only the UNSC could legitimately and legally interpret the findings of weapons inspectors in Iraq. The position of the United States of America was that Iraq did, indeed, have WMD, and that it had already dishonoured any intent to cooperate with inspections (De Villepin 2004, 10; United Nations Secretary-General 2003b).

Both De Villepin and Powell found allies within the UNSC. France was supported by Germany and Russia, while the United States of America was supported in their position by the United Kingdom and Spain. As the tension amongst these parties, created by the Disagreement, is assessed in the coming pages, it should be noted that France was not the only UNSC nation opposed to the U.S. strategy: "...not forcing a vote [...] clearly showed that France was not alone in advocating the reinforcement of the inspection process" (Vaïsse 2003, 44); Powell's strategy would have faced an opposition regardless of whether the Resolution made it to the voting process. The U.S. appeal for military intervention, while supported by some, was not sanctioned by all members of the UNSC. Nevertheless, while France was not the sole reason for the failure of the U.S.-drafted Resolution, it was the nation to which the U.S. administration attributed their lack of success within the UNSC. For example, despite the fact that Germany, "traditionally among the most dependable of Washington's allies" (Pauly 2005, 4), had supported France in the anti-war movement in Iraq, it did not receive the same degree of backlash as their French counterpart.

A Review of Franco-American Relations

"Je n'imagine pas deux alliés autant capables d'être en conflit par temps de paix que la France et les États-Unis, ni deux alliés autant capables de rester fidèles à leur héritage commun en temps de guerre." (Barber 2001, 17)

As this project is heavily centred within the context of Franco-American political relations, it is essential to discuss the relationship between these two nations; as it is now, and, briefly, as it has been in the past. France and the United States of America have a long, fruitful history; a history that includes both partnership and conflict, support and opposition. Past events and discourses

have contributed to the current state of their political affairs, shaping the manner in which the two nations interact, support and communicate with one another. In this way, to truly appreciate Franco-American political relations circa 2003, it is advantageous to have a brief understanding of their ideological differences throughout past decades. While a thorough review of their history is beyond the scope of this project, a more contemporary review (at the turn of the twenty-first century) will provide an appropriate briefing on the subject. A basic level of understanding of their relationship – and the subsequent developments of their relationship – will allow for a more fruitful interpretation of the context at hand, as well as of the audiovisual discourse in the coming chapters.

> "The histories of relations between the United States and its European allies,
>
> generally, and Franco-American interactions therein have been characterized
>
> by alternative periods of collaboration and discord." (Pauly 2005, 15)

Historically, France and the United States of America have experienced periods of both co-operation and tension. Yet, these two nations have never been at war with one another; in fact, in times of international crises, they have supported each other as allies on numerous occasions (Vaïsse 2003, 34; Duroselle 1976). If these nations have always been, on some level, international allies, it is interesting to reflect upon the nature of their partnership; to consider why their relationship fell so quickly and deeply into turmoil following the Disagreement. If the two countries have never directly fought against one another, why are there so many incidences of Other-bashing and stereotyping amongst their peoples? From where is this anger and tension derived? The literature on this topic is plentiful; scholars and politicians alike have published countless works not only on the Disagreement itself, but on the tumultuous history and often distressed relationship between France and the United States of America. There are works

written from the perspective of the American, the Frenchman, as well as 'neutral', independent parties. While much of the pro-American discourse challenges the pro-French discourse (and vice versa), such works offer interesting insight into the rationale and ideologies existing within both nations.

A glance at their political history shows that negative ideologies and stereotypes against the other population are not a new phenomenon (for either nation). Both populations have played a role in the dissemination of negative images of the other one, and this theoretical catalogue of discourse (having been accumulated over centuries) existed long before the Disagreement took place. Their respective stances on various political issues have been combative, resulting in events which contribute to the negative discourse that each nation has composed towards the other. Each new stereotype, cliché or negative perception becomes a part of anti-French or anti-American discourse and is then available for future use in reference to that nation (Vaïsse 2003, 34; Duroselle 1976).

In the past two centuries, "The major historical event that froze a negative image of France in the American consciousness was the German military defeat of France in 1940" which instilled the "notions of the incompetence and cowardice of the French armed forces, the willingness to appease dictators [...] and moral inferiority..." (Vaïsse 2003, 34-35). These images were reinforced surrounding World War II: "In 1945, when American soldiers flooded liberated France, the U.S. Army was so worried about the troops' Francophobia that it issued them a pamphlet encouraging cultural understanding" (Fisher 2012; U.S. Occupation Forces 2004). This pamphlet listed and then refuted the most common French stereotypes as perceived by the U.S. general public. Despite this effort to establish intercultural appreciation and improve relations, negative ideology persisted. The stereotypes and misconceptions that resulted from the events of

and surrounding World War II have acted as the foundation from which a modern anti-French ideology within the U.S. would continue to develop in future decades; an ideology in which the United States of America would deem itself an independent, key player in the international scene, relegating France to a secondary position of dependence (Vaïsse 2003, 35).

In the decades that followed, further evidence emerged to support a theory of continued disconnect in Franco-American relations. Following WWII, the French government began a decision-making process that appeared to be aiming to limit the power of their U.S. allies in international matters, with particular and strategic use of NATO (Kaufman 2009, 220). These efforts were observed during the late 1950s "under the viscerally anti-American Charles de Gaulle" (ibid.). Further images from the years surrounding this time depict the French as an "oppressive and colonialist" nation in which the interests of the United States of America were ultimately conflicting with their own (Vaïsse 2003, 35). In the 1960s, for example, during the Cold War, France conducted their decision-making independently from their overseas ally; in particular, their decision to withdraw from the military command structure of NATO was seen as a movement in separation from the growing hegemony of the United States of America (Pauly 2005, 3). The association between the two nations was such that only certain elements of the relationship were prioritized, leaving those deemed to be less important by the wayside; this manner of decision-making was also evident in the United States' role in ensuring the security of the French during the Cold War, while neglecting France's interests in their status as an independent nation (Hoffman 2004, xxi).

As decades passed, political interests of the two nations remained divergent, resulting in further distancing of commonalities on both political and cultural levels. In this way, both government officials and the general public of both nations experienced difficulty in relating to

the diplomatic goals and decisions made by the other. In 1974, for example, it was remarked that there was "a sharp distinction between the French and American conceptions of democratic politics and revolutionary action" (Mathy 2003, 25). It is known that political decisions contribute to the shaping of a nation and to the shaping of ideological conventions existing within a nation; therefore, it is clear that, historically, a pattern of ideological opposition exists between France and the United States of America. This ideological opposition persisted into the 1990s, with media and news outlets portraying French and U.S. nations as opposites (Mathy 2003, 26). This is evident, for example, in the discourse surrounding the end of the Cold War. By that time, France had put forth significant effort to separate itself from U.S. leadership, thus becoming an important European leader in strategic opposition to the United States of America (Pauly 2005, 13). Ultimately, by the end of the Cold War, while still remaining political allies, the Franco-American relationship was riddled with tension:

> "The perpetual growth in the power and influence of the United States since the end of the American-Soviet bipolar confrontation, in turn, has exacerbated past Franco-American disagreements and undermined broader political and strategic linkages across the Atlantic." (Pauly 2005, 3)

Despite the fact that the United States of America and European nations are allies (and that these alliances have become stronger in recent decades), there are still a number of issues which tend to divide them. While national and international security is an important issue for most North American and European nations, the reigning challenge lies in the different means by which each nation wishes to tackle major security challenges (ibid.). These differences in strategy and outlook are what continue to "pit the United States against France specifically" (ibid., 3). Furthermore, amongst the French, the United States of America as a global, hegemonic,

superpower is noted as either a nation to appease ("avoid [...] becoming a target of its wrath and risking isolation") or a nation to oppose (that France should play an active role in "channel[ing] the 'hyper power' the U.S. has become, and lead it to place its great power at the service of justice and law, even if that course involves some rough sailing") (Hoffman 2004, xxiii). These ideas demonstrate that, from the French perspective, their U.S. allies are a powerhouse that must be strategically communicated and dealt with so as not to disrupt an already fragile relationship. The latter idea, in which the French feel that they must take a stand against U.S. force, was the position taken by France in the Disagreement.

Even though the two nations have shared a unique history, Franco-American relations had been relatively positive just prior to the Disagreement. Having established that negative interactions between France and the United States of America contribute to the current discourse of each nation, it is true that said discourse, in turn, contributes to the ideology of each social group therein. To some degree, negative or antagonistic images of a community will be available within any nation – including both French and U.S. nations; however, the levels to which Francophobic or anti-American ideologies are present in society depend on the surrounding environment. In the few years leading up to the Disagreement, it could be argued that the presence of these ideologies was fairly minimal within each community. World War II and the Cold War played a role in strengthening tensions and fostering mistrust; yet, at the turn of the century, it had been years since a major conflict had occurred between the France and the United States of America. In the early years of the millennium, just prior to the Disagreement, there had been no incident to reinforce negative ideologies concerning cultural differences, or to underline political tension. The nations were in a period of relative cooperation and collaboration.

SECTION TWO

IDEOLOGY AND PUBLIC OPINION

In late March 2003, the invasion in Iraq had officially begun. The content from Bush's National Security Strategy (NSS) document (The White House 2002) "...reflected [...] the administration's willingness to invade Iraq over the objections of key allies and without a UN resolution" (Korb and Conley 2009, 238). Therefore, as promised by Bush in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in September of 2002 (Office of the Press Secretary 2002b), the United States of America had moved forward with their strategy of unilateral intervention. While supported by select member (and non-member) nations, ultimately, their proposed Resolution and eventual invasion had not been sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council (Segell 2004, 397-8).

By the time the invasion had begun, Franco-American relations had taken a notable turn for the worse; the tension of the Disagreement was apparent worldwide. While De Villepin and Powell had supporters and critics both domestically and internationally, a definitive shift had occurred in which the Franco-American partnership had been effectively damaged. Pro-war supporters felt that Chirac, De Villepin and the French administration held the responsibility for damaging the international partnership to such an extent that would take years and years to repair (Pauly 2005, 13); the blame for the Disagreement was attributed, in great part, to France, and to De Villepin in particular. Anti-war supporters, on the other hand, felt that Bush, Powell and the American administration had "overr[idden] both allies and opponents in a vain effort to forge a new empire of American influence in the Middle East" (Korb and Conley 2009, 235).

Some scholars believe that France's use of their veto power was a betrayal against the quest for American freedom and justice; that American reaction was so strong because the Disagreement was a confirmation that the French could not act as trusted allies. Others believe that the French administration operated admirably, and played the important role of "the independent and plain-speaking ally" (Hoffman 2004, xxiii) by not fearing to take a path of resistance. While speculation and opinion will always surround the events of this time period (or any other event), the actual truth to these beliefs is not relevant. It is, however, important to acknowledge the existence (and power) of these beliefs. They are proof of a dichotomy between the two sides involved in this Disagreement. A great deal of repercussions and animosity resulted from the Disagreement, and long-lasting tension was present from the general public to national elite.

In reviewing a number of interviews and articles surrounding the Disagreement, an array of depictions of both De Villepin (representing France) and Powell (representing the United States of America) can be found. In interviews conducted with De Villepin (see De Villepin 2004), it is clear that he was continuously in a position of defense. Many interviewers concentrated on his role in the Disagreement, focusing on his relationship with Powell, and questioning his influence in the demise of the state of Franco-American relations (ibid.). A variety of media sources appeared to present the stance of France as non-negotiable and as being definitively opposed to war; furthermore, De Villepin was depicted as self-interested, cowardly and blind to the obvious, imminent danger of Hussein's regime. On the other hand, many sources presented a contrary image to that of a wrong-doing France and a heroic America. Often, Bush and Powell were depicted as strategically and deceitfully using the threat of WMD as a means to infiltrate Iraqi administration and secure power. The backlash from the United States of

America's militaristic strategy and its brazen defiance of UNSC law ensured that the Disagreement "became Bush's most contentious policy" (Korb and Conley 2009, 234).

A review of statements made by Powell in the post-Disagreement period shows the determination of the U.S. administration to establish distance between the two nations. Discursive manifestations reveal frequent demonstrations of an 'us-versus-them' dichotomy. This can also be seen in some of De Villepin's statements, for example, when referring to the United States of America as 'they', after having referred to France as 'France'. Such discursive manifestations reveal opposition with visibility given only to the self (France). However, there is another element to be noted within De Villepin's Disagreement-period discourse. In analyzing the discursive manifestations of De Villepin's interview responses, there is a hint of determination to isolate France's position from Franco-American political relations. The status of the two nations as allies is emphasized, with cooperation and facilitation being a major component to the discussion of their political relations. For example, in an interview with *Paris Match* on January 16, 2003 (when the position of each UNSC nation regarding the upcoming vote was becoming clear), De Villepin expressed that France and the United States of America were working together: "I work very closely with Colin Powell, and it's a relationship of trust."

In regards to public opinion, anger and tension were running high and the international attention of the Disagreement served only to enhance the strain between the nations. The views of the French and U.S. people, as well as the public of nations worldwide, were expressed via rallies, demonstrations, social media and conversation; global attention on the matter was effectively contributing to negative, antagonistic discourses, subsequently fuelling existing ideologies and stereotypes amongst the two nations. "Bush's choice not to create a broad international consensus around American actions severely damaged U.S. standing in the world"

(Korb and Conley 2009, 241). The Pew Research Center (an American institution) conducted a number of polls whose results shed light on the effects of the Iraq invasion amongst the general public in regards to cultural ideology[5] and (perceived) cultural differences. In early 2003, the percentage of the French public opposed to Powell's stance had been quite high (eighty three percent) during the Disagreement and, within a year, had increased by five percent (Covarrubias and Lansford 2007, 39).

A comparative poll was conducted in May of 2000 and September of 2002 to measure the U.S. perception of their French allies (Body-Gendrot 2003). While the Iraq crisis was brought to the attention of UNSC members (including the France and the United States of America) in September of 2002, the Resolution over which the two countries would disagree had not yet been created; therefore, the results of both of these polls are representative of the pre-Disagreement period (when Franco-American tension was minimal). The results from the polls confirm that the years leading up to the Disagreement were, in fact, years of relative harmony and cooperation between the two nations, particularly for the U.S. public. For example, in 2002, U.S. perception of the French was more positive than the French perception of the U.S.: When asked if the two nations were seen as "most of all, partners", 68% of the U.S. respondents agreed, while only 50% of French respondents felt this to be true (ibid., 10). In fact, the polls found that, on behalf of the U.S., there were "signs of growing appreciation and openness toward France" (ibid., 19). Therefore, in the time directly leading up to the Disagreement, it could be said that the two nations held a relationship of understanding and shared common concerns. The research of Body-Gendrot (2003, 8) points to this conclusion when she states that, "the ultimate and lasting

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[5] The notion of ideology will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

effect of the war in Iraq remains to be seen, but in 2002 there was still a clear continuity of positive attitudes – including France as a loyal ally – which deteriorated in the Spring of 2003."

A change took place over the course of a few months; amongst the U.S. public, it was found that "favourable opinion of France" had dropped significantly from 79% in February of 2002 (pre-Disagreement) to 34% in March of 2003 (post-Disagreement) (Vaïsse 2003, 43). Another poll conducted in May of 2003 showed an increase in U.S. respondents who viewed France as "most of all, adversaries" (Body-Gendrot 2003, 10). These statistics demonstrate the significant decline in the amicability of the U.S. towards the general French public; most importantly, due to polling dates, this decline can be directly attributed to the Disagreement. "While a benign image of France, or at least indifference, has prevailed among the general American populace, a sharply negative image now seems to have found its way into heartland America" (Vaïsse 2003, 42)[6]. This poll establishes a tangible shift regarding attitudes between citizens of the two nations, both pre- and post-Disagreement: "In 2002, 68% of Americans regarded the two countries as 'most of all, partners,' (compared with 50% of the French answers)…" The study shows that, according to a poll in May 2003, "…the number of those seeing the two countries as 'most of all, adversaries'" had increased from 14% to 18%, "with 31% seeing France as 'unfriendly'." Such poll results provide concrete evidence of tension amongst the populations of both nations, proving that a level of anti-American sentiment in France existed concurrently with Francophobia in the United States of America: "After strong sympathy was expressed following the attacks, the intervention in Afghanistan triggered expressions of anti-Americanism in France based on the perception of the 'hyper power' of the

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[6] Scholars have found that anti-French sentiment amongst the U.S. population was directed towards the French population as a whole. Interestingly, this scenario was not duplicated amongst the general population in France. Anti-Americanism amongst the French had, for the most part, been directed towards U.S. administration (as opposed to the general public). This will be discussed briefly below.

US…" (ibid., 11)[7]. Political and ideological disconnect followed this heightening of anti-Otherness:

> "At the time of this writing, it is difficult not to interpret the current evolution
>
> of American Francophobia as a dangerous turn, a crystallizing moment, even if
>
> US-French relations have been difficult in the past and have usually mended
>
> after some time." (ibid., 45)

While acknowledging that Francophobic and anti-American ideologies were not borne by the Disagreement (but rather exacerbated), this statement emphasizes the power of this international conflict – its social, political and ideological effects would be far-reaching, serious and unpredictable. In Verdaguer's research he comments on "the intensity, the duration, and the breadth" of the Other-bashing caused by the 2002-2003 conflict (2004, 441). As mentioned briefly above, demonstrations and rallies (pro-war and anti-war) followed the Disagreement within France and the United States of America. For those in support of the Bush administration's invasion strategy, these rallies provided an outlet for the anger felt by the general public. One such rally included the smashing of Peugeots – an imported, French-made vehicle. Such activity had occurred before: in the 1980s, in concurrence with the political tension and anger of the time, Toyota and Honda vehicles were the recipients of anger-filled strikes and blows. These actions confirm that a portion of U.S. general public was not only well-aware of the political tension occurring between their government and that of the French, but that they were, indeed, angry with their allies. Lashing out at an object which represented French culture rather than French politics could be indicative that this portion of the U.S. population was not only angry with French politicians, but were directing their anger and confusion towards France as a whole.

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[7] See Body-Gendrot (2003) for further polling results regarding French and American opinion of the Disagreement.

On the contrary, it is interesting to note that, following the events of the Disagreement, the French population had been "mostly anti-Bush, not anti-American" (Vaïsse 2003, 34; Moore 2003). The above mentioned poll (Body-Gendrot 2003) showed that nearly 75% of the French population expressed animosity towards Bush and his administration rather than towards the American public; "by his posture opposing the United States, Chirac was able to play on anti-Bush sentiment to increase his own popularity" (Covarrubias and Lansford 2007, 39). This challenges the reaction of the American population which was not specifically against the French administration (i.e., anti-Chirac, anti-De Villepin) but rather anti-French (as a whole). Scholars such as Vaïsse and Body-Gendrot attribute this phenomenon to the influence of patriotism within the United States of America. Scholar Roger attributes the French reaction to "a largely self-sustaining and self-sufficient" anti-Americanism; i.e., while an anti-American ideology has long been established within French culture, the Disagreement caused a noteworthy increase in dislike towards the Bush administration in particular (2005, 450-451). This establishes that, while Other-bashing was largely present in both nations following the Disagreement, there was a difference in the manner by which the ideologies were communicated. The American population experienced widespread Francophobia, while the French experienced anti-American sentiment largely based on ill-feelings towards the Bush administration; the difference is that one nation is against the people of another, while the other nation is primarily against the political figures and motivations of the other. This is an interesting phenomenon that may play a role in the discourse analysis of the coming chapters.

It is undeniable that the United States of America garnered support, sympathy and compassion from their French allies following the tragic terrorist attacks in September of 2001. However, the actions of the U.S. administration during the events of the Disagreement caused a

shift in the French perception of their U.S. allies, thus resulting in a negative, less sympathetic view of the American population in the eyes of the French.

<div align="center">SECTION THREE</div>

<div align="center">CULTURAL REPRESENTATION:</div>

<div align="center">FRANCOPHOBIA AND ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT</div>

Francophobic and anti-American ideological positions are not new concepts. It has been established that these ideologies were a part of their respective nations prior to this dispute between the French and U.S. administrations, and that a shift occurred in the level to which these ideologies were held as compared to the years prior to 2002-2003. The extent of this shift has been a topic of research for many scholars, as well as a focal point for the media and journalists, thus re-energizing the role of these ideologies within the discourse on Franco-American relations; there is an abundance of literature concentrating on both the Disagreement itself, as well as the preceding and subsequent events. In this respect, personal, academic and political opinions vary from one scholar or politician to another. Endless reasoning and strategic analysis is presented in favour of the actions of either the French or U.S. administrations and, ultimately, it remains each individual's right to hold an opinion in favour of the decisions made by one administration or the other. The purpose of reviewing the Disagreement in this research is not to attribute approval or disapproval to the actions of either nation; rather, the purpose is to demonstrate that the Disagreement has produced significant, global-wide effects that may well be seen in the realm of audiovisual translation. The effects to be explored are the spreading of Francophobic or Anti-American sentiments in the two nations.

The concepts of Francophobia and Anti-American sentiment are vital to the understanding of the coming chapters (when they will be explored within audiovisual film translation). Prior to exploring these concepts, it is important to note that they are ideologies manifested within culture and, as such, are comprised, in part, by stereotypes. The understanding of stereotypes, which exist in every nation, is important within this section:

> "Stereotypes have of course a complex relationship with reality. On the one hand, they are inaccurate, or simply 'wrong', in that they don't capture an objective slice of reality. They offer a refracted image of what they are supposed to reflect, while pretending to be faithful. On the other hand, they always have some link with reality, without which they would not have any currency or staying-power." (Vaïsse 2003, 35)

As Vaïsse explains, stereotypes are comprised of misrepresentations of nations or societal groups, yet maintain some fragment of (or connection to) the reality in question; they are skewed cultural representations based on cultural ideologies of different communities. They are fundamental to the understanding of Francophobia and anti-American sentiment, as these ways of thinking are directly fuelled by the existence of national, cultural, societal and political stereotypes. They are powerful, and their (in)accuracies can be detrimental to cultural acceptance and understanding. As will be seen in the coming pages, there are consequences that result from the images that are projected to the world via stereotyping (Jeanneney 2000).

Francophobia is an ideology in which the French people, culture, and nation are the subject of fear and resentment. Contrary to the root of the term ('phobia'), the concept of fear is not true to the actual use and application of Francophobia within society. Francophobia is, in

truth, rather a "disdain or contempt" that fuels the ideology of the anti-French individual; elements such as hate and opposition would be as or more relevant than that of fear (Vaïsse 2003, 46). A similar term, one that is perhaps a clearer alternative for such a concept, is that of 'French-bashing' (used by scholars such as Justin Vaïsse and Pierre Verdaguer). However, this term also fails to wholly encompass the type of meaning expressed by, in this case, anti-Frenchness. With 'French-bashing' representing action, and 'Francophobia' representing an inherent fear, both fail to comprehensively communicate the fact that these terms embody something as strong as an ideology; they dictate "a personal creed or a set of discourses and clichés" (ibid., 46).

In reviewing the research in this field, a percentage of the U.S. public (in recent decades) simply believe that there are fundamental differences between themselves and the French; thus creating a difficult environment for positive Franco-American relations to flourish, and fueling negativity in times of contention. For example:

> "Each of the two major components of the French cultural model, that is to say, centralization and elitism, is regarded by American critics as incompatible with the central values of the American enterprise, its profoundly democratic, egalitarian ethos, on the one hand, and its distrust of statism and governmental control, on the other." (Mathy 2003, 25)

These beliefs contribute to the formation of a Francophobic ideology amongst the U.S. population. Vaïsse furthers this idea by adding that, "Frustration with France's frequent opposition to American foreign policy, especially since de Gaulle's presidency, has led to many stereotypes that provide a comfortable explanation for French attitudes. French anti-

Americanism is the most useful one, as it supposes a systematic opposition..." (2003, 36-37). This 'systematic opposition' refers to a sequence in which the U.S. public is prone to contradict, negate, or stereotype the French as a course of protective action; because, from the point of view of American diplomacy, the French are continuously and 'systematically' opposed to American ideologies, a stance that is likely to remain unwavering. This contributes to an endless cycle of Francophobia amongst the U.S. public, and anti-Americanism amongst the French public. In periods of dispute, the French and U.S. populations have a readily available discourse from which to draw upon in order to express their distrust or discontent of the other. The so called 'essential differences' between the two nations, in regards to political and societal norms, are continuously used to foster separation and fuel animosity when the two nations are at political odds with one another:

> "Competition between two universalistic visions easily leads to negative stereotyping, as the merits of one's model need to be reaffirmed by belittling the other model – or deriding it as immoral. Interestingly enough, during the French-American diplomatic showdown of 2003, Jacques Chirac and George Bush appealed to different universalistic values (peace through diplomacy on the one hand, freedom through the military fight against tyranny on the other) and both elicited a worldwide response." (Vaïsse 2003, 25)

Anti-American sentiment shares the same general principles as that of Francophobia, but with the reverse target audience. It "does not constitute rational criticism" but rather "expresses a systematic bias against th[e] country, the way anti-Americanism does against the United States. It is based on a set of stereotypes, prejudices, insults, and ready-made judgements" (ibid., 33). Typical to the function of ideologies, these ideas are systematically produced and re-produced

within society, experiencing peaks and plateaus as per the political and social factors of the current environment.

Francophobia and anti-American sentiment have been long established within their respective nations, and "periodically accompan[y] episodes of tension between France and the United States…" (Verdaguer 2004, 441). Mathy (2003) refers to these periods as part of a 'system of Francophobia' – "a web of loosely related clichés that can be mobilized at will – especially, of course, when a diplomatic crisis erupts" (Vaïsse 2003, 33). This idea of 'mobilizing at will' reinforces the fact that long-established, negative images remain available within society; that, as events occur, the hypothetical 'catalogue' of Francophobic (or anti-American) discourse remains readily available, and continuously evolves.

The time period from 2002 to the early months of 2003 saw a "new turn" regarding American Francophobia (Vaïsse 2003, 42), and the events of the Disagreement directly correlate with a spike in anti-Other ideology within the two nations. The theory of 'systematic opposition' is precisely the situation that occurred following the tension of the Disagreement; via the media, news distributors and governmental propaganda, Francophobic and anti-American ideologies soared within both France and the United States of America. Importantly, as will be seen in the selected films in the coming chapters, many of the stereotypes or clichés that constitute Mathy's notion of a 'system of Francophobia' are present in film media.

Having established the role of the Disagreement in aggravating the Francophobic and anti-American ideologies of both countries, the respective role of the media in perpetuating and disseminating ideas can now be considered. Following the earlier discussion of Franco-American difficulties in past decades, it should be acknowledged that the media has been an avid and

consistent participant in the production and re-production of ideologies specific to Franco-American tensions. In leading towards the importance of AVT in assessing the changing landscape of anti-French/anti-American ideologies surrounding these events, a discussion of media influence is essential; it will reflect upon the role and power of media resources in the widespread dissemination of ideologies.

For the purposes of this project, 'the media' will encompass any individual, institution or outlet by which fact or opinion are conferred, implied or otherwise expressed (i.e., directly or indirectly) to an audience, regardless of purpose; i.e., film as entertainment media, political newspapers as information media, etc. The opinions expressed by media outlets will vary according to factors such as: political affiliation, target audience, information sources, country of origin and, of course, the purpose for which the information was prepared. In regards to the manner in which news stories are distributed to the public, and the information that is (or is not) disseminated, it is true that "…entertainment values overwhelm news values…" (Body-Gendrot 2003, 20); fact can be subtly, often easily, distorted or manipulated in order to (re-)produce a more exciting, newsworthy idea. Such strategies maximize readership, attract interest and attention and ultimately fuel the business of media and information dissemination.

While fact and opinion can often be difficult to distinguish, both are disseminated by media outlets. The messages distributed via the media contribute to what could be considered "the archive of American views of France" (and vice versa); i.e., the discourse on the American understanding of Frenchness, and the French understanding of Americanness (Mathy 2003, 24):

> "...similar clichés, prejudices, obsessions, sensitivities or allergies emerge from the archive, uncovering shared cultural patterns, interpretive frameworks and structures of meaning, some of them 200 years old or more." (ibid.)

Despite the fact that media information is often highly personalized opinion, interpretations gleaned from available information *do* have an effect on the end viewer. Louis Althusser's (1994) notions of ideological state apparatuses and the systematic production and re-production of ideologies within society are fundamental to this discussion. Via the media, ideologies regarding Frenchness and Americanness are produced and re-produced throughout history, thus perpetuating, strengthening, or exaggerating traits of (perceived) cultural differences from audience to audience, or from generation to generation. This holds true for film as a media outlet. If negative stereotypes of different communities have existed in the past (and continue to maintain a presence), they will be easy to retrieve (or reinforce) in a time of cultural tension – particularly with the facilitation of today's omnipresent media.

Prior to, during, and following the Disagreement, media outlets such as newspapers and political figures were ardently contributing to the discourse on Franco-American politics. It was through such outlets that the tension between the French and U.S. administrations became apparent to the general public. In reviewing the press coverage of the events surrounding the Disagreement, scholars have highlighted governmental manipulation of the media in order to secure or strengthen a nationally-desired ideology. For example:

> "...while there is no doubt that many patriotic Americans resented French President Jacques Chirac's policy vis-à-vis Iraq and spontaneously took a negative view of France as a result, the Bush administration and its allies in the

media encouraged concrete contributions to the recent spike of Francophobia, because it was in their political interest to muster domestic support." (Vaïsse 2003, 45; Sammon 2003)

Furthermore, there have been indications that institutions (for example, Rupert Murdoch) and accompanying media outlets have been influential within the United States of America in propagating pro-war and Francophobic discourse (Vaïsse 2003, 44; Duplouich 2003; Kirkpatrick 2003). It is not unreasonable to assume the possibility of a relationship between media resources and film production companies; if a clear connection were to be confirmed, it could be deduced that such resources may transfer political and cultural ideologies into popular culture – namely the entertainment film industry.

Ultimately, ideas shared by the media will be for a purpose. Neither France nor the United States of America is immune to media censorship. Such reality demonstrates the power of media as tool for information dissemination. As Body-Gendrot has proven, a large percentage of the population relies on non-primary sources of knowledge regarding other cultures (2003, 20). This means that, without having experienced French culture first hand, the U.S. public is acquiring 'knowledge' (be it fact, opinion, stereotype) from second or third hand sources – i.e., the media. While resources such as newspapers, journals or political speeches are an obvious source of knowledge of other cultures, a less obvious (yet highly influential) resource is the entertainment film industry. As a media outlet, film has an incredible power to disseminate secondary and tertiary information to viewers that they often cannot compare against first hand, personal experience.

It has been established that Hollywood films boast a significant global viewership reaching an audience of billions worldwide and, as an institution, Hollywood is undeniably hegemonic. The entertainment film industry is indeed a media outlet with a unique ability to persuade and influence – one which holds the means of sharing (or imposing) cultural, social and political messages veiled as mere entertainment value. Such institutions have two tools vital to ideological influence – capital and followers (i.e., a ready audience of millions who will view their product and be subjected to a message, regardless of whether that message is consciously absorbed or not). The institution of Hollywood and film writers, distributors and translators are in a unique position to do just this – to use the power of their respective institutions to convey messages regarding other cultures. In this way, targeted views on Frenchness and Americanness (via American screen-play writing and via translation intervention in France) can be expressed. As a powerful media outlet, Hollywood is indeed in a prime position to "express its opinions on French culture and society" from its "socially authorized" (i.e., trusted, respected, easily accessible) "and privileged vantage point" (Mathy 2003, 24).

What happens when filmic depictions of Frenchness and Americanness (and ideologies such as Francophobia and anti-American sentiment) are impacted by an event as large-scale as the Disagreement? Surrounding the Disagreement, U.S. media and entertainment saw the revival, creation, and adaptation of both old and new expressions of French-bashing (Vaïsse 2003, 42). From talk shows to television shows to film, a surge in Francophobic displays could be seen. As discussed, such depictions are influential and give renewed strength to pre-existing discourse and ideology – particularly when masked as entertainment rather than politics. For example, an outrageous term was coined in 1995 by the widely popular American television show, *The Simpsons*; a character referred to the French as, "cheese-eating surrender monkeys" (Fisher

2012; Lichfield 2013). While the term was initially used in a time when Franco-American relations were positive, it then resurfaced once tensions ran high (i.e., following the Disagreement): "But the phrase stuck. How many other one-off *Simpsons* jokes made it into the Oxford quotation dictionary twice? Not because it was factually true but because it perfectly encapsulated the American perception" (Fisher 2012). This example demonstrates the power of entertainment media to contribute to and influence politically and culturally-charged discourse. Indeed, it has the power to produce and re-produce ideas.

The entertainment film industry was not immune to the effects of the Disagreement. In reviewing trends within Hollywood films, there exists a trend in which the role of antagonist, villain or comic-relief subordinate is cast as an individual whose nationality coincides with the current (or perceived) adversary of the United States of America. In Hollywood films throughout the past century, the nationality of on-screen allies and villains alongside (or opposite) U.S. heroes have been congruent with real-life political affiliations, allies and conflicts (recent examples include Russian and North Korean villains[8]). As France became the new (perceived) 'antagonist' to the U.S. 'protagonist' in real life, Hollywood began to depict this on screen. Since 2003, the French can be seen as villains in a number of Hollywood movies. This serves as evidence that the power of the Disagreement effectively spread from the political sphere to the entertainment industry and, importantly, that films are a rich source of ideological material.

With a clear connection between the Disagreement and the proliferation of negative ideologies within France and the United States of America, the role of film media in ideological

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[8] See *The November Man* and *The Equalizer* (both 2014) for Hollywood's Russian villains (coinciding with recent Russian-American political tensions with Russian President Mr. Vladimir Putin); see *Red Dawn* (2012) for North Korean villains coinciding with political tension between the U.S. and North Korean administrations with leader Mr. Kim Jong-Il.

manipulation can be explored within this political context. While traditional texts could be further critically analyzed, the discourse surrounding language, politics and culture will benefit from a study in which such a contemporary issue is examined from a new, unique perspective – the perspective of Translation Studies. Analyzing entertainment film media rather than political media will allow for an acknowledgement and understanding of how far-reaching political events can be, and this project aims to do just that. Ultimately, the Disagreement has produced significant, global-wide effects that may well be seen in the realm of audiovisual translation; this research will actively contribute to current knowledge on the interaction between politics, culture, language and film media.

CHAPTER TWO:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTS

SECTION ONE

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS IDEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

Discourse is action, and actions have functions (Wood and Kroger 2000, 4-5); the 'action' refers to "what can be done" using language, while 'function' describes what is actually taking place with the use of language within a particular instance. As David Machin and Andrea Mayr describe it, discourse is essentially "communication through a system of choices" (2012, 15). Discourse and ideology are both affected and perpetuated by power, culture and language. In today's global society, cultural discourses (and their accompanying ideologies) are accessible across borders; available for consumption, questioning, manipulation or even censorship. Language and cultural discourse produce and re-produce ideologies and social thought (Althusser 1994), and have thus evoked critical investigation regarding the interests and (in)equalities that their re-production may "perpetuate, generate or legitimate" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 24). Thus, discourse and its ideological implications are inescapable, and exist invisibly to the average media consumer. In this cycle of ideological production and re-production, investigating the implications of discourse may lead to a deeper understanding of the use of language as not only a "vehicle of communication, or for persuasion, but [as] a means of social construction and domination" (ibid.). There are a number of ways in which ideology can be conceptualized, in relation to translation; the following definitions are particularly apt to relate ideology with Translation Studies: "a belief or a set of ideas, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties or countries base their actions" (Sinclair 1987); "the set of ideas, values

and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm" (Calzada Pérez 1997, 35). Though these two definitions are fairly similar, they each contribute an important perspective to the concept: the first highlights political importance, while the second refers to the concept of societal norms. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly for the purposes of this research project, ideology is defined and used in a neutral sense. Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett (2010, 95) explain that the concept of ideology can often be associated "with negative connotations denoting overt manipulation and deception." With this in mind, they re-iterate that "in CDA-oriented approaches, the term ideology is assigned a more neutral meaning." In this way, references to and discussions regarding ideology within this case study follow suit with the notion of ideology as a neutral concept, merely "deriv[ing] from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (Simpson 1993, 5).

As a theoretical framework used for politically-charged research, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as explored by Machin and Mayr (2012) is a powerful tool in ideological investigation. As a means of analyzing political content and context, its elements facilitate ideological investigation of written discourse and oral dialogue (in this case study, source text oral speech and target text dubbing). As stated above, language is more than a mere vehicle for communication; rather, language holds ideological values hidden below the surface. Ideological investigation, via the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis, allows for insight into ideas regarding cultural, political, and moral beliefs – ideas that may be concealed within a source text and/or within its translation. This notion of revealing concealed ideologies (that appear to be natural to the reader) is key when looking at language from the point of view of Translation Studies. Teun Van Dijk (1995) proposes a number of concepts that can be applied within CDA; these concepts

are guiding elements used to explore discourse and language. From his proposed concepts, the following three linguistic element categories, as described by Van Dijk (1995), are of particular importance when investigating discourse for ideological information, and will be used within this case study: 1) lexicon/semantic choice, 2) local semantics, and 3) surface structures. The linguistic elements within these three categories will contribute to an overall observation of how meanings are managed – i.e., via explicitation or implicit meaning. Firstly, in analyzing lexicon and semantic choice, it may be possible to identify the ideological implications of discursive manifestations within the source and target language versions of the films. As addressed by Jeremy Munday in an article entitled, "Translation and Ideology: A Textual Approach" (2007), lexical choices are underpinned by ideological voices. Therefore, a lexical analysis of the discourse may shed light on how Frenchness and Americanness are portrayed to different audiences using different languages. Machin and Mayr (2012, 48; Leeuwen and Wodak 1999) further this notion by stating that "where actual facts and processes are replaced by abstractions and generalisations, this is a sign that ideological work is being done." Discursive manifestations such as suppression, lexical absence, lexical choice, overlexicalisation and connotation are the specific elements applied to CDA at the level of semantic choice; these elements can be applied against instances of language in order to determine the information contained within.

Secondly, the consideration of local semantics is important because of its role in associating discursive meaning with time and place. It allows for meaning to be investigated through the contextual positioning of various elements; the manner in which something is represented contributes to an understanding of the self or of others (a notion directly affected by ideology). Cultural representation, via discursive manifestations, is the result of the author's (or film producer's/director's/distributor's) use of language to represent social events in a way that

favours the goals of him/herself (Van Dijk 1995, 26). This concept, as described by Van Dijk (1995), is important for translation because of its application in exploring the shifts relating to human ideology of individual communities, translators and the institutions with which they are associated. The sub-elements contained within this concept are useful tools in navigating the meaning of language from the point of view of local semantics; particularly structural opposition (deixis), situational representation and presupposition. Therefore, local semantics is an important element in the dissection of language via discourse analysis.

Finally, Van Dijk's third concept of surface structures allows for a heightened level of investigation – particularly in discourse that is audiovisual. This concept is useful for discourse analysis within Translation Studies as it can be applied to the examination of speech and dubbing with special attention placed on elements such as intonation, emphasis/stress, volume and accented speech. Such elements may contain underlying meanings and "express and convey special operations or strategies" or "other semantic or interactional meanings and functions" (ibid., 23). Typically, the meanings associated with surface structures are not explicit, and thus may be examined for ideological implications existing within the source text, the translated text, or both:

> "…research on language ideologies and media discourse cannot be confined to the 'purely linguistic' elements of a text. Without a serious engagement with visual and other semiotic modes, it will be difficult, nigh on impossible, to tease out the complexity of language ideologies embedded in media texts as produced in late-modern contexts." (Milani and Johnson 2010, 12)

In Van Dijk's article, "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis", his proposed methodology makes use of the notions of ideology and 'group' ideologies (1995, 18-19). He discusses the belief that ideologies may "organize, monitor and control specific group attitudes" as well as "control the development, structure and application of sociocultural knowledge" (1990, 19). To further this idea, it is emphasized that, "...ideologies partly control what people do and say [...] but concrete social practices or discourses are themselves needed to acquire social knowledge, attitudes and ideologies in the first place, viz., via the models people construct of other's social practices (including others' discourses)" (Van Dijk 1995, 21; referencing Van Dijk 1990). This concept indicates the power of social ideologies; they are powerful in that, through discourses, they form and develop cultural, moral and social beliefs. Through various manifestations of discourse and language use, ideologies may be expressed in subtle ways (Van Dijk 1995, 22). Van Dijk presents a series of discourse manifestations within which ideological values may be identified, making this concept especially useful in Translation Studies where elements can be applied to both source and target discourses. Van Dijk's above mentioned three discourse manifestations – lexicons, local semantics, and surface structures – are therefore ideal concepts to guide analyses conducted in collaboration with Translation Studies, as will be done in this project.

SECTION TWO

DUBBING AS A TRANSLATION PROCESS

"In terms of communication, the prominence given to audiovisual productions

in today's society makes them an ideal and powerful vehicle for the

transmission, not only of factual information, but also of assumptions, moral

values, common places, and stereotypes; one of the many reasons why they

stand out as an object deserving of research." (Díaz Cintas 2012, 281)

Audiovisual Translation (AVT) is a concept in which a team of translators, dialogue writers and voice actors (amongst others) work together to translate a film for another linguistic audience; it is the translation of a text that contains both audial and visual components, making it a more dynamic practice than that of traditional text translation (Chaume 2012, 3). Dubbing, a method of AVT, "consists of replacing the original track of a film's (or any audiovisual text) source language with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language" (ibid., 1). It is an isosemiotic form of translation; i.e., meaning is transferred from speech to speech (Gottlieb 2004, 87). Essentially, dubbing presents the target culture orally, while the source culture is presented only visually (Pettit 2009, 44). This method differs from subtitling in that subtitled films play the source language audio, while displaying the target language text (translation) on screen; the target language is not represented orally[9]. Each of these methods is used based on the preference of the target country in question; many countries, particularly in Europe, are known in the world of AVT as either dubbing or subtitling countries. For example, France is a dubbing country, meaning that the local population prefers to watch foreign films by listening to their language (French), as opposed to listening in the foreign language while simultaneously reading in their own. This applies to popular cinema in France, while the subtitling method is seen as a means by which to communicate with minority groups (speakers of foreign languages, students, intellectuals, language learners, etc.) (Baker and Hochel 2001, 76); because subtitling is rarely used in popular cinema in France, it is seen by the general public as "something alien" (Gottlieb 2004, 83-4).

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[9] While it will not be discussed in this project, this translation method of subtitling also contains constraints and bears certain implications upon both the subtitling team and the receiving audience.

"Once the norms in a given target culture and at a given moment in time have been identified, they must then be compared to prescriptive quality standards – as defined by corporations, professionals, and guidelines – to verify whether they meet those quality standards, or simply conform to roughly consolidated historical conventions." (Chaume 2012, 15)

In order for the translated film to succeed with its new audience, the dubbing of Hollywood films in France is conducted according to the dubbing norms of the country. In this sense, dubbing translators (i.e., dubbers) must consider the important factors of lip and body synchronization; when an individual is speaking on screen, the sound must coincide with the visual of that individual's labial movements. The concept of synchronization is crucial to the success of AVT materials and is a norm within the practice. It can be defined as, "one of the features of translation for dubbing that consists of matching the target language translation and the articulatory and body movements of the screen actors and actresses, and ensuring that the utterances and pauses in the translation match those of the source text" (ibid., 68). Naturally, this is a difficult task that requires much skill on the part of the dialogue writer/translation team, particularly when translating from one language to another (as compared to unilingual voice over). In the case of dubbing, the sounds of the target language are restricted to the labial movements of the source language – even though the two languages may use very different labial movements. When synchrony is lost or lacking, the film does not meet the audience's expectations thus resulting in the dubbed film's commercial failure.

There are four main constraints to the dubbing process, each of which is important to understand when dubbing choices are analyzed via Critical Discourse Analysis. Firstly, the dubbing team must consider the *visibility* of labial movements on screen. The audio must be

isochronous with what the viewer is simultaneously watching, particularly in close-up shots of the actor/actress that is speaking[10]. However, when an individual is speaking, but their mouth is not visible, there is more leeway in regards to this synchronization (Pettit 2009). Poorly conducted isochrony is most often the reason for which a dubbing project is considered of poor quality, and is the type of synchronization most important for the successful viewing experience of the target audience (Chaume 2012, 69). Secondly, the dubbing team must also consider the *shape* of the labial movements made on screen; this is referred to as lip or phonetic synchrony. In bilingual settings, this is rarely an easy practice, and the dubbing team must be creative with their resolutions. To achieve lip/phonetic synchronization between the translated dialogue and the onscreen lip movements, "…words that do not coincide phonetically with the screen actors' lip movement" are substituted "for others that do"; "…particular care should be taken in the translation to respect the open vowels and bilabial and labio-dental consonants pronounced on screen, as well as sentence endings" (ibid., 67-68). The third constraint on the dubbing team is the element of *body synchronization*, also referred to as kinesic synchrony. This constraint comes into play when the language of the film is accompanied by a gesture (i.e., nodding of the head, facial gesture or hand movement). Chaume explains that, "the thresholds of acceptability are crossed […] when the meaning of the translation and the meaning of the screen actors' and actresses' body movements are in disharmony" (2012, 15). For example, if an actor *off screen* is giving an oral, positive affirmation ("Absolutely, you are always right") in a sarcastic manner, the translation can either be a direct translation of the dialogue ("Absolument, tu as toujours raison"), or can be creative if the situation requires it ("Tu n'as pas toutes les réponses!" [You don't have all the answers!]). However, if the actor is *onscreen* and dramatically nodding while

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[10] Chaume defines isochrony as "the synchronization of the duration of the translation with the screen characters' utterances […]; i.e., when spoken, the translated dialogue must be exactly the same length as the time the screen actor or actress has his/her mouth open to utter the source text dialogues" (2012, 69).

giving this sarcastic statement, the dubbing team must provide a translation that does not conflict with the verbal, positive affirmation; in this example, the 'creative' solution does not provide kinesic synchrony with the actor who is nodding on screen. The fourth constraint to the dubbing process is perhaps the most important – it brings the above-mentioned elements together to ensure that the dubbing sounds natural and idiomatic while respecting the norms of synchrony. The *quality* of dubbing is judged differently than that of regular text translation (and that of subtitling) due the constraints of the medium; there are factors at play which must be measured differently (in terms of importance or priority for the viewing pleasure of the target audience) than traditional texts. With these elements combined, the translation should have remained as close to the source dialogue as possible, deviating only when limited by the above-mentioned constraints; the translation should have been faithful where possible.

> "The concept of fidelity has a long tradition in translation theory (Hurtado 1990; Munday 2001). However, it would appear that the shift in interest from the source text to the target culture as a reference point in translation assessment has meant that the notion of fidelity has lost ground in the theoretical panorama of the discipline, or rather, it is understood as *fidelity to the norms governing the system*." (Chaume 2012, 17; my emphasis)

A translation that deviates from the source text for any reason besides those mentioned above could indicate that ideological manipulation is occurring, and provides grounds for investigation. The translated dialogue may have been manipulated in order to accommodate the expectations and preferences of the target audience culture; it is also possible that less faithful resolutions were made in order to comply with any governing norms that regulate certain subject matter (i.e., supposed 'innocuous' humour) – particularly in films that have been imported from a country

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with which the target culture is at political odds. An example of this would be regulation of film material that has been imported from a source culture that is negatively representing (or just representing at all) the target culture within the film.

<center>SECTION THREE</center>

<center>IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DUBBING CONSTRAINTS</center>

Scholar Peter Fawcett published a case study in 2003 that examined the cultural and linguistic manipulation that occurs via film translation. The research focuses on French films that have been subtitled for an English (American) audience, and explores the normalisation that occurs through the subtitling process. While the concepts, technicalities and manipulations that he discusses are applied to subtitling within the research, they are highly relevant when dealing with the dubbing process as well. As confirmed by Jorge Díaz Cintas (2012, 284) both subtitling and dubbing are subject to technical manipulation, as there are aspects to AVT that traditional translation (text to text) is not subjected to. These aspects may call for omissions, additions or alterations to the source material; yet, as discussed by both Fawcett and Díaz Cintas, technical constraints are not the sole cause of these alterations.

The four elements discussed above are considered to be the technical constraints of the dubbing process, and may be the reasons for which dubbed dialogue may deviate from the original source text (and/or the subtitled target text[11]). Some of these constraints are singular to the dubbing process, often making translation options more limited than that of subtitling or traditional text translation. While audiovisual translation processes are accompanied by technical

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[11] An English language film can have a French dubbed version as well as a French subtitled version; the language used in the dubbing and subtitles may differ due to constraints involved in each of the dubbing and subtitling processes.

constraints, Fawcett demonstrates that manipulation of film translation does not always occur due to the limitations of the medium; rather, evidence is provided to demonstrate that ideology, morality and social control are an invisible part of the AVT process (Fawcett 2003, 145); this idea is explored by Zanotti where she demonstrates that, "dubbing translators […] often act as censorial agents under pressure of a number of factors, including target cultural norms and values as well as local regulations" (2012, 351). She states that, "At other times [...], the modifications observed in film translation do not seem to be motivated by the need to adhere to the technical constraints, but are rather connected with the ideological/cultural factor..." (ibid., 149). Such interventions (or deviations from the source text) can occur subconsciously or willingly. Regardless, Fawcett states that differentiation, whether ideological, cultural, societal, etc., does affect the end user:

> "One does not have to subscribe to subliminalism in order to believe that hard-
>
> to-notice manipulation has an effect. Cumulative presence and repeated
>
> absence build up a world view." (Fawcett 2003, 163)

Such (often invisible) shifts have an impact on the overall meaning(s) of the film and its discourse: "…the way in which images are portrayed and dialogue dubbed or subtitled acquires social and ideological connotations because of their impact on the audience's feelings and their perception of reality" (ibid., 153-4). This idea recalls Althusser's notion of the production and re-production of ideologies, as discussed in section one; national representations (or a lack there of) within film may be powerful elements in producing and re-producing ideologies and perceptions amongst audiences. De Marco (2006) applies this idea to AVT directly, expressing the sheer power of film and AVT in "shap[ing] the audience's conscience and subtly contribut[ing] to perpetuating clichés, patriarchal stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes" (Chaume 2012, 153).

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As such, Fawcett's work effectively and extensively discusses the notion that, equally important to the understanding of the ideological implications of dubbing, is the understanding of the technical elements of the audiovisual translation process. Fawcett concludes that "...the language and culture in film translation into English tend to be normalised into the target language and culture..." (2003, 161).

> "The notion of discourse brought to Translation Studies […] can be defined as the ideological orientation pervading a text […] which has proved overtly useful in translation analysis. […] Discourses then pervade a text and leave constant traces of their ideology behind." (ibid., 151)

When it comes to translating difficult or sensitive discourse (i.e., humour, cultural references, stereotypes), the dubbing team has to make linguistic decisions due to the above-mentioned synchronization issues. Whether these decisions are made consciously or not, they are still tied to ideology; in such situations, elements of discourse can reveal ideologies (of the author, translator, etc.) within dialogue or text.

WHO CONTROLS DUBBING DECISIONS?

> "It has often been noted that the complexity of the dubbing process allows for a degree of arbitrariness on the part of the dubbing director and actors, who are at liberty in manipulating the translated text on the grounds of technical constraints and target culture social norms." (Zanotti 2012, 366)

The dubbing process is extensive, with a number of individuals involved at different. The process begins with the distribution company who reaches out to the dubbing agency. Within the

dubbing agency, the first point of contact between the text and agency is the translator who delivers a rough (rather literal) translation of the film's dialogue; dubbing translators can either work in-house or as freelancers. Next, a dialogue writer[12] (and any dubbing assistants) transforms the rough translation into idiomatic language. The text is then refined into a dialogue that conforms to the above mentioned norms of synchrony; this is done by segmenting the text into 'takes' or 'loops' and adding 'dubbing symbols' to indicate how best synchronization can be achieved. Once complete, the dubbing director instructs the voice actors through their recording process. After the project has been finalized by the dubbing company, the dubbed film is returned to the distribution company.

Edwin Gentzler and Maria Tymoczko (2002, xv) comment on the importance of the translation practitioner: "…the importance of translation and translators in establishing, maintaining, and resisting power structures within society has been expressed, with scholars now appreciating the difficulties, constraints and long- and short-term effects of the practice." They continue by stating that, "[Translation] is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. In these ways translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture" (ibid., xxi). Díaz Cintas (2012, 282) confirms that it is simply the nature of translation that shifts will occur on some level and to varying degrees – that it is "never a neutral act of communication."

Intervention, manipulation and/or institutional control can occur at any (or each) stage in the dubbing process. From one stage to the next, there is a large margin for ideological difference

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[12] In some cases, the translator could also take on the role of the dialogue writer.

between the individuals completing each stage (Martínez 2004). At each stage (i.e., from rough translation, to dialogue writing, to segmentation and synchronization, to voice over) the text can be manipulated or re-manipulated with synchronization as a ready justification for any dialogue alterations. For example, the translator often does not have access to the audial or visual material of the film in question; rather they must work off of the script without contextual reference materials. This creates a level of difficulty; the translator will be translating dialogue out of context, which could lead to unintentional (or perhaps intentional) deviation, which may or may not be addressed by the dialogue writer during the following stage of the process. During the initial translation, "Translators are asked to provide foreignizing solutions together with detailed explanations of the connotative meanings of wordplay and cultural references in the source text" (Chaume 2012, 33-4) therefore leaving a sort of disconnect from one stage to the next. Of course, as the dubbing process progresses, the translation will be revised and reworked by the dialogue writer (who will have access to both the audial and visual reference materials). The dialogue writer is another level at which intervention or some manner of linguistic manipulation could occur; the text is being re-worked in order to synchronize the dialogue with the images on screen, taking into account the cues and solutions provided by the translator. Synchronization can be a justification for favouring one linguistic or translation decision over another. Lastly, the dubbing director has the overriding authority over the translation, and can make alterations for semantic, pragmatic, or perhaps ideological purposes (ibid., 36); this is a powerful position to hold.

Ideally, the dubbing team (including primarily the translator who produces the rough translation, as well as the dialogue writer who then manipulates the target text to fit into the scope of the target film) will be trained to deal with special issues such as ideological transfer

(Chaume 2012, 151). An individual can filter out ideological content from the source nation's film that would ultimately disagree with (or offend) viewers in the target nation. If the dubbing team can identify anti-target-nation ideology within the source film discourse, it would be an economically wise decision to not transfer said ideology via dubbing. This may be difficult for the translator alone, who often does not have access to the audial/visual materials that may support the ideology hidden within the dialogue/discourse itself. This filtering can take place either legitimately (i.e., to comply with target audience expectation, local dubbing norms, or synchrony issues), or under the pretense that the technical constraints of the medium leave no other option.

Louise Von Flotow (2009, 84) tells us that the language and manner in which dubbing actors speak in film is determined by the distributor(s); traditions, ideologies, competing business practices, and state-sponsored language policies can also play a role in the process (in addition, of course, to synchronization constraints). Therefore, not only do distribution companies control which films are dubbed, they also have (varying degrees) of input regarding *how* the film is dubbed. At the micro-level, the dubbing team has important decisions to make that will be received and understood at only the macro-level by the target viewers. Ultimately, dialogue writers must strike a balance between the various elements involved in order to produce a dubbed film that will succeed (financially) with the target audience(s) (Chaume 2012, 146).

> "Compared to the literary world, audiovisual products are a lot more exposed
> to commercial forces, a fact that opens up additional opportunities for
> manipulation…" (Díaz Cintas 2004, 28)

In this regard, the power and patronage of the distributing company should be kept in mind: "Translator's must be aware that their activity is subject to predetermined practices that represent an instrument of social control" (ibid.). Lefevere (1992, 11-25) defines the concept of patronage as "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading or rewriting of a literature." Díaz Cintas (2004, 28) explains that there are three levels to patronage, namely ideological, economic and social status, subsequently highlighting the levels at which patronage and its effect on language and manipulation can be investigated. Distribution companies are in a position to determine which films will undergo audiovisual translation and subsequently control the information that will be consumed by particular audiences (ibid.). In this way, they provide the dubbing team with a part of that power: translators, dialogue writers, the dubbing director, and the film distribution company all play a role in this system of patronage, as they each contribute to the production, re-production, and potential manipulation of ideological material within film.

SECTION FOUR

IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DUBBING HUMOUR

"Not all humorous items work equally well in all settings, as the humour is affected by specific knowledge (or beliefs) about the world, or by particular cultural assumptions – jokes that are hilarious in one country may be incomprehensible in another. This means that any statements that we make about the workings of an example of humour should be seen as relative to some state of knowledge. Usually, such states of knowledge are taken to comprise facts about the world, cultural beliefs and social conventions, all of which can vary between individuals." (Ritchie 2010, 33)

An important ideological element within a community is humour – a mental process combining verbal and non-verbal cues that is "compris[ed] of cognitive, emotional, social, and expressive components" (Chiaro and Piferi 2010, 17). Language is often a vehicle used as a means to amuse; it is an element of social exchange that occurs within an innocuous setting (referred to by Chiaro and Piferi as the 'play frame'), that "involves the perception of non-serious incongruity" (ibid.). However, in the context of dubbing, where different target audiences must be considered, it becomes evident that not all incongruity is humorous (ibid.), nor is all humour innocuous. 'Exhilaration', according to Chiaro and Piferi (ibid.) is a deeper level of humour in which the recipient feels positive reactions related to the humour itself; this sensation amongst recipients is the ideal goal of comedy film writers, directors, distributors, and, of course, dubbing agencies. However, as humour is largely based on the beliefs of a community, there is a fine line between positive and negative audience reception – between the innocuous and the offensive. Jeroen Vandaele (2002a, 156) references the perceived incongruity of humour; it is true that dubbers must be conscious when transferring comedic discourse between two distinct audiences, as each audience will likely receive the same material quite differently. In this way, ideology becomes an integral part of humour translation, particularly when the stakes are high – that is, when financial success is on the line.

> "In comedy, making the audience laugh is the highest priority of the text, and if
> this is the case, translators may have to manipulate the source text, since
> keeping the same humoristic element in the translation might be meaningless to
> the target audience. In these cases, is it legitimate to manipulate the source text
> in order to raise a smile in the target audience?" (Chaume 2012, 148)

High-quality dubbing of comedic discourse plays an important role in the financial success of comedy films translated for international audiences. Chaume mentions that the source text humour may be meaningless to the target audience; it is also true that the source text humour may be offensive. As Delia Chiaro (2010a, 21) states, "The translation of humour is only very partially an interlingual problem; it really is above all an intercultural one." This confirms just how much cultural factors influence the dubbing process. Dubbers must take into account whether the comedic discourse in question would be well received, depending on both the relationship of the 'joke' to the target audience as well as to the target language: "...humour has to come to terms with linguistic and cultural elements which are often only typical of the source culture from which it was produced thereby losing its power to amuse in the new location" (ibid., 1). Humour is ideologically charged and is typically created with a specific target audience in mind. The successful reception to an instance of humour depends on the shared experiences and beliefs of the audience; this poses obvious difficulties for inter-cultural humour transfer (Manca and Aprile 2014, 156). This is an important element that must be considered when evaluating text manipulation, and can be a reason why manipulation occurs; as Chaume asks above: is this legitimate? If the humour is represented both orally and visually, successful manipulation becomes even more difficult to achieve (Chiaro 2010a, 19).

Language is very complex; though a word may have limited denotative meaning, it may have numerous connotative meanings (depending on who the recipient is). In its intricacy, humour becomes attached to sociocultural elements at the linguistic, visual and audial levels. In this way, dubbers must take into account audiovisual intertextuality, as well as the effect that such intertextual (and intercultural) references have on the understanding and reception of the target audience (Chaume 2012, 147-8). Intertextual humour references could include stereotypes,

making their translation that much more involved (and making the concept an important one for this project).

> "The linguistic product of a specific cultural group, such as a joke, or any other humorous observation, can be rightly interpreted only taking into account the source context of culture, that is to say the setting, the scene where it has been produced and the context of situation, that is to say who has produced what and how. The strict relationship between language product and context implies that in the translation process this product is subject to change in order to be adapted and made accessible to the target audience." (Manca and Aprile 2014, 156)

Indeed, manipulation may be required for the film to succeed with a new audience. The extensive man power that goes into the dubbing process has been established, not to mention the financial investment of the distributing company; undoubtedly, it is in the best interest of the dubbing agency to ensure that the humour elements of the dubbed film are well received by the target audience so as to secure a continued working relationship with the distributing company.

CHAPTER THREE:

CASE STUDY: PRE-DISAGREEMENT FILMS

Chapters three and four encompass the case study of this project. Each chapter will be divided into two sections, according to the two films selected for the time period in question, namely the pre- or post-Disagreement period. As briefly noted in the previous chapter, the analysis will be conducted according to Machin and Mayr's Critical Discourse Analysis model, with specific reference to linguistic elements outlined by Van Dijk (1995). The elements will be discussed as they are encountered with examples below; subsequent references to these elements will be made throughout chapters four and five. This chapter represents the first half of the case study, in which the English and French versions of pre-Disagreement films will be reviewed. Each section below will begin with a brief summary of the film in order to provide context for the examples to follow, and to signal major character names. Dialogue and translation samples will follow. Chapter four will follow the same format while analyzing the post-Disagreement films.

Each film in this case study was viewed in the original English language, and any reference to Frenchness and/or Americanness was recorded; to recall, references to Frenchness or Americanness could include the representation of ideologies such as Francophobia and anti-American sentiment. Subsequently, the translated French language version was viewed (specifically, the translations of the marked utterances from the English versions). The analyses below present the English dialogue and French dubbing side-by-side, and indicate whether any shift occurred during the translation process. If a shift did occur, an attempt has been made to determine whether any alternate translation was eliminated due to the technical constraints of the

dubbing process (as outlined in chapter two). Moreover, the shift analyses account for ideological significance based on the Van Dijk's linguistic elements (1995).

FRENCH KISS

This film is a romantic comedy that plays on the differences between North American and European stereotypes. It features Kate, a safe-playing, risk-avoiding school teacher who hates to fly. She is an American citizen living in Canada with her Canadian fiancé, and is in the process of changing her citizenship to become a Canadian. The story begins when Kate's fiancé, Charlie, must fly to Paris for a business venture; Kate's dire fear of flying results in Charlie travelling to France alone, leaving Kate in Canada to try and close the deal on their new home purchase. A few days into his trip, Charlie calls Kate to tell her that he's fallen in love with a French 'goddess', and that he will not be returning to Canada. Determined to win back her fiancé, Kate faces her greatest fear by boarding a plane to Paris. Seated next to her is petty criminal, Luc – a chain-smoking, sarcastic Frenchmen who 'tells it like he sees it'. Set in Paris and Nice, France, the two become entangled in a web of theft, deceit and desperation – for Kate, to find her fiancé, and for Luc to recover a lost jewel. The film is a comedic love story that plays on the stereotypes of a straight-laced American woman and a sleazy Frenchman who, despite their initial prejudices, ultimately see the best in one another.

French Kiss was released in North America in May of 1995, followed by international release in August of 1995. Domestically, the film grossed nearly $40 million, and over $60 million internationally (Box Office Mojo). The French box office recorded half a million tickets sold for the dubbed film under the same name, *French Kiss* (Allociné).

The use of stereotypes and humour at the cost of American, Canadian and French stereotyping made this film a rich source for ideological information. The segments of dialogue that were marked for analysis focused on stereotype humour (as most instances of stereotypes were used in conjunction with humour). The two main characters were the speakers of the greater parts of the marked dialogue – namely Kate as the innocent, sheltered and dependant American, and Luc as the sleazy yet charismatic Frenchman.

<div align="center">DISPLAYS OF FRENCHNESS/AMERICANNESS</div>

| 0:04:48 | Charlie: "Kate's not going **to Paris**." | « Kate ne vient pas. » |
| | Kate: "I'm not going." | « J'y vais pas. » |

In this example, Charlie and Kate are explaining to their family that Kate will not be accompanying her fiancé to Paris. In the above sequence, the direct reference to the destination is removed in the French dubbed version: "Kate ne vient pas" [back translation: "Kate's not coming"]. During the dubbing process, suppression has occurred; it is possible that this occurred in order to eliminate two closed-mouth 'p' sounds (i.e., 'pas' and 'Paris') in French, when only one existed in the English. Kate's refusal to join Charlie is the main (and only) focal point for the French-speaking audience, whereas the English-speaking audience is reminded of *where* it is that Kate refuses to go. If the suppression is connected to synchrony, then it is an innocuous, legitimate shift. Considering the environment of the pre-Disagreement period, this is likely the case, making this a technical manipulation rather than an ideological manipulation.

0:07:15	Kate: "Charlie, the sauces have to be *incroyable* to cover up the horse meat. I saw this segment on **60 minutes**."	« Charlie, les sauces doivent vraiment être incroyables pour masquer la viande de cheval. J'ai vu **un reportage aux magazines un jour**. »

In this sequence, the shift eliminates the reference to the American television program, *60 Minutes,* a program that is widely known amongst North American audiences. This program is a news-reporting program during which a wide range of topics are discussed and, in this instance, can be deemed a representation of Americanness. The removal of this instance of Americanness could have been due to a desire to remove visibility of American culture, or simply to remove the foreign element for the French audience. If the audience does not understand the reference, the scene is less likely to be well received. An interesting note here is that the translation in the French is generic despite the opportunity for the dubbing team to have inserted a specific French news reporting program (to domesticate the translation). This could signal that while the dubbing team did not want this translation to appear foreign to the new audience, they did not deem it necessary to further domesticate the dialogue; a generic translation was preferred. Regardless of the reason for removing the reference to the American television program, the effect is the same – the French audience is not presented with a display of Americanness that the English audience is presented with; it is possible that "…there is a suppression of information at the level of motives, of broader values and sequences of activity" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 42). While this does not appear to be a technical manipulation, it cannot be deemed (with certainty) to be an ideological manipulation; rather, it is somewhere in between – a manipulation that occurred in order to satisfy target audience expectation in the translation of humour.

| 0:11:30 | Kate: "Do you speak **any English**?" | « Comprenez-vous **ce que je dis**? » |

This example takes place during the first meeting between Kate and Luc. Kate is immediately put-off by Luc's aggressive manner, and her prejudice is only furthered by their initial inability to communicate. In the source segment, Kate's question directly relates to the comprehension of language. She is speaking English, and is asking a non-Anglophone whether he understands her by directly referencing the language that she is speaking to him. This immediately creates a separation between the two characters, effectively demonstrating their differences based on such an identity-related element of culture – namely language. Both character's mouths are visible, with mouth movement not being a restriction with the dialogue in question. This is an instance in which the difficulty of translating a multilingual film can be seen. Ultimately, the dubbing team has used a creative solution which eliminates the reference to the English language. This manipulation is likely technical, rather than ideological. The explicit reference to the English language is removed because in the dubbed version, Kate is speaking French, not English. However, similar to the first example, a representation of Americanness is displayed to one audience but not the other, and unconsciously, this can have an overall effect on the end viewer.

| 1:14:17 | Luc: "The pout is one of the French **woman**'s greatest weapons." | « La moue est l'arme par excellence des Français. » |

In this scene (in the original language version), Luc is explaining to Kate how French women use their beauty and mannerisms to seduce men. When Kate recognizes a facial expression made by a French woman, Luc explains to her that she is pouting in order to control her male partner. The scene revolves around the sexualisation of the French woman – something that irritates Kate but

is both well-known and pleasing to Luc. While the English dialogue implies that this mannerism is specific to the women of France, the French dubbing eliminates the reference to women and generalizes the mannerism to all French people (i.e., men and women alike). Ultimately, the stereotype amongst the United States' population regarding the exoticism and hyper-sexuality of the French woman is neutralized through the dubbing process. While the idea of a mannerism as a weapon is kept, the French dubbed version removes the American-issued stereotype against French women. Importantly, this dialogue takes place with zero visibility of Luc's mouth, meaning that this shift did not occur due to the technical constraints of the medium. Van Dijk describes suppression in discourse as a "management of meaning" (1995, 26), which is precisely what has occurred in this translation. This shift, while ideological in nature, is not connected to the political contention of the Disagreement (as it is in the pre-Disagreement category); rather, the ideological aspect of this shift is connected to stereotyping, and the French version takes control of the representation of Frenchness.

0:50:49	Kate: "I'm not American. I'm a soon-to-be **ex-American** Canadian."	« Je suis pas américaine. Je suis en voie de devenir une canadienne, **ex-yankee**. »

The shift that occurs in this instance is an example of overlexicalisation. According to Machin and Mayr, "overlexicalisation, or excessive description, indicates some anxiety on the part of the author" (2012, 37). During the dubbing process, Kate's description of her status as a (soon-to-be) former American citizen shifts from neutral to ideologically-charged. The French dubbing does not use the impartial, more literal translation, "ex-américaine", but rather uses a slang expression, "ex-yankee". Mouth shape and on-screen visibilities were not limiting factors that forced this shift to occur. In fact, the mouth shape of "ex-américaine" would have accommodated the English "ex-American" better than "ex-yankee" which does not make use of the closed-

mouth 'm' sound. Therefore, this shift took place for a non-technical purpose; "since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the author for their own motivated reasons" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 32). Similar to the example above, this ideological shift is connected to humour-related stereotype re-production for the French audience (which was not presented to the English audience). The added stereotype would be humorous to the target audience, as it is a stereotypical representation that fits into the historical vision of the French regarding the U.S. population. The stereotype was likely not used in the original dialogue as it would not be humorous (rather would be offensive) to the source audience.

| 0:50:55 | Luc: "I come to make peace with **your people**." | « Je suis venu faire la paix avec **toi, tu veux bien**? » |

In the discourse above, the source dialogue contains two manifestations of local semantics – both structural opposition and presupposition. In this example, Luc (French) is trying to issue an apology to Kate (American) for his earlier acts of deceit. In the English, Luc's character issues his apology by saying, "I come to make peace with your people." There are other more conventional means of issuing an apology, but the original dialogue writers chose to make use of an idiom in Luc's dialogue; the word choice of the source text is indeed ideologically-charged. The use of "your people" is significant for two important reasons: firstly, in the English language, this expression carries the connotation of negativity and Otherness. It is an example of structural opposition, where one side is painted to be at opposition with the other (whether for better or for worse), without explicitly stating said opposition (Machin and Mayr 2012, 41). The word choice immediately indicates a deixis between the speaker and the receiver; i.e., the 'people' to whom the speaker belongs is different from the 'people' to which the receiver belongs. In issuing his apology, Luc has highlighted the dichotomy between the people of France

and the people of the United States. Secondly, the use of "your people" presupposes that the audience is aware of this dichotomy between the two populations. This opposition is *implied* by the word choice, and "…what is presented as given, as not requiring definition, is deeply ideological" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 153).

In the dubbed French version, the deixis and presumption are removed entirely. The allusion to any opposition between the people of France and the people of the United States has been replaced by "toi" [Back translation: you]. Therefore, the French dubbed version effectively intervenes in the international dichotomy and references only the opposition at hand – that of a minor disagreement between the two characters in the film, Luc and Kate. The shift between the source dialogue and the dubbed French is interesting because it cannot be attributed to the difficulties of the dubbing process. For example, the lip movement involved in the English pronunciation of, "your people" and the French pronunciation of a more literal translation, "ton peuple", for example, is very similar; the mouth shape and visibility on screen would have allowed for "ton peuple" to be used in the French dubbing.

| 0:19:53 | Kate: "I'm sorry. ***Pardonnez-moi***." | « Je suis désolée. Pardonnez-***moi***. » |

In analyzing surface structures, it should be recalled that meanings are not explicit; rather, surface structures refer to the more abstract elements of discourse, such as intonation, stress, volume, and accented speech (Van Dijk 1995, 23). The bilingual nature of this film undoubtedly created obstacles for the dubbing team, particularly in instances when the source dialogue makes use of both English and French language. For instance, in the above example Kate uses a commonly understood French expression, "Pardonnez-moi" [back translation: Excuse me]. Her exaggerated pronunciation implies her minimal knowledge of the French language, and it is clear

that, in this scene, she is using her limited French knowledge to mock her French counterpart, Luc. In the source version, the entire French expression is emphasized when Kate speaks. The effect of this intonation is such that both Luc and his language are being mocked, yet this occurs without an explicit insult being verbalized. Intonation can be used to mark differentiation of Otherness, and drawing such attention can indicate inequality between the speaker and the element to which they are implicitly referring: "Intonation […] may also conventionally signal specific social relations, and hence also ideologically based inequality" (Van Dijk 1995, 24). However, as the context within which the film was created is non-contentious, this humour-based utterance appears to be done in an innocuous fashion. During the dubbing process, the intonation and emphasis shifts from the full expression, "Pardonnez-moi", to only the "moi" within the French dubbed version. The change in intonation within the French dialogue insinuates that while Kate is apologizing, she does not in fact feel that she has a reason to be repentant, but rather that the blame should be attributed instead to Luc. In terms of written discourse, the translation is as faithful as possible in such a complex, bilingual scene; regardless, the shift in intonation is indicative of ideological work.

Section Two

The Man in the Iron Mask

This film is an historical fiction set in Paris in 1662. It tells the legend of the identical twin brother of King Louis XIV – a twin that the King had imprisoned in order to protect and secure his right to the throne. This drama follows the four musketeers – Aramis, Athos, D'Artagnan and Porthos – and their efforts to protect both the royal family and the starving people of Paris. As the story develops, the cruelty and deceitfulness of the King is demonstrated;

the people of Paris are cold and hungry, but the King is shown to turn a blind eye to their suffering. The King's men, including his chief of police, D'Artagnan, are exposed to the growing distress of the Parisian public as a result of King Louis XIV's rule. Paris is shown as a divided city, and the film emphasizes the contrasts of the time period – namely the beauty, class and riches of the French monarchs compared with the soiled, hungry and rioting lower class in Paris.

This film was released in March of 1998 in the United Sates, grossing nearly $60 million dollars domestically (JP Box Office). This domestic success was surpassed by foreign audiences when the film was translated and redistributed abroad. In France, the dubbed film was released in April of 1998 under the title, *L'homme au masque de fer,* where it sold over 2 million theatre tickets within France alone.

The Man in the Iron Mask was chosen for analysis as the French are represented in both protagonist and antagonist roles. As an action and drama film, the instances of language that were marked for analysis pertained to references regarding the French monarch, King Louis XIV, the royal police, or the state of the people of Paris. Unlike the comedy in section one, the utterances in this film were in a dramatic setting, removing the likelihood of humour to be found in the dialogue.

DISPLAYS OF FRENCHNESS/AMERICANNESS

| 0:01:00 | Narrator: "**Some of this is legend, but at least this much is fact**. When rioting **citizens of France destroyed** the Bastille, they discovered within its records this mysterious entry: Prisoner number 64389000; the man in the iron mask." | « **Cette histoite tire <u>autant de</u> la légende <u>que</u> de la réalité**. Á la révolution, quand **les émeutiers s'emparèrent de** la Bastille, ils découvrirent dans un registre cette inscription mystérieuse : Prisonnier numéro 64389000; l'homme au masque de fer. » |

This dialogue is spoken in the opening monologue of the film. The screen is blank and black, with only the narrator's voice to occupy the audience's attention. In this example, neither mouth movement, actor visibility, nor on-screen text were limiting factors during the dubbing process. The source dialogue implies that while the greater part of the story to follow is merely legend, that at least one element is indeed based upon factual event; the English is overt in noting that the factuality of the story is minimal. Interestingly, there is a shift in meaning from the source to the dubbed narration. In the underlined text above, the difference between, "at least" and "autant de … que" is highlighted. In this context, "autant de … que" can be back translated to "as much as"; the first sentence in this example would therefore roughly back translate as, "This story draws as much from legend as from truth." The shift changes the way the story is framed for the English viewer versus the French viewer. While the English narration expresses that the story is mostly legend, the dubbed narration appears to disagree; it attributes more of the story to historical truth than the English does. It is interesting to note that the French subtitled text reads, "Ce récit tient de la légende, mais ce fait au moins est réel" [back translation: This story draws on legend, but at least this much is true"] which is a more literal, faithful translation of the original narration. As there were no visual constraints limiting the dubbing team with this sentence, the shift in the dubbing had to have occurred for a non-technical reason.

In the second sentence of this example, an instance of suppression and a shift in word choice have occurred. In the source narration, the "citizens of France" are the subject of the sentence; they are described as engaged in the act of rioting. "Rioting" is merely an adverb connected with the citizens of France. In the dubbed narration, "citizens of France" is replaced by "émeutiers" [back translation: rioters], giving a stronger notion of the distress and suffering of the French people during that time. That the rioters were French is implicit for the French

viewers, so that description has been removed. Additionally, the source narration describes the rioters as having "destroyed" the Bastille (negative connotation); in the dubbed narration, "s'emparèrent de" describes the act as a seizing of power (or taking of control) of the Bastille (positive connotation). With no factors limiting the dubbing team, this shift was likely intentional and the differentiation may be attributed to motivation or underlying ideology.

0:07:16	King Louis XIV: "Riots? But Paris is the most beautiful city in the world."	« Une révolte? Mais Paris est la ville la plus belle du monde **chrétien**. »

In this scene, King Louis XIV has been told that his people are starving, and that the city streets are plagued with rioting and chaos. In the source dialogue, the King refers to Paris as simply "the most beautiful city in the world." The dubbed dialogue, however, adds the limitation of being the most beautiful city in the *Christian* world. The shift between the two versions is an added religious reference in the French dubbing, which may have been motivated by a desire for historical accuracy. This shift was not required due to lip movements; synchronization did not call for the addition at the end of the French dialogue.

0:11:00	King Louis XIV: "Who in **France** would be such a fool as to try and do me harm?"	« Qui dans **ce royaume** pourrait être si fou pour vouloir me faire du mal? »

In this example, the shift that occurs is a word choice that was not limited by lip movement. The dubbed dialogue replaces "France" by "ce royaume" [back translation: this kingdom], when "France" is pronounced with extremely similar lip movement in both the English and French languages. The explicit reference to France is eliminated in the dubbed version. In regards to technicality and synchronization, this shift was unnecessary.

| 0:36:49 | Aramis: "The Jesuits oppose **Louis'** wars." | « Les Jésuites sont opposés aux guerres **du roi**. » |

In this instance, there is an explicit use of the French king's name in the source dialogue, while the dubbed dialogue references the king implicitly. When speaking the French language, the lip movements of "Louis" and "du roi" [back translation: of the king] are similar; even though "du roi" and "wars" have similar lip movements, "du roi" was not a necessary shift to comply with dubbing synchronization. The dubbed dialogue could have followed a more literal translation of "aux guerres de Louis" [back translation: Louis' wars] which would have complied with synchronization requirements.

| 1:03:32 | Porthos: "*Oh mon Dieu*. A sign from **God**." | « Oh mon Dieu. Un signe envoyé par **le ciel**. » |

This is another example of intervention in connection with religion. In this scene, Porthos is looking to commit suicide; he has been threatening to do so to his colleague, Aramis, without being taken seriously. Porthos is the comic relief within the film – the drunken, sex-crazed character who suddenly feels he has no worth without youth or war. Porthos walks into a barn to find a rope hanging from the rafters, and feels it is 'a sign from God' that he should go through with the act of suicide. Suicide is forbidden by the Catholic Church; to say that God was telling Porthos to commit a forbidden act is blasphemous. The dubbed dialogue shifts from "A sign from God" to [back translation] "A sign from *above*". A more literal translation could have been, "Un signe envoyé par Dieu" [back translation: A sign from God], in which "God" would be directly translated into the French equivalent, "Dieu". The lip movement of "Dieu" and "le ciel" are fairly similar, and could have been used interchangeably. It is worth noting that "God" has

been translated by "Dieu" elsewhere in the film. However, it is possible that this shift occurred for stylistic reasons (i.e., in order to eliminate the repetition of "Dieu" in the French dubbing).

2:04:56	Narrator: "The king known as Louis XIV brought his people food, prosperity and peace; and is remembered as the greatest ruler **in the history of his nation.**"	« Le roi Louis quatorze apporta pain, paix et prospérité à son peuple, et il ait resté dans l'histoire comme le plus grand monarque **que les Français aient connue**. »

The above is another example in which a shift has occurred that cannot be connected to technical restraints of the dubbing process. The narrator is speaking off screen; therefore the narration is not limited by mouth shape or character visibility onscreen. While the meaning of the sentence remains the same in both the English narration and the French dubbing, the idea is presented differently. The French dubbed narration roughly back translates to "…that the French have ever known". The source narration refers to France implicitly, referring to King Louis XIV with the use of "his", whereas the dubbing shifts focus to "the French" in explicit terms.

In reflecting on surface structures, the source version of the film presented a linguistic issue that was lost in the dubbed version – that of accented speech. Of the five main characters in the film – King Louis XIV, Aramis, Athos, D'Artagnan and Porthos – only one character was casted by a French actor. That character was Porthos – the drunken, blasphemous and comic-relief character. The remaining four actors are American, British and Irish. While Porthos' English speech is spoken with his French accent, the remaining leads speak English in their American or British accents. A striking issue throughout the film is the varying pronunciations of the French name "D'Artagnan"; Porthos (French actor) and Aramis (British) and other French-casted actors pronounce the name correctly (i.e., as the French would pronounce it); the

remaining non-French cast members pronounce the name as English-speakers would. This creates a disconnect between the characters and affects the overall effect of the film; had the characters all spoken English with French accents, the linguistic elements of the source film may have been more cohesive. In the dubbed version, this isolation is lost because the voice actors of the dubbing team were French voice actors who spoke French with French accents. Therefore, the source audience sees a representation of French culture through and American/British lens, while the French audience hears a more authentic representation of their language.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CASE STUDY: POST-DISAGREEMENT FILMS

SECTION ONE

RUSH HOUR 3

This film is an action comedy following two policemen as they try to solve a big case. In following with the themes of the two preceding films in the *Rush Hour* series, Detective James Carter – an obnoxious and outspoken American officer – and Detective Lee – a quiet, hardworking Chinese-American officer – find themselves in pursuit of the Triad gang. The pair of detectives navigate the streets of Paris, overcoming obstacles in a comedic fashion. In this third instalment of the franchise, their pursuit leads them to Paris where they encounter a taxi cab driver, Georges. Throughout the second half of the film, Georges' presence creates an environment for both anti-American and anti-French discourse through use of humour, stereotypical references and action sequences.

Rush Hour 3 was released in the United States of America in August of 2007; the dubbed film was released in France in October of 2007 under the English title. Domestically, the film grossed over $140 million, with a foreign gross total of nearly $118 million (Allociné; Box Office Mojo).

The two previous films were set in the United States of America with partial plots lines in China (for the second film). This film, the third in its series, was set in France; this could have simply been an arbitrary, creative decision, however the timing in relation to the Disagreement brings the question of motivation into play. During the second half of the film, when the action takes place in Paris, France, the dialogue between the two lead characters and French civilians is

full of stereotypical references. Such language has been marked for analysis and will be examined for ideological contention.

<div align="center">DISPLAYS OF FRENCHNESS/AMERICANNESS</div>

0:09:55	Sergeant: "Last month you put 6 Iranians in jail for a week."	« T'as mis un groupe d'Iraniens en taule toute une semaine. »
	Carter: "You and I both know **them Iranians** was terrorists."	« Vous savez comme moi qu'**ils** faisaient **partie d'un groupe** de terroristes! »
	Sergeant: "They were scientists at UCLA!"	« C'était des scientifiques d'UCLA! »
	Carter: "Big deal. Cause they cure cancer in rats doesn't mean they **won't blow shit up**."	« Bien entendu! Parce qu'ils soignent des rats malades ils ne sont plus capables de **faire des bombes?** »

In this scene, Police Inspectors Carter and Lee have just run into their Sergeant in their local police station. Carter and Lee have just returned from a street chase in which a lethal assassin escaped from their pursuit – a pursuit during which public property was damaged and civilian lives were endangered. Moments prior to the above exchange, Carter is begging his Sergeant to return him to Inspector duties, as he is currently on probation for misconduct for detaining individuals based on discriminatory criteria. Above, Carter is defending his actions (i.e., having wrongfully profiled and detained Iranian scientists based on their ethnicity, presuming that they were terrorists). The affiliation of the scientists with an American university (i.e., UCLA) was irrelevant to Carter, who deemed the Iranians terrorists regardless of their work and association with a prestigious American institution. The Sergeant's character represents the logical, non-xenophobic U.S. population that does not view terrorists/extremists as the representation of all people who share their ethnicity or religious beliefs.

Through Carter's character, this scene demonstrates the stereotypical 'anti-Middle East American citizen' that emerged following the terrorist attacks in 2001, and the hysteria

surrounding the Iraq war and anti-Other propaganda of 2003. In the source dialogue, this is evident by Carter's use of "them Iranians"; "them" carrying the negative connotation of the outgroup, indicating that the Iranians in question are a part of 'them', rather than 'us', despite the fact that they work for an American university[13]. Furthermore, Carter explicitly states that the Iranians were "terrorists", implying that such information was obvious and undeniable. The English version makes explicit that an American authoritative figure (Carter) found the Iranian researchers to be questionable, thus commenting on an element of Americanness within the context of turn-of-the-century United States. By use of humour, Carter's character is poking fun at the ignorance that existed within the U.S. at that time; an element of Americanness is being represented and simultaneously mocked in the original version.

The dubbed dialogue intervenes in the xenophobia of Carter's character: "Iranians" is replaced with the subject pronoun "ils" [back translation: they], and "[are] terrorists" is replaced by "[are] *part of* a terrorist *group*" (my emphasis). The explicitation of "Iranians" is removed, as is the structural opposition of "them". Additionally, the accusation of being "terrorists" is reduced to being a mere member of a terrorist group; this effectively shifts from "terrorists" as a noun, to 'terrorist' as an adjective, effectively toning down the racism of the dialogue. These shifts complicate the dubbing; the closed- and semi-closed lip movements of 'f' (faisaient) and 'p' (partie, groupe) in the French dubbing are not present in the original English. This suggests that such shifts were intentional and ideology-based, and not a technical manipulation: "…it is […] important and revealing to ask what has been left out or added and what ideological work this does" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 39).

The shift at the end of Carter's last line is also significant. The source dialogue, "blow shit up" affiliates the Middle Eastern scientists with the action of physically destroying property

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[13] In this utterance, "them" is also an indicator of class (of the speaker).

or lives. The French dubbing distances the Iranians from the destruction; by use of "faire des bombes" [back translation: making bombs] they are simply described as having the ability to *create* a weapon, rather than in the English where the weapons would actually be *used*. Furthermore, the syntactical structure of the sentence changed during translation. In the original dialogue, Carter's utterance is not a question, rather a statement with the implicit message that their intellectual and academic merits have nothing to do with terrorist nature; the use of "doesn't mean that they won't" implies that they very well may. The dubbing shifts this idea into a rhetorical question where their status as scientists correlates (as mentioned above) with the ability to create a weapon, rather than asserting that even scientists can be terrorists.

These manipulations are certainly connected with the surrounding political ideology of the time, rather than technical in nature. It appears that the dubbing team determined that the French audience would not find humour in the above representation of Americanness (a representation that also negatively represents a Middle-Eastern culture); thus, the dubbed dialogue was manipulated to minimize offense to the French audience regarding a topic that would be present and contentious for most viewers. In essence, the humour gleaned from this display of Americanness was not congruous with French humour and was therefore manipulated. This scene takes place early in the film; an offensive, ill-placed utterance of humour would have negatively affected the film's success.

0:27:10	French Detective: "Now that I have your attention **why don't you tell me** what you cops are looking for here in Paris."	« À présent que j'ai votre attention, **vous allez avouer** pourquoi deux flics comme vous sont venus fouiner à Paris. »
	Carter: "I told you, man. We're here on vacation."	« On est deux types qui prennent des vacances, OK ? »
	Lee: "**Just taking in the sights**."	« **On vient voir la Tour Eiffel**. »

	French Detective: "Gentlemen. This is my city, and I am responsible if two stupid cops come **here** and get their heads blown off by the triads."	« **Écoutez-moi**. Ici, c'est mon territoire. Et je serai responsable si jamais deux flics stupides débarquent **en France** et se font buter par les Triades. »

The above exchange takes place at the airport in Paris. While waiting for their luggage at the baggage claim, Carter and Lee are approached by French security and escorted to a private room for some questioning. The scene cuts to the two American officers handcuffed to the ceiling and being beaten with phonebooks while the French detective prepares to question them. In the dialogue above, the speaker's mouth is visible in all instances.

The scene demonstrates a shift in the manner in which the French detective conducts himself. The original dialogue uses soft, diplomatic terms; for example, "why don't you tell me…" and "gentlemen". The dubbing, on the other hand, represents the French detective as more assertive, authoritative and in control: "vous allez avouer…" [back translation: you will confess…] and "Écoutez-moi" [back translation: Listen up] to replace the English dialogue's more gentle plea for attention, "Gentlemen". In reviewing the lip movements in this scene, these shifts do not appear to have occurred due to synchronization difficulties.

Lee's dialogue demonstrates a shift from presupposition. As stated by Machin and Mayr (2012, 153), "all language use is filled with presupposition." In English, Lee's character presupposes that the viewer is aware of the sights that Paris has to offer. The actual reference to a typical tourist site in Paris is absent, and France is represented invisibly. The dubbed dialogue shifts from the implicit to the explicit by making one of France's most notable cultural icons visible in the dialogue. Similarly, the last sentence of the dubbing above replaces "here" with an explicit reference to "en France" [back translation: in France]. A related shift occurs in the example below, when Carter is commenting on the beauty of French woman, Geneviève:

0:58:40	Carter: "No wonder Lance Armstrong came all the way here **to ride a bike**."	« Je comprends pourquoi Lance Armstrong a **passé toutes ces années à faire le Tour de France**. »

The French dubbing inserts the reference to the Tour de France, when the original reference was merely "rid[ing] a bike"[14]. Van Dijk discusses discourse as a form of mind control that "reproduces dominance and hegemony" (2008, 91). In these instances, the dubbing team has effectively given visibility to elements of Frenchness that were implicit (presupposed) in the original dialogue, thus combatting the power of the English language in controlling the 'how' and 'when' in representing Frenchness. The dubbed dialogue consistently regains controls of French representation which is a type of intervention that is undoubtedly ideologically motivated (particularly given the contentious environment within which the film was dubbed).

0:28:40	Georges: "Americans. I don't drive Americans."	« Les Américains! Je conduis pas les Américains. »
	Lee: "But I'm Chinese."	« Mais je suis Chinois. »
	Georges: "Yeah, but you're with him [points to Carter]. And they're the most violent people on Earth. Always starting wars, always killing people. Americans make me sick."	« Oui, mais vous êtes avec lui et il y a pas plus violent que les Américains sur Terre. Ils déclenchent les guerres, ils tuent des gens partout. Les Américains me font gerber. »
	Carter: "Look man, we're not in the mood for this. Me and my partner just got **violated** by a small Frenchman."	« On n'est pas trop d'humeur. **Alors tu remballes tes foutaises**. Mon pauvre partenaire **s'est fait doigter** par un petit Français **de merde**. »
	Lee: "Wearing a very large ring!"	« **Ce pervers** avait une très grosse bague! »
	[…]	[…]

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[14] This example has multiple levels (which, for space constraints, will not be discussed in detail), including another instance of Hollywood sexualisation of a French woman by image (Carter is lying in bed, staring at a semi-nude French woman) and dialogue (sexual connotation of "riding").

	Carter: "You want violence smelly Frenchman, huh?"	« Tu veux de la violence, **petit fromage puant?** »

This exchange takes place between Carter, Lee and a French taxi driver named Georges. Georges has just informed the two inspectors that he doesn't drive Americans, because they are "the most violent people on Earth". The noteworthy shift between the two language versions in this scene occurs in Carter and Lee's protests. This scene is the first in which the two inspectors (representing Americanness and American authority) interact with a French civilian. Georges, representing the average Frenchman, voices his negative perception of the United States of America – in particular, its pervasive violence. His allusion to "starting wars" and "killing people" is a direct commentary on the Disagreement and the anti-American sentiment that followed; already, the scene is ideologically-charged. In the original dialogue, Carter's protest to Georges' refusal to drive American passengers is articulated with exasperation and frustration, but without vulgarity. During the dubbing process, two insults (against the French) have been added to Carter's dialogue, and one insult added to Lee's dialogue. While "we're not in the mood for this" is represented in the translation, the French dubbing also adds an additional line that does not exist in the original: "Alors tu remballes tes foutaises" [back translation: So cut the crap]. The dubbing also changes: "small Frenchman" to "petit Français de merde" [back translation: small, shitty Frenchman] and "smelly Frenchman" to "petit fromage puant" [back translation: small, stinky cheese].

> "To refer to the *same* persons, groups, social relations or social issues, language users generally have a choice of several words, depending on discourse genre, personal context (mood, opinion, perspective), social context (formality, familiarity, group membership, dominance relations) and

sociocultural context (language variants, sociolect, norms and values). Many of

these contexts are ideologically based…" (Van Dijk 1995, 25)

This last line becomes more derogatory in the French dubbing; "fromage" could have been translated as "Français" so that no shift occurred during the translation, although it could be argued that the closed-mouth shape of 'm' in "Frenchman" better corresponds with the 'm' in "fromage".

Lee's line shifts syntactical structure to add an insult that does not exist in the original line: "Ce pervers" [back translation: This pervert]. These additions represent ideological work: "since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the author for their own motivated reasons" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 32). Via these shifts, the dubbing team is representing the American character as more vulgar than he was presented to the original audience. This accurately corresponds with the image of an overly violent United States of America that was circulating in France at that time – an image that played a part in the discourse surrounding anti-American ideology. Such overlexicalisation "…gives a sense of over-persuasion and is normally evidence that something is problematic or of ideological contention" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 37).

Additionally, "violated" was translated by "s'est fait doigter", which is a more graphic choice of words as compared to the original; a more direct translation, "violer", would have easily satisfied the rules of synchronization for "violated". The exchange continues in disagreement between Carter and Georges regarding the violent nature of the United States:

| 0:28:50 | Georges: "You are a pathetic bunch of criminals who always resort to violence. Always pushing around the little guy." | « Vous êtes une petite bande de criminels qui a toujours recours à la violence. Toujours en s'attaquant au plus petit que soi. » |
| | Carter: "Man, **that stopped being true. America** is not violent!" | « **Les Américains** sont pas des **gens** violents. » |

Carter's statement, "that stopped being true" presupposes truth in Georges' claim: "[Americans] are a pathetic bunch of criminals who always resort to violence. Always pushing around the little guy." The original dialogue is therefore admitting that – in the past – there has been truth to Georges' belief. The dubbing, however, removes Carter's self-reflection on Americanness. The statement, "that stopped being true", is removed entirely from the French dubbing, thus removing an admission of fault from an American character (an admission of fault that would agree with the position of the French) regarding the subject of American-issued violence that was contentious during that time. In this case, Americanness is represented differently to the two linguistic audiences; the American-alignment with French values is removed in the dubbed dialogue. To replace this dialogue, "America is not violent" is syntactically shifted so that the phrase takes up the full length of Carter's mouth movement. While Carter states that America (the country) is not violent in English, the French dubbing shifts to state that Americans (the people) are not violent; this idea is more in line with the French distrust of the administration of the United States (i.e., the country and its governing bodies) rather than distrust of the U.S. population in general. The violence of the Iraq war, and the decisions that were made in regards to it, were not made by the American public, and this shift redistributes the fault: "At no point in this text are we told overtly how we should interpret this conflict, yet this is clearly indicated through lexical choices which create an opposition" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 42). This example is particularly interesting; Georges' dialogue is an American depiction of an anti-American

Frenchman, which is then translated by a French team trying to recreate anti-French sentiment for a Frenchman as written by an American. In the shifts that occur during this scene, it is clear that ideological work is at play. As Van Dijk states, "Underlying ideologies also control communicative contexts…", and semantic strategies such as apparent denial, concession and transferring blame are the discursive manifestations of ideology (1995, 27). Below, the interaction continues:

| 0:29:00 | Georges: "Come on, America is a joke. You lost in Vietnam, you lost in Iraq. You can't even beat the Europeans in basketball anymore. The 'dream team' is dead." | « Arrête. Ton Amérique, c'est une blague. Vous avez perdu au Vietnam et en Irak. Vous n'arrivez même au plus à battre les Européens au basket. La 'dream team' c'est fini. » |
| | Carter: "[Sarcastic laugh] I didn't hear you, man. Talk about the NBA again. I dare you. I double dare you." | « [Sarcastic laugh] Tu déconnes, j'espère. **T'es mort si jamais** tu critiques encore la NBA. » |

In this example, Carter's threat is implicit, but the exact nature of the threat is unknown. The dubbed dialogue shifts this by inserting an explicit threat of death: "T'es mort si jamais tu…" [back translation: You're dead if you ever…]. While it is possible that this shift occurs to satisfy the closed-mouth shapes of 'p', 'm' and 'b', the dubbing team has still settled on a representation of the American character that differs from the original in an important way. To the French audience, Carter's character is aggressive and portrays the image of a trigger-happy American that accurately suits the anti-American sentiment of the French during that time period. Again, the depiction of Americanness is different in the two versions.

| 0:29:10 | Georges: "I love America. **Please** don't kill me." | « J'aime l'Amérique. Me tuez pas. » |

At the end of the exchange, Georges begs Carter not to kill him. This dialogue is spoken off screen, allowing the dubbing team freedom from synchronization-related constraints. The translated dialogue, "Me tuez pas" [back translation: Don't kill me] removes the begging element (i.e., "please"), so that Georges' character is not reduced to cowardice. Machin and Mayr comment on such use of discourse (i.e., suppression) by noting that some manifestations of language "…may be completely suppressed or concealed for the purposes of legitimizing a particular ideology" (2012, 26) – here, removing the American notion of the cowardly Frenchman, which opposes the self-perception of the French population. This shift is ideologically-founded; because the speaker's mouth is not visible, the shift can be deemed an ideological manipulation rather than a technical manipulation.

SECTION TWO:

THE PINK PANTHER

The Pink Panther, starring Steve Martin as Inspector Clouseau, is a Hollywood continuation of the *Pink Panther* series from the 1990. The film is a family, slapstick-style comedy that follows Inspector Clouseau, an incompetent, bumbling French policeman as he tries to solve crime. In this 2006 film, a rare diamond called 'The Pink Panther' diamond has been stolen following the public murder of the coach of France's national soccer team. Chief Inspector Dreyfus (also a recurring character throughout the decades of this film series) assigns the murder case to Inspector Clouseau in the hopes that he will not only fail to solve the case, but also disgrace himself in the process. Dreyfus plans to solve the case himself behind the scenes (and

therefore without the watchful eye of the nation) which results in a series of obstacles that further distract Clouseau on his mission to solve the murder case. Clouseau's character is famous for being a French man played by an English-speaker who speaks English in a ridiculous French accent. The first film in the series was released in 1963 by American Director Blake Edwards, featuring Peter Sellers as Inspector Clouseau. The first nine *Pink Panther* films were directed by Blake Edwards; his last film was released in 1993. The current film, released in 2006, was the first to be released under a different director, Shawn Levy, starring Steve Martin as the new lead character.

The Pink Panther was released in the United States in February of 2006; the French dubbed version was released in France in March of 2006 by Twentieth Century Fox France under the translated title, *La Panthère Rose.* The film grossed over $82 million domestically and nearly $77 million internationally (Allociné; Box Office Mojo).

The entire film is a representation of Frenchness (i.e., French language, people, and government) as portrayed by the American institution, Hollywood. Stereotypes and supposed innocuous humour are used to represent nationality and gender; the result is a rich source from which ideological information may be gleaned. Furthermore, this film was written and released following the Disagreement. Though humour is achieved at the cost of French people and language, the film was well received in France. The dialogue that has been marked for translation highlights stereotypes and/or humour of which French language or people were the target.

| 0:11:50 | Nicole: "The Minister of Justice sent around a new picture of himself but it was bigger than Inspector Dreyfus' picture. So, the Chief Inspector had a larger one made. You'll find that Paris **can be a very political place**." | « Le Ministre de la justice a envoyé un portrait tout nouveau de lui, mais il était plus grand que celui du commissaire principal Dreyfus, alors le commissaire en a fait faire un plus grand. Vous verrez qu'à Paris **la politique est vraiment très importante**. » |

This scene pokes fun at French administration; Nicole, the secretary to Chief Inspector Dreyfus, is hanging portraits in a hallway of a French government building. In this first encounter with Clouseau, she explains why she is removing a smaller portrait of Dreyfus and replacing it with one of equal size beside an existing portrait of another high-ranking officer. The shift in the dialogue occurs when referring to the political nature of the city of Paris. To recall, this scene is an American depiction of French government and administration – one in which the seriousness and validity of the French government is diminished and criticized through humour. The comment, "You'll find that Paris can be a very political place" is referring to the triviality of the portrait matter, thus suggesting that the political leaders of Paris focus on insignificant issues rather than the pressing issues of the world. This is an example where a shift may be expected, particularly in the context of the post-Disagreement years.

The shift occurs in the last line, where the dubbed dialogue shifts to "Vous verrez qu'à Paris la politique est vraiment tres importante" [back translation: You'll find that in Paris, politics are very important]. Syntactically, the subject of the phrase shifts from "Paris" in the English version to "politics" in the dubbed version; therefore, the focus of the phrase is relocated. With regards to ideology, such relocation can be purposeful in shifting attention or focus as per the author's desire. Van Dijk refers to the role of CDA in identifying significance

via syntax: "…events and actions may be described with syntactic variations that are a function of the underlying involvement of actors (e.g., their agency, responsibility and perspective)" (2008, 95). The English utterance contains a negative connotation: "can be a very political place" carries the meaning that the political nature of Paris is not a positive attribute to the city; "political" used as an adjective carries a different weight than "politics" as a noun. Furthermore, the English phrase appears to be mocking French administration – the way the phrase is uttered seems to imply that France is not actually very in tune with political matters. In this way, this instance reflects Frenchness, but it also reflects Americanness; it represents American beliefs, though veiled and delivered through a French character. In the dubbed dialogue, the notion of politics is shifted from adjective to noun, and the term appears more neutral; furthermore, the word "important" is added to the French dialogue, creating a more positive connotation than in the original line.

In terms of synchronization, the shift occurred successfully due to the preservation of the numerous closed-mouth 'p' sounds in the dubbed version. However, while they are lesser options, it may have been possible to use alternative translations such as, "Vous verrez que Paris est une ville tres politique" or "Vous verrez que Paris est une ville très politisée" (in which the lip movements of 'v', 't' and 'p' are still honoured).

| 0:17:39 | Clouseau: "Killer, I will find you. Because I am a servant of the nation. Because justice is justice. And because France is France!" | « Assassin ! Je vous trouverai un jour. Parce que je suis au service de la nation, parce que la justice est la justice, et parce que la France est la France ! » |

One of the major components to the humour of this film is the accent of the lead character, Inspector Clouseau. In the original version, Clouseau speaks English with a farcical French

accent. In the English version of the above example, Clouseau's accent sounds silly, as if mocking the French accent. Moreover, his character sporadically speaks with a lisp throughout the film; he does not always mispronounce words or have difficulty with certain sounds, but at other times he does. Above, when pronouncing "France" in the original version, the pronunciation is actually, "Fwance." Clouseau does not always pronounce "France" in this manner. This is an example of a surface structure that is not presented to the French audience; rather, the dubbed French version of this utterance is articulate and clear. Van Dijk argues that: "Whereas the meanings of the text may not explicitly express or encode prejudice or social inequality, surface structures may let 'transpire' such 'hidden' meanings anyway" (1995, 23); this emphasizes the subtle, subconscious nature of surface structures within audiovisual material and its ability to silently influence audience perception regarding certain people, languages, professions, populations, etc. This translational shift is rather subtle, and it could be argued as a preservation or respect for the French language on the part of the dubbing team. Ultimately, the French language is represented differently to the two linguistic audiences. To further the discussion regarding surface structures – particularly the pride associated with language – the below example is interesting:

0:36:25	Yuri: [Speaks English with Russian accent]	[Speaks French with Russian accent]
	Clouseau: "I'll be honest with you. I find your accent quite f**u**nny. Where are you from? […] You need to work on your accent.	« Pour ne rien vous cacher, je trouve rigolo comme vous parlez. Vous venez de quel pays? […] Travaillez un peu l'accent. »

In this scene, Clouseau is speaking with Yuri, a trainer for France's national soccer team. The humour in this scene is found in the irony of Clouseau criticizing another speaker based on their

accent, particularly when speaking a foreign language. Clouseau mispronounces his own language while criticizing Yuri for mispronouncing his non-native language. Accented speech is a means through which social disparages or social relations are conveyed (Van Dijk 1995, 24). Clouseau's character is outrageous in many ways, and his accent is merely one component of his absurdity. It is true that "accents may […] signal or express prestige, accommodation, dominance, resistance of other ideologically controlled social relations" (ibid.). In this way, Clouseau's manner of speaking is a (mis)representation of Frenchness that is manipulated in the dubbed version. It appears that the manipulation is ideologically motivated, rather than technically-motived. The element of humour in the original is found in making fun of the French and the way their language sounds to English speakers; this element is not transferred in quite the same way to the French audience. It is important to note that the more 'intelligent' characters (such as Chief Inspector Dreyfus and Clouseau's driver, Ponton), speak in English with a true French accent; however, both of these characters are portrayed by French actors, making their English-speaking French accents more natural and legitimate. Clouseau and the innocent-yet-simple and naïve secretary, Nicole, are portrayed by non-French actors/actresses (American and British, respectively). When the film was dubbed, the voice actors that portrayed these characters were also French voice actors, thus eliminating the element of the 'foreign' in their speech – an element that was humorous to the American viewer by poking fun at the French and their language.

Overall, this film, *The Pink Panther,* differed from *Rush Hour 3* in that the rest of the shifts identified could (in some way) be tied to technical manipulation. That is not to say that frequent ideological manipulation did not occur, but most shifts could also be connected to adherence to synchronization constraints; this makes it difficult to isolate the ideological

connection to the shift. Such instances have not been included here, due to the fact that ideological significance cannot be identified with a degree of certainty. There were other instances, such as the example below, where a shift did *not* occur. Based on the analyses of other examples taken from the two films in this chapter, there was reasonable expectation that the below English dialogue could encounter a shift:

0:50:30	Board leader: "…an average Frenchman."	« …un Français moyen. »

In this scene, a board of important administrators are deliberating the nominees for the award of the nation's 'Medal of Honour'. While Clouseau has been presented as socially inept and lacking intelligence throughout the film, he is referred to here as an "average Frenchman". The board members feel that Clouseau should be nominated as a civilian representing the general French population. Throughout the film, Clouseau's shortcomings are noticed by other French characters (i.e., via facial expressions, comments). In this way, the film's representation of Clouseau is not uniform with the depiction of all French roles; for example, the French character of Ponton (Clouseau's bodyguard and driver) clues-in the audience to the oddity of Clouseau as both a person and as a detective. Clouseau is an obnoxious representation of a Frenchman and Frenchness, so it is strange that he would be characterized as an "average Frenchman" to an audience of actual French viewers. In recalling that this film (and scene) is an American depiction of French administration, it would not have been surprising if a shift had occurred in the dubbing of this utterance. The dialogue is suggesting that French authorities believe that Clouseau is representative of the general French population; while this may be the understanding of American viewers, it would surely not be the opinion of the average French viewer.

Furthermore, this utterance occurs off screen, meaning that the dubbing team did not need to make use of a close-lipped 'm' sound to account for the mouth movement of "Frenchman" on screen (although "moyen" in the dubbing does satisfy this criterion). Therefore, there were no technical constraints preventing the team from intervening in this utterance. It is possible that the dubbing team found this utterance to be innocuous (particularly, perhaps, as is it a child-friendly, family film bound for youth viewers that are awaiting humour and entertainment rather than political commentary).

CHAPTER FIVE:

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter will first look at the linguistic elements that were seen in the films, followed by a discussion regarding the types of shifts that occurred; it will explore translational and ideological differences and similarities, and will provide a commentary concerning the findings of the analyses conducted in the previous two chapters. Section one will begin with a brief overview of findings and patterns within each film – specifically in relation to Van Dijk's three Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) categories (and their linguistic elements) as outlined in chapter two: lexical/semantic choice, local semantics, and surface structures. This will be followed by a more detailed explanation of the micro-level findings displayed in chapters three and four. The remainder of this chapter will be a macro-level discussion of the analysis and its implications.

> "So why should we concern ourselves with how translation is presented on the big screen? One starting point is that to ignore one of the most important intertextual resources of people living in the modern world is a kind of blindness bordering on folly. That is to say, given the continuing popularity of cinema, on both the big and the small screen, and the intensely global nature of its dissemination over a very long period, motion pictures are a potent source of images and representation of what translation might or might not involve. Demonstrating the importance of translation to interlingual and intercultural contact and heightening the visibility of translation and translators, demands that we look more closely at a medium where translation has long been a

matter of visible thematic and representational concern. […] The dismissal of Hollywood blockbusters as mindless pap is another variation on a centuries-old trope in the hermeneutics of learned suspicion." (Cronin 2009, xi)

<center>SECTION ONE</center>

<center>OVERVIEW OF LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS (PER FILM)</center>

This case study resulted in a total of 22 shifts that were found to be of linguistic and/or ideological manipulation, rather than solely technical manipulation. While most of the shifts in the pre-Disagreement category were technical manipulations, some of them did contain non-political ideological influence. The majority of the examples in the post-Disagreement chapter, however, contained shifts that did not occur for synchronization adherence; rather some type of intervention occurred (whether consciously or subconsciously) that was connected with ideology and/or the surrounding political context.

In the pre-Disagreement films, there were a number of shifts in the category of 'Lexicon/semantic choice'. Lexical choices are important because language usually presents a number of terms to represent an idea; when there is more than one term that could have been used, why is one chosen over another? The term selected can reveal a motivation; this is particularly true in the case of translation, where a specific term in the target language is chosen when multiple equivalents were available to choose from. If the target language term selected does not reflect the source language term as closely as possible, or if there is a target language term that would have been more faithful, yet was not chosen, this is indicative of underlying ideological information.

In their dubbed versions, suppression occurred in both *French Kiss* and *The Man in the Iron Mask*, with an instance of addition in the latter film. In the case of translation, suppression is the removal of an idea or a term that existed in the source dialogue, while addition refers to an extra idea or term in the target dialogue that was not present in the original dialogue. Both films also encountered neutralization, overlexicalisation as well as a shift in connotation. Shifts occurred in the category of 'Local semantics' as well. To recall, 'Local semantics' refer to cultural representations that are associated with particular contexts, such as time and place. It relates to "underlying mental models" of participants on both ends of the discursive interaction – in this case, film viewers in two separate nations in times of peace and conflict with one another. As explained by Van Dijk (1995, 26), "…ideologically shaped discourse semantics may, in turn, affect the biased construction of models by recipients if they have no alternative information sources"; in this regard, local semantics are an important element of discourse because they actively contribute to ideas that are associated with their surroundings. In film translation, local semantics play a significant role – disseminated language within a specific context can be different to those on opposite sides of a shared experience, even though translations are supposed to represent the same experience to both parties. As a part of 'Local semantics', shifts in regards to presupposition were present in both films. Presupposition deals with "what kinds of meanings are assumed as given in a text", what Norman Fairclough (1995, 107) calls the "pre-constructed elements" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 153). Due to the fact that "much of how we process texts is of course subconscious […] what is presented as given, as not requiring definition, is deeply ideological" (ibid.). A key component of presupposition is implicitness. As Van Dijk explains (1995, 27):

"…in principle, all information that is detrimental to the ingroup will tend to remain implicit, and information that is unfavourable to the outgroup will be made explicit, and vice versa (our negative points and their positive points will remain implicit). […] In both cases, the ideologically controlled goal of such discourse is the management of self-serving and preferred models of social situations."

A battle of meaning via implicit-versus-explicit language was present in all films. The only film that encountered an ideologically-based shift regarding the last linguistic category, 'Surface structures', was *The Pink Panther*; but the ideological connection was regarding stereotype rather than political representation. The films in the post-Disagreement chapter experienced shifts from the same types of linguistic elements as those in the pre-Disagreement chapter, but were different in that some of their shifts could be associated with the surrounding political context (thus providing ideological motivation for the manipulations that occurred). The majority of the shifts from the pre-Disagreement category were 'lighter' shifts (i.e., pertaining to stereotypes or technical difficulties). The dubbed version of *Rush Hour 3* contained shifts in regards to suppression, addition and neutralization. It also encountered a shift in situational representation, with numerous shifts pertaining to presupposition. No 'Surface structure' shifts (that could not be attributed to technical requirements) were identified. The dubbed version of *The Pink Panther* encountered connotation-related shifts as well as one shift in surface structure. To recall, 'Surface structures' refer to the more abstract elements of discourse, such as intonation, stress, volume and accented speech:

"With a few exceptions, such surface structures of text and talk do not have explicit 'meanings' of their own. They are only the conventional

manifestations of underlying 'meanings'. Yet, such surface structures may

express and convey special operations or strategies." (Van Dijk 1995, 23)

Such elements can "signal interpersonal and social relations, and, therefore, ideological

meanings" (ibid. 24). Finally, as CDA is, in essence, "the study of 'implicit' or 'indirect'

meanings in texts" (Machin and Mayr 2012, 30), it is fitting that the majority of shifts within this

case study pertain to the manipulation of representation in regards to the implicit or explicit, as

will be discussed below.

Shifts, or interventions, can be classified as technical manipulations or ideological

manipulations (or, in extreme cases, as an act of censorship). Technical manipulation refers to

innocuous interventions, while ideological manipulation refers to motivated alterations that hold

deeper responsibility, even if they are outwardly innocuous. Ideological manipulation is

intervention that appears[15] to be motivated, contrary to technical manipulation that is due to

synchronization constraints of the medium (i.e., if the dubbing team did not adhere to these

constraints, a poor translation and/or poor viewing experience would result).

SHIFTS EXHIBITED IN PRE-DISAGREEMENT FILMS

Having viewed the linguistic examples within the pre- and post-Disagreement films, the

shifts can be identified as achieving (or not achieving) a certain goal; even if two shifts were

different in a linguistic sense (i.e., a lexical element versus a local semantic element), they can

have the same end effect on the viewer. The pre-Disagreement film *French Kiss* demonstrated a

number of changes regarding explicitation and implicitation via various linguistic elements.

Explicit references to French places, people, language or culture were altered (or removed

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[15] Without confirmation from the dubbing team, it is impossible to determine with complete accuracy whether or not the intervention was, in fact, purposeful.

entirely) when the context could be negatively associated to the French item in question (i.e., the suppression of the term "Paris" in the dubbed dialogue where the city is associated with a place of distaste and fear; the neutralization of a hyper-sexual depiction of French women). On the contrary, explicit references to U.S. places, people, language or culture were altered (or removed entirely); this was seen in the suppression of a generic U.S. reference (though this was likely to comply with domestication policies), as well as removal of the visibility of the English language (also a likely result of technical restriction). Furthermore, the dubbing made use of overlexicalisation and addition to negatively represent the U.S. in explicit terms. Interestingly, some implicit negative references to French places, people, language and culture shift to explicit negative references to U.S. people, places, language or culture, rather than being removed; for example, negativity of French people (attitude, outlook) shifted to arrogance of U.S. people. The dubbed version also suppressed an implied reference to the Franco-American cultural dichotomy (that exists by use and re-use of stereotypes); the dubbed dialogue simplified national opposition to inter-character opposition (thus removing the implied anti-Other connotation of the original). Overall, the shifts in this film appeared to be connected to technical aspects, with any ideological intervention being connected only to stereotypes (rather than the 'heavy' ideology of politics or inter-cultural conflict).

In *The Man in the Iron Mask*, a film also created in a context of Franco-American peace, similar interventions were found. Explicit references to French places, people, language or culture were altered (or removed entirely) where the reference may be implied, redundant or unnecessary to a French audience. For example, the removal of the term "France"; replacing "France" with "kingdom" ("royaume") and "Louis" with "king" ("roi"). However, such shifts likely occurred to comply with local norms; they are innocuous and in line with presenting the

target audience with a film that complies with standard expectations. Explicit reference to French history is reframed from a negative connotation to a positive one; this occurred in the dubbed description of "seizing power" regarding the Bastille (as compared with the original idea of "destruction"). This film was also the only film that demonstrated shifts in relation to religious references; the dubbed dialogue encountered both addition and suppression of a religious reference when representing the people or culture of France, dependant on whether the context was positive or negative. For example, the dubbing added "Christian" when referring to the people of Paris (in a positive context), yet removed "God" in a scene depicting suicide (i.e., a negative context). These shifts appear to be deliberate, but they have no connection to political contention, which fits the pre-Disagreement environment. In the first instance, the shift appears to be a correction (i.e., ensuring historical accuracy), while the second shift likely occurred to comply with stylistic norms (i.e., avoiding unnecessary repetition). The last notable item in this film was that implicit references to French people, places language or culture were made explicit when the context was positive (i.e., giving the French visibility through dialogue).

Overall, the dubbing of the *French Kiss* and *The Man in the Iron Mask* films does not demonstrate ideologically-driven intervention. While some shifts are undoubtedly ideologically-based, it is still very possible that they were merely unconscious, innocuous manipulations. The dubbed dialogue appears to be concerned primarily with ensuring that the target audience views a positive representation of themselves, while finding (innocuous) humour in poking fun at the other culture presented. Political content and/or commentary are relatively absent, as is congruous with the peaceful time period.

The analysis took a different turn in the post-Disagreement film chapter, as will now be demonstrated. Firstly, the types of representations of both Frenchness and Americanness are somewhat different than those in the pre-Disagreement category – this could be due to the genre of film, but may also have been influenced by surrounding world events. This then changes the types of shifts that have the potential to occur.

In *Rush Hour 3*, interactions with French characters were altered. For example, the dialogue of French authority figures shifts from polite, passive language to more assertive dialogue when dealing with U.S. authority figures; this takes place via different lexical choices. Furthermore, dubbed dialogue also shifts from discourse that implies French cowardice by removing pleading language. Similar to the pre-Disagreement film shifts, implicit references to French people, places, language or culture are made explicit when the context is positive; presupposition shifts to explicitation. This is done, for example, by giving visibility with the addition of "in France", or with the explicitation of "Tour de France" (to replace "riding a bike"). Representations of U.S. characters interacting with French characters were shifted in a significant way. The dubbed dialogue added insults or vulgarities into the dialogue of U.S. characters when they were speaking to or about French characters (i.e., "ce pervers", "de merde" and "petit fromage"); the effect is such that the U.S. characters appear more vulgar, violent and aggressive than in the original dialogue. Another example is the shift of an implicit threat (spoken by a U.S. character towards a French character) to an explicit threat that was not made in the original dialogue (i.e., "T'es mort si…"). The connection between these shifts, their ideological implications, and the surrounding context of Franco-American political contention is quite clear. Lastly, situational representation between the two language versions changes the way

the U.S. is associated with violence. The disassociation of violence from the U.S. (the country) that is allowed in the original dialogue is altered in the dubbing, which allows the disassociation of violence from the *people* of the U.S., rather than their country or administration as a whole. This is done by lexical choice. As discussed in the theoretical framework within chapter two, this idea was congruent with the anti-American sentiment amongst the French population at that time – a sentiment which held little sympathy for the U.S. administration, and attributed blame of violence and aggression to the government while maintaining empathy for its people. This example aligns with the position of the French population in the distrust of the United States of America as a nation, rather than its individuals.

In *The Pink Panther*, representation of the French government – specifically the priorities of Parisian authorities – was reframed with the use of local semantic elements. The shift that occurs reframes the political representation of Frenchness, which is dependent on the surrounding context of the post-Disagreement era. The shift transfers the negative connotation of the dialogue to a more positively framed representation in the dubbed version. There is not a dichotomy per se, rather a reframing that alters the meaning understood by the viewer of each language version. In this scene, the dubbing gains control of the connotation and implicit meaning of the source dialogue. Representation of the French language is also altered so that the dubbed version regains control of the French language (i.e., where the French language is "bastardized" in the original version). For example, the dubbed dialogue changes the accented speech of the lead character so that he pronounces the nation's name correctly. A similar shift occurs in the pronunciation of a regular word, where the dubbed dialogue removes the mispronunciation. Much of the humour in the original version of the film is derived from the style with which the lead character speaks. This style of speech is essentially a mocking of the

French language by an English-language speaker. While the dubbing voice actor could have replicated these mispronunciations, the dubbed version removes this style of speech. Another significant point regarding this film is that shifts did not always occur where a change could have been reasonably expected to have occurred. This refers to dialogue that may be offensive to French identity or (mis)representations of Frenchness; however, such instances of humour may have been left unaltered because they were deemed innocuous, therefore not requiring intervention.

In review, the dubbed language of these two films does portray a level of ideologically-driven manipulation (i.e., interventions that appear to have been purposeful and intentional). In both the English- and French-language versions of each of these films, there are references to and/or representations of French and U.S. administrations, the political nature of the country in question, and American tendency for violence. The differentiating point between the four films is that the pre-Disagreement films make very minimal reference (or no reference at all) towards Franco-American relations, while the post-Disagreement films are full of such references. Essentially, where ideology was a factor in linguistic manipulation of *French Kiss* and *The Man in the Iron* Mask, the manipulation tended to be 'light' – i.e., the shift did not indicate conflict or serious issue. The opposite is true of the post-Disagreement films where most shifts seemed to be directly relatable to the tension that took place in the wake of the Disagreement. This can only be attributed to the context within which each film was made and, as demonstrated above, the context does appear to have played a role in the way select dialogue was dubbed.

HUMOUR AND INNOCUITY

To varying degrees, humour is an element in all of the films – an element that would have contributed to their success both domestically and abroad. In instances where Frenchness or Americanness was represented in an incongruous way, it was typically aligned with humour. To recall, for the purposes of this thesis, humour-based instances are defined as either dialogue within the context of a comedic exchange, or dialogue that is itself the intended source of humour. Not all of the shifts examined in this case study were humour-based. In fact, only 44% of the total shifts fall into the humour-based category, with some shifts occurring in order to eliminate the element of humour altogether. When discussing humour, it is important to consider whether or not the original film was displaying the humour in an innocuous manner. This is important to contemplate because it gives an idea as to whether or not the instance of humour would be subjected to ideological scrutiny by the dubbing team. If an element of humour is not deemed innocuous, that means it would be offensive in some way to the recipient (i.e., an incongruity with cultural representation that would not be well received).

There were two humour-based shifts in *French Kiss*. The first instance of humour can be deemed innocuous as it was not derived from the part of the dialogue where the shift occurs; rather the context and overall scene are the source of humour. Additionally, the shift that altered the humour could have occurred due to domestication preferences of the target audience and French dubbing norms. The second humour-based shift in the film is more difficult to evaluate, meaning that it is possible that the shift was unintentional, but the possibility that it was deliberate cannot be ruled out. The second pre-Disagreement film, *The Man in the Iron Mask*, had only one shift that occurred within a humour-based scene; this is fitting as the film was an

historical action/adventure rather than a comedy film. The humour-based shift in this film appears to be intentional, but may have occurred for stylistic purposes.

The humour-based shifts in the two post-Disagreement films contained humour that was not deemed to be innocuous by the dubbing team. *Rush Hour 3* held the greatest number of humour-based instances where the dubbed version altered from the original dialogue. Only one shift is likely to have been made for reasons other than intent to intervene in the humorous element of the original dialogue. The other instances likely occurred because the source humour would not have been well received (i.e., would be offensive) by the target audience. The scenes themselves are humour-based, but the actual element of humour is derived differently for the source versus target audience. In the dubbed versions, the addition of vulgarities reframed the representations of the U.S. characters, meaning that, for French viewers, the humour is derived from these altered representations of the other culture; on the contrary, the source audience receives humour from the rest of the scene.

In *The Pink Panther*, all of the shifts were connected with humour. One of the humour-based elements that encountered a shift was difficult to definitively label as having been deemed either offensive or innocuous to the target audience, thus requiring alteration. While the scene in itself is humour-based, it is unclear whether the dialogue was altered because it would have been offensive towards the target audience had it been translated more faithfully. Nonetheless, the fact that a shift occurred on this humour-based item (when technical constraints did not necessitate intervention) indicates that the dubbing team had likely found a point of contention requiring some level of intervention for self-protection (on behalf of the French viewer). The humour-based surface structures of this film were removed altogether; in this case, the dubbing team likely determined that the humour appreciated by the source audience would not be suitable for

the target audience (particularly in this instance where the humour was derived at the expense of the target audience's culture – namely, their language). This becomes especially true during a period of Franco-American contention.

To conclude the micro-level analysis of the shifts within the four films, unnecessary intervention occurred in the dubbing of all four films, yet only post-Disagreement shifts could be attributed to political context; pre-Disagreement shifts did not appear to be politically-charged. In his study of films written and distributed in the pre-Disagreement period, Verdaguer found that U.S. films presented stereotypes of Frenchness in an innocuous fashion (2004, 441). The present analysis of pre-Disagreement films confirms this theory. This project aimed to build upon Verdaguer's work, as his research was not conducted from Translation Studies perspective (rather Film Studies), nor did it include films from the post-Disagreement period (the study was published in 2004). Therefore, this case study has found that humour from the pre-Disagreement films is rather based on 'light' humour (such as stereotypes or other re-produced discourse) and their translations reflect varying levels of linguistic intervention. As predicted, the post-Disagreement films utilized current events to enhance the meaning(s) understood and transmitted via humorous elements; their translational interventions appear to be significant with regards to their ideological output.

<div align="center">

SECTION THREE

IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFER AND MANIPULATION

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"…The act of translating is one of the principal and most recurrent ways that

cultures have of dealing with foreign influence. In this negotiation of socio-

cultural values, censorship is often activated in the domestic arena as a forceful

political and ideological means of articulating those representations in a way that would suit the vested interests of those in authority." (Díaz Cintas 2012, 287)

One of the main goals of this project was to explore how translated displays of Frenchness and Americanness (as presented by Hollywood) compared before and after the Disagreement – to see whether biases and stereotypes transferred from one culture to the other, or whether ideological manipulation occurred during the translation process. It has been established that AVT, as a multi-modal method of translation, is a means for both intercultural communication and cross-cultural influence. Via the examinations and comparisons of the shifts in this case study, it has been possible to analyze the shifts that occurred in terms of U.S. portrayals of Frenchness, the French dubbing of U.S. portrayals of Frenchness, and representations of Americanness in the two language versions. While the pre-Disagreement films displayed the usual re-produced French stereotypes, there was a notable lack of political motivation behind the source dialogue and scenes (as compared to films in the post-Disagreement category). Their dubbed representations were shifted in slight ways, but the shifts did not appear to have occurred due to the political ideology of the target nation; rather for obedience to target audience expectation and translational norms.

On the other hand, the interventions within the post-Disagreement films were more easily connected to political motivations and/or ideological factors. Representations of Frenchness and Americanness often differed from the source to target versions. Representation of Americanness as viewed by the target audience was different than that viewed by the source audience – French audiences viewed a more aggressive, violent representation of the U.S., with favour of U.S. people over U.S. administration (in agreement with the French sentiment of that

time period). The representation of Frenchness as viewed by the target audience is also different than that viewed by the source audience – French audiences viewed a more authoritative, assertive and responsible French authority, while U.S. audiences viewed cowardice.

Verdaguer demonstrated that the tendencies for U.S. portrayals of Frenchness had remained relatively consistent throughout history (prior to 2004), yet possible effects of the Disagreement on future portrayals were considered (due to the length, duration and extent of Other-bashing that occurred in the following years) (2004, 441). Another goal of this project was to explore whether the political ideology of the target socio-culture (France) was affecting the information being transferred by the source socio-culture (the United States of America). This case study has confirmed that traces of anti-American sentiment and Francophobia did play a role in both the film writing and translation processes in the post-Disagreement years. Linguistic intervention took place in some post-Disagreement shifts when dialogue was referring to (or situated within) a political context. While shifts of similar linguistic elements (i.e., lexical choice, local semantics) were found in both categories, their effects differed by category: post-Disagreement shifts tended to have a greater effect in changing the way the dialogue or scene was understood by the source audience versus the target audience; some of these shifts were ideologically significant due to the inescapable context within which they took place. In contrast, pre-Disagreement shifts appear to be less connected to ideology, and the meaning(s) understood by the original versus dubbed dialogue/scene were not significantly different for the target audience as compared to the source audience.

> "Another spin off of the cultural turn appreciation of translation is the
> realisation that power and political dominance, rather than the linguistic
> asymmetries between languages, act as motivating factors and catalysts in the

way cultural values are translated, and traded between interested parties." (Díaz

Cintas 2012, 282)

Díaz Cintas highlights the importance of politics and ideological factors in both translation proper and translation research. He reiterates the significance of the context within which a project is translated; the role of politics and the environment it creates for translational projects can have consequences on both the process and the product. This is particularly true for dubbing projects that are widely disseminated, and that generally stem from the hegemonic institution that is America's Hollywood. Indeed, Díaz Cintas' notion that the cultural turn in Translation Studies was important for acknowledging the importance of ideology in translation (as a whole) and translational decisions has been found true for this research project.

The last inquiry of this case study was to determine whether the French dubbing appeared to be resisting or manipulating content post-Disagreement that was not interfered with pre-Disagreement. It has been established that manipulation did occur in some shifts of the post-Disagreement categories: the types of shifts that occurred were representative of ideological manipulation in relation to Franco-American relations, while the shifts from pre-Disagreement films were more representative of manipulation of existing ideologies that were not in connection with Franco-American relations. This confirms the importance (and impact of) context regarding manipulation and intervention (technical or ideological) in dubbing processes of widely disseminated films stemming from Hollywood. It is difficult to say where in the

process these changes took place – did the distribution company determine that intervention was required, or was the dubbing team responsible for that decision[16]?

> "As in the case of any other social activity, translation is not carried out in a vacuum and cannot, therefore, be exempt from a certain degree of subjectivity and bias on the part of the translator and the rest of the agents involved in the translational process. In the way that reality and fiction are portrayed in the original work, conceived through the director's own subjective lens, translation and translators also add their particular vision, conditioned by the socio-cultural environment and by the rules governing the period in which they operate." (Díaz Cintas 2012, 282)

While it is reasonable to expect a certain (limited) degree of differentiation between the source and target dialogue, translation scholars, dubbing practitioners and audiences alike should be aware that ideologies can seep into the material. The dubbing team is human; biases, stereotypes and other personal elements can be screened or manipulated in a way that is rather invisible to the end viewer. As stated by André Lefevere (1992, 39), "on every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win out". Gideon Toury (1995, 166) also "highlights the fact that the process of importing foreign productions into a target culture always implies the penetration of unfamiliar elements which are bound to be manipulated or adjusted by the dominant ideology of the target culture. In other words, what is translated, and how it is translated, is determined by the interests and structure of the host target cultural

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[16] While this question is quite interesting – and should be considered in future research – it is beyond the scope of this project and will not be explored in great detail at this time.

system" (Díaz Cintas 2012, 283-4). Díaz Cintas furthers this idea when he explains that, "In AVT, visual, time and space constraints should not serve as an excuse for toning down or leaving out controversial or sensitive elements present in the original dialogue, such as expletives, blasphemies, sexual references, or political comments. However, the reality is that these technical limitations and *diasemiotic differences* can often be misconstrued and taken advantage of quite openly, as has been the case in censorial regimes, both in the past and nowadays, by using them as a shield to justify certain unpalatable solutions" (2012, 284-5). While this statement may refer to more extreme, censorial eras, the concept remains relevant. Technical manipulation is acceptable when needed (i.e., minimally altering dialogue to adhere to synchronization norms, etc.), but contention is introduced when the excuse of technical limitation is used as a shield for translators or institutions to hide behind when omitting ideologically or politically important information that should have been reproduced in the translation. Ultimately, the dominant ideology within the target culture has the decisive influence over the ideas imported from other cultures. This case study confirms this – particularly in instances where shifts occurred when a more faithful translation could have been used.

This being said, the possibility of unconscious intervention must be addressed. Díaz Cintas states that, "In the transfer from the source to the target language subjectivity shifts will probably occur, provoking the displacement of part of the original meaning, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly" (2012, 282). This reiterates the notion of ideological intervention in an unconscious way; while some shifts have clear ideological repercussions, not all shifts can be connected with ideological manipulation with certainty, or deemed to have been pro-active, goal-oriented shifts actively produced by the dubbing team. Rather, Translations Studies research can simply identify patterns within a specific context (or other limiting

parameters), as this research has done. Billiani (2007, 22) comments that "Censorship remains a current and widespread phenomenon that operates in many ways and under many guises, and [...] translation continues to be one of the most powerful means we currently possess for shaping the interaction between cultures." In this respect, this project has demonstrated the invisible infiltration of ideology within the dubbing process. Díaz Cintas (2012, 283) called upon translation scholars to "give proper consideration to the ideological implications of translators' linguistic choices […] to understand the causal relationship that exists between these solutions and strategies and socio-political issues that are veiled behind them." This case study has demonstrated that invisible ideological changes were made, and the source audience and target audience did not always receive the same ideas.

SECTION FOUR

HOLLYWOOD AS HEGEMONIC POWER

It has been established that Hollywood is a hegemonic power whose grip is globally far-reaching. By 1916, "a distribution system was being put in place that would eventually secure 80 percent of the world's screens for the benefit of American distribution companies. […] By 1917, more than 50 percent of the films shown in what was generally acknowledged to be a powerhouse of cinema production, France, were American in origin" (Cronin 2009, 7-8). Indeed, the institution of Hollywood plays an important role in cultural representation and world-wide ideological dissemination. It is typical for Hollywood films to cast villains and heroes, antagonists and protagonists according to the political environment at the time of film production:

"Predictably, following the terrorist onslaught, it looks likely that Hollywood will once again spontaneously observe self-regulation, reflecting 'America first' values, as is traditional in times of war." (De Zoysa 2010, 7)

As discussed in chapter one, Hollywood film production teams have a pattern of using international conflict as an opportunity to promote Americanness through film – to promote nationalistic and patriotic values. De Zoysa states that this is traditional in times of war, which is evidenced by elements of Hollywood films produced during certain time periods, and in certain contexts. Blockbuster productions have cast antagonists with actors from a variety of nationalities that have been contentious in recent American history (Russian, Japanese, French, German, Middle Eastern nationalities, etc.). As an American institution, Hollywood's filmic villains tend to share the nationality of whichever country is in the negative favour of the U.S. at that moment; indeed the nationalities represented within Hollywood Blockbusters tend to correspond with the country most recently in conflict, thus creating a sense of patriotism and unity amongst American audiences. This is true of most time periods and can be confirmed by independently reviewing villains throughout the past few decades (particularly in films from the comedy or action/adventure genres).

In the pre-Disagreement category, *French Kiss* places French character, Luc, in a semi-antagonist role, though he is not portrayed as a villain per se; rather a seductive-yet-irksome foreigner. By the end of the film, he shares the protagonist role with American character, Kate. Overall, the French representation is positive. *The Man in the Iron Mask* contains a cast of nearly entirely French characters, meaning that protagonist and antagonist roles are represented as French. This film is also the story of a French legend, and the mere fact that a team within Hollywood decided it would be profitable to proceed with writing, producing and disseminating

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a film regarding French culture (and history) is evidence of positive Franco-American relations at that time. In this film, the overall French representation is positive.

The films in the post-Disagreement category, on the other hand, did not give an overall positive representation of the French. *Rush Hour 3* was the third instalment of the film series; neither of the two preceding films indicated any connection with France as a nation, or with French people. When compared against the preceding films in the series, the setting of Paris and representation of French authorities in the current film seem to be rather arbitrary – merely a convenience for comedic relief and political commentary that would be sure to sell tickets amongst U.S. audiences. While the main antagonists of the film are Chinese (as is congruous with the entire series), French authorities are placed in a secondary antagonistic role. The last scene of the film ends with the two lead American characters physically assaulting a French detective after he claimed to have solved a case that the American policemen solved by themselves; moments before the assault, the French detective states that U.S. and France should work together, but the American characters dismissal of this statement is portrayed with humour. *The Pink Panther* is a case similar to *The Man in the Iron Mask*, in that the film itself is a representation of Frenchness – it takes place in France, and nearly all characters are French, including protagonists and antagonists alike. Furthermore, this film was the latest instalment in a series of *Pink Panther* films always focusing on the same French character, Mr. Clouseau, in the lead role; therefore, the inclusion of Frenchness in this film is not arbitrary, rather following suit with the numerous films that preceded it. What is interesting, however, is the timing of this next instalment in the series – a series whose success is dependent upon Francophobic humour. Nine films were produced between 1963 and 1993, with a thirteen year gap between *The Pink Panther*

in this case study (2006) and the film directly preceding it. The film enjoyed so much success that a second film, *The Pink Panther 2,* was released three years later (in 2009).

Richard De Zoysa's research draws attention to the role of politics and ideology in the types of films that are produced within Hollywood. To complement the questionable elements of the post-Disagreement films, he states that, "President Bush has enlisted Hollywood 'to help the war effort' by orchestrating a propaganda strategy to sell the war overseas. […] An effort facilitated by the studios being 'a part of (the) international media conglomerate makes it easier for senior executives to control what they market and distribute'" (2010, 7). Even without the in-depth CDA of the dialogue and translated dialogue of the films, it is clear that ideology was at play during the conception of the post-Disagreement films. Since "film spectators are essentially passive subjects, on whom meanings can be cunningly and deliberately inscribed", the ideological foundation of such productions is undoubtedly significant (Cronin 2009, 13).

In discussing power relations amongst social groups, Van Dijk discusses the notion that power shifts occur between groups, and can be dependent on context (2008, 89). He indicates that "groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups" (ibid.). As a powerful, well-funded American institution, this condition applies to Hollywood and its ever-present productions. Van Dijk (2008, 89-91) continues by affirming that:

> "Those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances
> to control the minds and actions of others […] [and that] members of more
> powerful social groups and institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites),

have more or less exclusive access to, and control over, one or more types of

public discourse."

Certainly, this applies to Hollywood (as a social group and institution) and its distribution companies, and re-asserts the importance of why Hollywood produced discourse and translations merit critical analysis. Despite the fact that individuals can decide to have passive control over what they view (such as deciding which media outlets to follow, not viewing certain films, etc.), powerful institutions are still disseminating their messages widely, and these messages can still be received unconsciously or second-hand. As such, this case study has added to the current discourse on the power of translation to intervene in this type of hegemonic information distribution.

When embarking on this research, I wanted to explore the effects of language and translation on the average person. Having previous experience examining the importance of political texts and their translations, I was interested in investigating texts that were less obviously weighted with political and ideological information; unsurprisingly, political texts such as manifestos, speeches, etc. are the most obvious choice of discourse when searching for ideological elements. If ideas and meanings can be produced and re-produced via language, certainly the same is true for popular films disseminated internationally. If analyzing political texts could reveal ideologies and motivations, what could be found within a seemingly non-political text? What if that text was created within a specific political environment? What if it was created in peace?

The consideration of non-traditional, politically-charged texts for this research gave way to the consideration of Hollywood blockbuster films. These films are texts that are multi-million dollar, international projects whose content is distributed to vastly different societies around the globe. They regularly portray both Americanness and Otherness via discursive and semiotic means. I wanted to look at the role that translation must play in the dissemination of American views and perspectives, and whether translation interfered in American portrayals of the Other; how did such films continue to find success amongst non-American audiences year after year? In particular, how did such films find success among audiences during time periods where the target audience was arguably anti-American? I wondered if manipulation was at play.

The Franco-American disagreement regarding the Second Iraq war seemed to be a rich context within which to explore translation and manipulation. As has been established, by 2003

there existed a deep-rooted foundation of anti-Other sentiments from which both French and American cultures could draw upon for discursive use. This confirmation and strength of anti-Other sentiment was essential to the context of this project because it granted logical reason to believe that such sentiments could infiltrate industries that may not be immediately associated with politics – industries such as film, entertainment and translation.

Thus, the current project and its early research questions were born. After verifying that Franco-American relations were fairly positive just prior to the Disagreement, it seemed important to make use of the available contexts in order to compare them against one another; manipulation could be discussed within a context of peace and within a context of conflict. I discovered that the increase in anti-Other sentiments within France and the United States of America could be directly attributed to the events of 2003. Having established pre- and post-Disagreement time periods, I felt that, logically, translation manipulation would occur only in post-Disagreement films; if relations were positive in pre-Disagreement years, it was less likely that linguistic, ideological manipulation would occur in the films produced and translated during that period of time. As I researched the negative, anti-Other ideologies that resurfaced in the wake of the Disagreement, I intended to explore if the widespread, unpredictable social effects extended into the realm of translation.

In order to move forward with my research questions, I had to consider the massive impact of media on the dissemination of ideology, film distribution and film translation itself. As a key participant in the production and re-production of ideologies, media resources are powerful in their ability to perpetuate widespread dissemination of ideologies; such was the case in the media coverage surrounding the Disagreement. Film media distributes information for strategic purposes, making it a plentiful source for ideological investigation, particularly in relation to its

history of political influence; film media has an audience of millions worldwide (an audience to which ideological information can be transferred either consciously or subconsciously), with large audiences in both France and the United States of America.

As a form of media, film dialogue was bound to be ideologically rich, as well as hold power within its words (spoken and unspoken), images and representations. With the understanding that "…power is not always exercised in obvious abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted action of everyday life, as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism or racism […]" (Van Dijk 2008, 89), I would attempt to expose the underlying ideologies within the seemingly unpolitical, everyday text of film – a text type that is received by the average consumer. Undoubtedly, "If we are able to influence people's minds, e.g., their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation" (ibid.). The discourse produced by Hollywood reaches the average consumer, rather than the social or political elite. As an institution, Hollywood is arguably one of the more powerful media outlets in the world, and I wanted to explore the effects of that power from a new perspective.

In order to do this, and to effectively answer my research questions, I decided upon a framework that combined vital concepts from Verdaguer, Machin and Mayr and Van Dijk. Verdaguer's research formed the foundation of the concept of French-bashing (in conjunction with film) as understood within this project; his ideas helped to frame the idea of the anti-Other in regards to the French and American communities. His work allowed for the integration of film studies and translations studies approaches while investigating ideology. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as understood by Machin and Mayr and Van Dijk, provided the necessary tools to conduct the textual analysis of the film dialogue. By incorporating CDA from a Translation

Studies perspective, I was able to effectively demonstrate both technical and ideology-related shifts that occurred invisibly via the dubbing process; the political nature of CDA made this framework irreplaceable when investigating text for political and ideological influence.

These frameworks were complemented by the work of Díaz Cintas, amongst others, whose discussions regarding non-technical versus technical manipulation provided the tools for assessing the film dialogue on another level. Imperative to the exploration and differentiation between technical and non-technical manipulation of dialogue was assessing the difficulties of the dubbing process – namely the visibility of labial movements, mouth shape, body/voice synchronization and overall synchronization quality, all of which are crucial to the success of dubbed films (particularly high-budget, high stakes projects such a Hollywood blockbusters). Via the work of Díaz Cintas and supplementary scholars, I established that technical manipulation is rather innocuous in that the shifts that result are not made in connection with outsides beliefs; that such manipulation is bound to occur during a translation project due to the intricacy and sensitivity of dubbing constraints. I discovered that technical manipulation was usually an intentional type of shift with a purpose of satisfying a synchronization-related issue. Ideological manipulation, on the other hand, refers to shifts made either consciously or unconsciously in connection with a set of ideas or beliefs.

Since the dubbing industry "touches millions of people all over the world who as a whole willingly spend more time watching dubbed films than reading, for example, translated books" (Chaume 2012, 23), incorporating Díaz Cintas' important ideas regarding textual manipulation was imperative. As dubbed Hollywood blockbusters have a global reach, it is true that countless lives (and their beliefs, understandings, etc.) are affected by the decisions made during the dubbing process. Ultimately, the research and ideas put forth by these scholars proved to be both

useful and important for the ideological investigation within this case study. The frameworks helped to foster further understanding of the power of the AVT medium.

While this case study cannot determine with certainty whether the shifts that occurred were due to *intentional* ideological intervention, it has certainly demonstrated that ideology is likely to have had an impact on the way certain discursive ideas were translated within the films of the case study. With political context, it has demonstrated the types of representations that are likely to be connected to ideological manipulation rather than mere technical manipulation. It has shown that the environment within which a film is created (and translated) is relevant to linguistic decisions made during the dialogue writing and translation processes. It has also demonstrated that political tension between the source and target countries can affect translation decisions, whether consciously or not. This case study has demonstrated that cultural representations, as expressed via discourse, experience shifts when an audience is (mis)represented. It has shown that, while some stereotypes are transferred, others are manipulated. It has also shown a pattern of using explicitation (or implicitation) in order to best represent the audience in question, and in order to demonstrate a differing viewpoint between the two nationalities in the equation. Finally, this research has shown that the ideological implications of the audiovisual translation process merit further scholarly investigation – with films from different genres, audiences from different countries, and relating to different international conflicts. As this case study was limited to only four films and only one language combination, the findings cannot be taken as representative of all Hollywood films translated internationally. It can however, be used as a foundation to encourage future research in this area in order to expand the knowledge of the Translation Studies discipline.

In the early stages of research, I had originally wished to explore a total of 10 films (5 per category) in order to cover a more broad range of film genre; it was hoped that a larger volume of data would bear a more fruitful, well-rounded sample of Hollywood films. When the first observation of the films had been completed, it was determined that such an undertaking was beyond the scope of a thesis project, but future research could include the analysis of additional films from different genres.

Before the case study itself had been conducted, I did not anticipate how important the concept of innocuity would be. I was expecting to find that the films in the post-Disagreement category would not contain any offensive, anti-French content; it was anticipated that dubbing manipulation (whether technical or non-technical) would play a role in removing such content for the French audience. Such content was carried over, however. This is where the notion of innocuous humour became an important part of the conversation. While Verdaguer introduced this possibility in his own work that occurred prior to the Disagreement, I did not expect to find instances of anti-French content in the dubbed films within both the pre- and post-Disagreement categories. Because of the significant difference of context and environment, I had anticipated innocuous humour to remain *only* in the dubbing of pre-Disagreement films when, in actuality, innocuous humour was merely *primarily* in the dubbing of pre-Disagreement films (and less so in post-Disagreement films). As it is hard to determine whether ideological shifts were made intentionally or not, innocuity is difficult to establish. What is important, however, is to understand that ideology can and does intervene in the dubbing process; how it intervenes is the important question, and it is hoped that future AVT research will expand on this.

This project was created out of a need to expand on current research regarding the ideological implications of Audiovisual Translation Studies. I wanted to see what information

would come to light when searching for ideological importance within texts that are not obvious sources of ideological content – to veer away from the more 'traditional' political texts that carry obvious ideological and political connotations. Furthermore, I wanted to investigate texts that are viewed on a daily basis by millions worldwide (by the average person, in particular). With the discussion that the results of this project have given to the AVT field, there are a number of directions in which future research could expand. Some of the examples within the films contain concepts that may be interesting to investigate further; for example, the concepts of masculinity, femininity and social class could be explored within the current context or another (political or otherwise).

The concept of humour could also be further explored, specifically in regards to ideologies that are (or are not) transferred across cultures in the name of comedy. Humour is both discursive and non-discursive, but this thesis focused on solely the discursive manifestations of humour; I explored and understood humour as discursive manifestations of non-serious incongruities that were used for entertainment purposes, but future research could include visual or sound-related humour. As expected, humour-based shifts in the pre-Disagreement films were rather more innocuous, dealing with 'light' yet deep-rooted stereotypes that have pre-existed for years; this contrasts post-Disagreement findings where the humour was slightly less innocuous in that it was, essentially, a commentary on society and current political, cultural and national affairs. The translational shifts from the post-Disagreement films create a discussion that fits with the context of political disagreement and contentious ideology during that time period.

Humour is often relative to time, place, and social norms; add the constraints of dubbing and the task of translation becomes even more arduous. Ideological implications arise when

factoring in that various cultural and linguistic audiences may not receive the same material in the same way; reception will be dependent upon the target audience's cultural norms surrounding humour. Reception is based on the communal beliefs of the target audience as compared to the source audience; this is where ideological difference comes into play. Furthermore, investigating the *emotional* aspect of humour would also be beneficial in future AVT work, as humour is neither completely a rational nor logical cognitive process (Chiaro and Piferi 2010, 18-19).

Additionally, there is much more information to be collected regarding the role of the dubbing team on textual and ideological manipulation. Above all else, the primary goal of the dubbing company is to deliver a high-quality product as quickly as possible and the ultimate control is held by the film distributor(s). The field of AVT would benefit from field work in which scholars take a closer look at the individuals and the subjectivity involved at each stage of the dubbing and film distribution process. If it is to be accepted that shifts are bound to occur, it must also be acknowledged that AVT projects (as put forward by hegemonic institutions such as Hollywood) pose a unique trouble by disseminating their ideas and their representations of other cultures to nations around the globe. It is in these cases that the dubbing team is in a position to 'reclaim' power by controlling the use of language, representation and ideologies within the imported film (i.e., re-framing certain ideas for certain viewers). As stated by Díaz Cintas, "In the case of AVT, the global hegemony of the Hollywood machinery in the production of films is an eloquent illustration of the potential risks" (2012, 282). After all, the dubbing team contributes to intercultural understanding, making their translated materials important subjects of discursive and ideological analysis.

Díaz Cintas suggested that "…the boundaries of research into AVT should be pushed beyond its traditionally parochial linguistic sphere by focusing more on unmasking the rationale

behind ideologically motivated changes and by contextualising them within a wider socio-cultural environment" (ibid., 279); this case study has responded to this call. Combining elements from Political, Cultural, Film and Translation Studies has offered a unique perspective from which to view ideological elements of audiovisual media transfer. As there is currently no scholarly work that examines the context and aftermath of the Disagreement from a Translation Studies perspective, this research has filled a gap in the current knowledge of the AVT studies field; it has contributed to the understanding of how politics and translation affect the filmic representation of the cultural Other. Ultimately, this project has shed light on the ideological implications of film translation, demonstrating that translation can be a way of reviewing ideological tensions between nations.

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Appendix:

Screen Shots

This appendix contains screen shots from each film. Examples are presented in the same order as the chapter discussions.

French Kiss

French Kiss – 0:04:48

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Kate's not going to Paris", as spoken by Charlie (centre).

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "I'm not going", as spoken by Kate (on left, back turned to camera).

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Charlie, the sauces have to be *incroyable* to cover up the horse meat. I saw this segment on 60 minutes."

FRENCH KISS – 0:11:30

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Do you speak any English?" as spoken by Kate.

FRENCH KISS – 1:14:17

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "The pout is one of the French woman's greatest weapons." Neither of the onscreen actors is speaker; the speaker, Luc, is off screen.

FRENCH KISS – 0:12:20

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "I don't know what they taught you in France but rude and interesting are not the same thing", as spoken by Kate.

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "I'm not American. I'm a soon-to-be ex-American Canadian", as spoken by Kate.

FRENCH KISS – 0:50:55

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "I come to make peace with your people", as spoken by Luc.

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "I'm sorry. *Pardonnez-moi.*"

THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK

THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK – 0:01:00

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Some of this is legend, but <u>at least</u> this much is fact. When rioting citizens of France destroyed the Bastille, they discovered within its records this mysterious entry:"
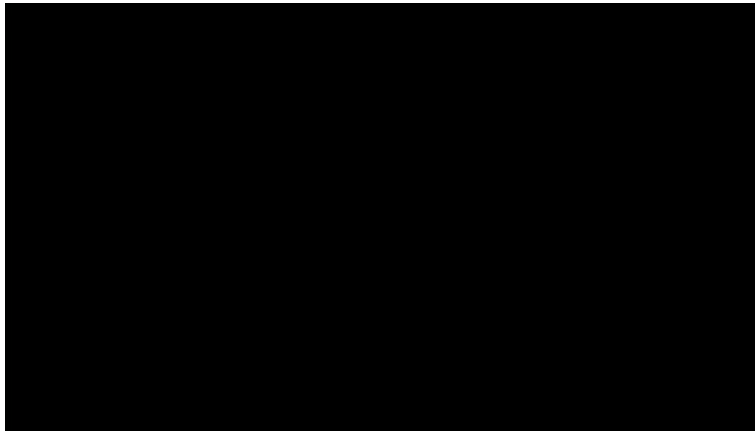
Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "Prisoner number 64389000; the man in the iron mask."

"Prisoner number 64389000 – –
the Man in the Iron Mask."
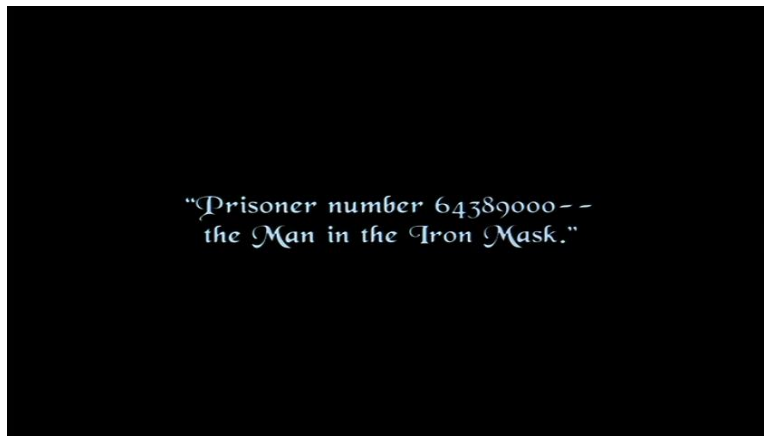
THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK – 0:07:16

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Riots? But Paris is the most beautiful city in the world."

THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK – 0:11:00

Image 1 - Display for dialogue: "Who in France would be such a fool as to try and do me harm?" as spoken by the King (left).

Images 1, 2 & 3 - Displays for dialogue: "The Jesuits oppose Louis' wars." None of these three men is speaking, rather listening to the speaker who is off screen. Image 1 is Athos, image 2 is D'Artagnon, and image 3 is Porthos.

Image 1 - Display for dialogue: "*Oh mon Dieu*. A sign from God."

THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK – 2:04:56

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "The king known as Louis XIV…"

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "…brought his people food, prosperity and peace;…"

Image 3 – Display for dialogue: "…and is remembered as the greatest ruler in the history of his nation."

RUSH HOUR 3

RUSH HOUR 3 – 0:09:55

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Last month you put 6 Iranians in jail for a week", as spoken by the Sergeant.

Images 2 & 3 – Displays for dialogue: "You and I both know them Iranians was terrorists", as spoken by Carter.

Image 4 – Display for dialogue: "They were scientists at UCLA", as spoken by the Sergeant.

RUSH HOUR 3 – 0:27:10

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Now that I have your attention why don't you tell me what you cops are looking for here in Paris", as spoken by French Detective.

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "I told you, man. We're here on vacation", as spoken by Carter (on right), and "Just taking in the sights", as spoken by Lee (on left).

Image 3 – Display for dialogue: "Gentlemen. This is my city…"

Images 4 & 5 – Displays for dialogue: "…and I am responsible if two stupid cops come here and get their heads blown off by the triads", as spoken by French Detective. The end of the utteracne is shown in partial view, while the beginning of the utterance if off screen.

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "No wonder Lance Armstrong came all the way here to ride a bike", as spoken by Carter.

RUSH HOUR 3 – 0:28:40

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Americans. I don't drive Americans", as spoken by Georges.

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "But I'm Chinese", as spoken by Lee.

Images 3 & 4 – Displays for dialogue: "Yeah, but you're with him [points to Carter]. And they're the most violent people on Earth. Always starting wars, always killing people. Americans make me sick."

Image 5 – Display for dialogue: "Look man, we're not in the mood for this. Me and my partner just got violated by a small Frenchman."

Image 6 – Display for dialogue: "Wearing a very large ring!"

Image 7 – Display for dialogue: "You want violence smelly Frenchman, huh?"

Images 1 & 2 – Displays for dialogue: "You are a pathetic bunch of criminals who always resort to violence. Always pushing around the little guy", as spoken by Georges (on the right, not in focus). In the second image, Georges' mouth is nearly completely off screen.

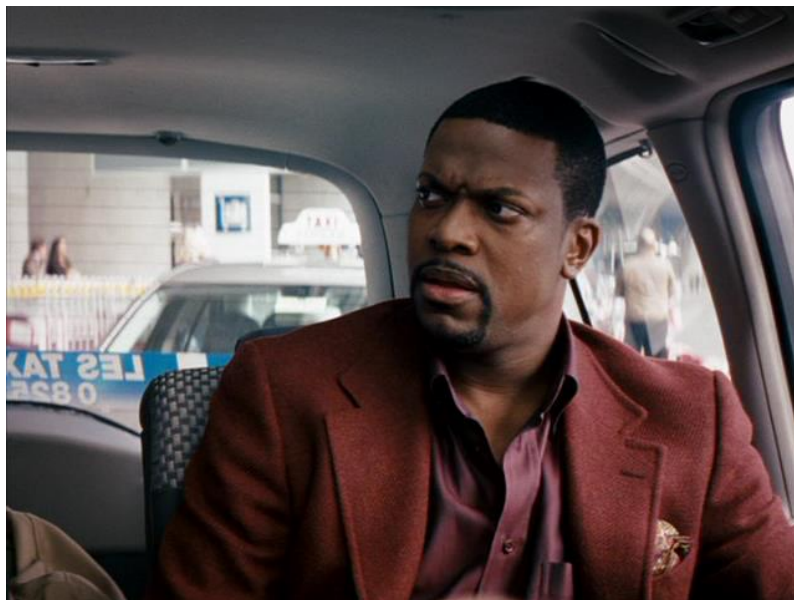Image 3 – Display for dialogue: "Man, that stopped being true. America is not violent!"

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Come on, America is a joke…[…] The 'dream team' is dead."

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "…You can't even beat the Europeans in basketball anymore…" (speaker off screen).

Images 3 & 4 – Displays for dialogue: "[Sarcastic laugh] I didn't hear you, man. Talk about the NBA again. I dare you. I double dare you."

Image 1 – Displays for dialogue: "I love America…"

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "…Please don't kill me." Lee is visible (rolling his eyes), while Georges (the speaker) is off screen.

THE PINK PANTHER

THE PINK PANTHER – 0:11:50

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "The Minister of Justice sent around a new picture of himself but it was bigger than Inspector Dreyfus' picture…" as spoken by Nicole (left).

Image 2 – Display for dialogue: "…So, the Chief Inspector had a larger one made.

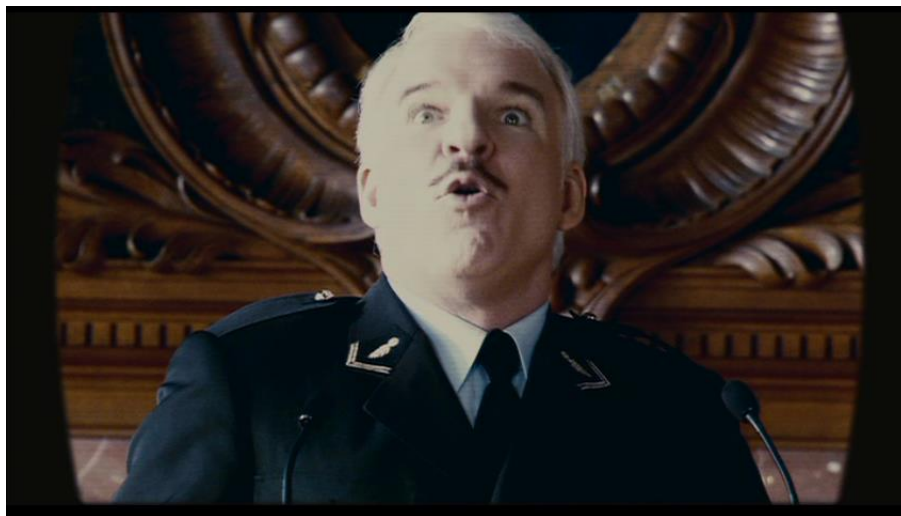Image 3 – Display for dialogue: "You'll find that Paris can be a very political place."

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "Killer, I will find you. Because I am a servant of the nation. Because justice is justice. And because France is France!"

Image 2 – Shows the lip shape for an exaggerated pronounciation of 'Fwance'.

Images 1 & 2 – Displays for dialogue: "I'll be honest with you. I find your accent quite funny. Where are you from? […] You need to work on your accent."

Image 3 – Clouseau laughing at Yuri's accent (just prior to vocalizing his criticism).

THE PINK PANTHER – 0:50:30

Image 1 – Display for dialogue: "…an average Frenchman." This image of Ins. Dreyfus, who is not speaking; the speaker is off screen.

THE PINK PANTHER – 0:22:55

Image 1 – Showing the stereotypical wearing of a beret.