

**University of Alberta**

Dubbing *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* in French. A Comparative  
Perspective between France and Québec

by

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## **Dedication**

To my parents and grandmother for their unconditional love and support.

## Abstract

The present dissertation conducts a comparative study of the dubbing of two American animated TV series, *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*, in two francophone regions/countries, Québec and France. Since audiovisual products are complex blends of semiotic signs, in which the interplay between the visuals and the verbal is crucial to the understanding of the product, and since they convey their own cultural world, the study is led along three axes: the verbal/nonverbal dynamics, the language(s) used in the dubbing and cultural references. While most theories rely on either a linguistic or a cultural approach to the dubbing process and product, the present research throws a bridge between both and offers an interdisciplinary analysis.

The dubbed shows are conceived as processes and products of the “contact zones” understood as “... social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...” (Pratt 1991: 34). These contact zones create points of tensions inscribed within a power play at the industrial, linguistic and cultural levels. The dubbing industry is conceived as a space of negotiations or a contact zone between the local and the global characterized by power relations. The dubbing process becomes a subversive “Third Space” (Bhabha 1994: 36) in both versions, a space in between the verbal/visual dynamics, language(s) and cultures that generates a semi (in)visible translation.

Ultimately, both versions become rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) entities connecting heterogeneous elements within the dubbing process that blurs

the TV series' fixed identities. The translation becomes literally political in *The Flintstones* through multiple references to Québec's language policies and figuratively in *The Simpsons* by featuring a meta-commentary on the state of the dubbing industry as an invisible art. The French version incarnates a limbo place or a Third Space in *The Flintstones* matching its artificial Third language and, in *The Simpsons*, evolves towards a more concrete patchwork matching a more 'authentic' language.

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## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction. Community and Fantasyland</b> .....	1
0.1 Audiovisual Translation: Periphery/Centre.....	3
0.2 Dubbing or the Art of the Contact Zone.....	5
0.2 The Language of Dubbing: The Hybrid Language.....	6
0.2.1.1 <i>Dubbese</i> in Spain and Italy.....	6
0.2.1.2. The French Synchronian: Fantasyland Third Space.....	9
0.3 Studies on the Multidimensionality of the Dubbed Product: Foregrounding the Contact Zone and Disjunctures .....	17
0.4 Dubbing The Simpsons' Culture: Cultures in Contact.....	21
0.5 Framing the Research: Of Rhizomes and Third Space.....	23
0.5.1 Dubbing or the Art of the Contact or the Visible Invisible.....	23
0.5.2 Dubbing as a Practice of the Third Space.....	27
0.5.3 Dubbing as a Rhizome.....	29
0.6. Corpus and Structure of the Thesis.....	32
<b>Chapter 1. The Dubbing Industry: How the Local Negotiates the Global</b> ....	39
1.1 The Dubbing Process: A Shadow Game.....	41
1.2 Globalization, Cultural Exception and Cultural Diversity.....	47
1.2.1 Negotiation of the Global at the Local Level: France and Québec.....	50
1.3 Dubbing Industries in France and Québec: The Shadow Fight.....	57
1.3.1 Dubbing Industry in France.....	57
1.3.2 Dubbing <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i> in France.....	61

1.3.3 The Québécois Dubbing Industry: Fight for Visibility.....	63
1.3.4 Dubbing for Children in Québec: a Lost Battle? .....	68
1.3.5 The Cultural and Linguistic Issues: Québec’s Américanité.....	70
1.3.6. Dubbing of <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	77

<b>Chapter 2. The Dubbing Voices in <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i>: From Reaching Fantasyland to the American Imaginary.....</b>	<b>81</b>
2.1 Pachwork of “-lects” .....	82
2.1.1 Accented French: Pseudo-Language.....	82
2.1.2 <i>Provençal</i> .....	89
2.1.3 Rural Accent.....	91
2.1.4 Youth language in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	93
2.1.5 <i>Sociolect of the Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie</i> .....	94
2.2 Synchronian, Standard French, International French or <i>Dubbese</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> : The “Third Language” (Duff 10).....	96
2.2.1 Phonetic and Prosodic Level.....	99
2.2.2 Morphological Level and Change of Register.....	100
2.2.3 Syntactic Level: Levelling the Language.....	102
2.2.4 Lexical and Semantic Level: Between Loss and Creativity.....	106
2.3 Do you Speak “Synchronian” in <i>The Simpsons</i> ? .....	109
2.3.1 Phonetic and Prosodic Levels.....	109
2.3.2 Morphological Level and Change of Register.....	110
2.3.3 Syntactic Level.....	114

2.3.4 Lexical and Semantic Level: Between Loss and Creativity.....	118
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**Chapter 3. The Dubbing Voice(s) in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*:**

<b>‘Navigating’ Social Classes in the Québécois Version.....</b>	<b>124</b>
3.1 French Symphony.....	124
3.1.1 <i>Joual</i> : A “Stripped-Down Language” (Desbiens 17)? .....	125
3.1.2 <i>Standard Québécois</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	140
3.1.3 From <i>International French</i> as a Supra-Authority in <i>The Flintstones</i> and its Near-Disappearance in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	155
3.1.4 <i>Sociolect of the Parisian Haute-Bourgeoisie</i> .....	162
3.1.5. Accented French: Pseudo Language.....	165
3.2. Social Navigation and a Sense of Community in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	170
3.3 Vernacular as a Sense of Community for the Global village in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	178

**Chapter 4. The Different Dimensions in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*:**

<b>Third Space.....</b>	<b>187</b>
4.1 Voice Quality.....	188
4.1.1 A Theoretical Background.....	188
4.1.2 <i>The Flintstones</i> in the Québécois and French versions: Political Imaginary and Cartoonish Fantasyland.....	193
4.1.3 <i>The Simpsons</i> : Cartoonish Symphony in the Québécois and French Versions.....	198
4.2 Who Cares about the Visuals? Translation is all about Words, isn’t it?.....	205

4.2.1 Acknowledging the Importance of the Nonverbal through the Audio and Visual Channels in Translation.....	205
4.2.2 Humour and Prevalence of the Nonverbal Dimension in <i>The Simpsons</i> and <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	207
4.3 The Absurd and the Voice of Reason: Interplay with the Décor in <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	213
4.3.1 Explication and Creativity: Translating Signs in TS.....	213
4.4 Body Language.....	233
4.4.1 Body Language in <i>The Flintstones</i> : the Absurd and the Voice of Reason.....	233
4.4.2 Body Language in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	236
<b>Chapter 5. The Cultural Third Space in <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i></b> .....	<b>239</b>
5.1 Defining Terms.....	240
5.1.1 Of Americanization and <i>Américanité</i> in Québec.....	242
5.2 Québec at a Crossroads: a Third Space.....	243
5.2.1 References Kept.....	244
5.2.2 Québécois References.....	246
5.2.3 French References.....	251
5.2.4 Contemporary References in <i>The Flintstones</i> and Self-Derision in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	253
5.3 <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i> as <i>Téléromans</i> .....	255
5.3.1 A Sense of Community through the <i>Téléroman</i> Network.....	257

5.3.2 The Linguistic and Political Issue in Québec.....	264
5.4 Politics of Visibility and Audibility, Visibility and Audibility of Politics...	268
5.4.1 Political Undertones in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	268
5.4.2 Visibility of Translation in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	274
5.5 Fantasyland in the French Version of <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	277
5.5.1 Geographic Limbo.....	277
5.5.2 Prehistoric Vocabulary: Creativity.....	279
5.5.3. Selective Intertextuality? .....	283
5.6 The American Imaginary in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	286
5.6.1 American Imaginary.....	287
5.6.2 Substitution for French References.....	292
5.6.3 Neutralization.....	295
<b>Conclusion: Dubbing, Third Space, Rhizome and Contact Zones.....</b>	<b>296</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>313</b>
Appendix A: The Dubbing Casts.....	354
Appendix B: Accented French in <i>The Flintstones</i> and <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	356
Appendix C: <i>Provençal</i> .....	382
Appendix D: Rural French.....	384
Appendix E: <i>Joual</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	386
Appendix F: <i>Joual</i> in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	388

Appendix G: <i>Standard Québécois in The Flintstones</i> .....	395
Appendix H: <i>Standard Québécois in The Simpsons</i> .....	402
Appendix I: <i>International French in The Flintstones</i> .....	406
Appendix J: <i>International French in The Simpsons</i> .....	412
Appendix K: New Dubbing.....	414
Appendix L: <i>Sociolect of Parisian Haute-Bourgeoisie in the Québécois and French Versions</i> .....	415
Appendix M: Fred.....	418
Appendix N: <i>The Nonverbal Dimension in The Flintstones and The Simpsons</i> .....	421

## **List of abbreviations**

**AVT** Audiovisual translation

**E** Episode

**FV** French version

**OV** Original version

**QV** Québécois version

**S** Season

**ST** Source text

**TF** The Flintstones

**TS** The Simpsons

**TT** Target text

**VEH** Verbally Expressed Humor

## List of Tables

Table 1: The Multidimensional Nature of Dubbing.....	19
Table 2: Accented French in the FV.....	82-5
Table 3: <i>Provençal</i> in the FV.....	89
Table 4: Rural French in the FV.....	91-2
Table 5: Youth Linguo in the FV.....	94
Table 6: <i>Sociolect of the Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	94-5
Table 7: Phonetic and Prosodic Level in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	99
Table 8. Non-standard Grammatical Forms in the OV.....	100-1
Table 9. The Syntactic Level in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	102-3
Table 10. Levelling of Lexis in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	106-7
Table 11. Phonetic and Prosodic Level in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	109
Table 12. Morphological Level in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	110-2
Table 13. Syntactic Level in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	114-7
Table 14. Lexical and Semantic Level in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	118-21
Table 15. The Cruder Side of the French Version.....	122
Table 16. <i>Joual</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	126-7
Table 17. <i>Joual</i> in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	129-34
Table 18. Willie's Speech.....	138
Table 19. <i>Standard Québécois</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	141-3
Table 20. <i>Standard Québécois</i> in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	143-7
Table 21: <i>International French</i> in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	155-6

Table 22. <i>International French</i> in <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	156-8
Table 23. <i>Sociolect of Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie</i> in the QV of <i>TS</i> .....	163-4
Table 24. Accented French in the QV.....	165-8
Table 25. Absurd Translation.....	215
Table 26. Play with the Visuals.....	216
Table 27. Voice of Reason.....	216
Table 28. In-text Translator.....	219
Table 29. Body Language in <i>The Flintstones</i> .....	232
Table 30. Discrepancy between the Verbal and the Visuals.....	233-4
Table 31. List of <i>Téléromans</i> .....	259-61
Table 32. Political Reference.....	269-70
Table 33. Reference to <i>Joual</i> .....	270-1
Table 34. Reference to the Dubbing Industry.....	276

## List of Figures

Fig. 1: Vigouroux working on <i>The Simpsons</i> .....	62
Fig. 2. Homer’s internal dialogue.....	122
Fig. 3. Willie as a sophisticated gentleman.....	180
Fig. 4. The 939 area code side of town.....	180
Fig. 5. The 636 area code side of town.....	180
Fig. 6. Barney’s boss.....	195
Fig. 7. Pelican washing-machine.....	196
Fig. 8. The vacuum cleaner.....	196
Fig. 9. Dagmar.....	196
Fig. 10. The dishwasher.....	197
Fig. 11. The Prinstone student.....	197
Fig. 12. Lipping student.....	197
Fig. 13. Flat tire.....	215
Fig. 14. Stone newspaper.....	215
Fig. 15. Scrabble.....	216
Fig. 16. Quimby in his “office”.....	217
Fig. 17. Kent Brockman.....	218
Fig. 18. Church letter board.....	220
Fig. 19. Homer weighing himself.....	221
Fig. 20. Québécois film titles.....	222
Fig. 21. Québécois “dog neutering”.....	222

Fig. 22. French film titles.....	222
Fig. 23. French “dog neutering”.....	222
Fig. 24. Subtitles for “The Future of Breeding”.....	224
Fig. 25. Québécois church letter board.....	225
Fig. 26. French church letter board.....	225
Fig. 27. French translation for Costington.....	226
Fig. 28. Québécois translation for Costington.....	226
Fig. 29. Québécois t-shirt.....	227
Fig. 30. French t-shirt.....	227
Fig. 31. School sign.....	228
Fig. 32. TV channel sign.....	228
Fig. 33. Willie teaching French.....	229
Fig. 34. Body gesture “smoothie”.....	231
Fig. 35. “Square” body gesture.....	234
Fig. 36. Homer imitating Bruce Lee.....	236
Fig. 37. Lisa and Bart’s silent communication.....	237
Fig. 38. Springfield and its view of New York and Paris.....	241
Fig. 39. The Québécois voicing cast.....	273
Fig. 40. Rockollini (to the left).....	356
Fig. 41. Professor Rockmimoto.....	358
Fig. 42. Alvin Brickrock.....	360
Fig. 43. André the hairdresser.....	361
Fig. 44. Roberto Rockollini (to the left).....	362

Fig. 45. Russian ballet professor.....	363
Fig. 46. Gina Lollobrickida (to the left).....	365
Fig. 47. Baffles (to the right).....	366
Fig. 48. Mexican hat seller.....	367
Fig. 49. Professor Freudstone (to the left).....	368
Fig. 50. The Who.....	369
Fig. 51. Nobel prize president.....	370
Fig. 52. Ukrainian mafia boss (to the right).....	371
Fig. 53. Carl (to the right).....	372
Fig. 54. Bumblebee Man.....	373
Fig. 55. Luigi (to the left).....	374
Fig. 56. Kim Jong-Il.....	374
Fig. 57. Rainier/MacBain.....	375
Fig. 58. Dr. Nick Riviera (to the left).....	376
Fig. 59. Apu (to the left).....	377
Fig. 60. Server (in the middle).....	378
Fig. 61. Unknown Scottish woman.....	378
Fig. 62. Unknown Scottish Man.....	378
Fig. 63. Dog trainer (to the left).....	379
Fig. 64. Mr Schindler (in the middle).....	380
Fig. 65. Ringo Starr.....	381
Fig. 66. Sarah Ferguson.....	381
Fig. 67. The Hatrocks family (S04E18).....	384

Fig. 68. Cletus (to the left).....	385
Fig. 69. Emma Tasdroches and her rich friends.....	415
Fig. 70. French waiter.....	417
Fig. 71. Stanislas the butler.....	417
Fig. 72. Unknown bourgeois lady.....	417
Fig. 73. Fred’s transformation (S01E05).....	418
Fig. 74. Fred in Mexico (S04E17).....	419
Fig. 75. Fred as an Italian gentleman (S02E31).....	419
Fig. 76. Fred slipping out of his Italian gentleman character (S02E31).....	420
Fig. 77. Fred’s transformation into an upper-classman (S05E06).....	420
Fig. 78. Dino wearing a wig (S05E02).....	421
Fig. 79. The x-ray machine (S05E03).....	421
Fig. 80. Opening sequence (S04E10).....	421
Fig. 81. The strangulation of Bart, bis repetita.....	421
Fig. 82. Homer screaming.....	422
Fig. 83. Subtitles (S04E20).....	422
Fig. 84. Characters as in-text translators (S12E04).....	422
Fig. 85. Itchy and Scratchy (S03E15).....	422
Fig. 86. Loss: no subtitles (“Welcome to Flander’s country”) S02E11.....	423
Fig. 87. Reference to President Kennedy’s assassination (S04E21).....	423
Fig. 88. Sideshow Bob (S17E08).....	423

## Introduction. Community and Fantasyland

In Québec, television has always been the most important cultural medium, a space for creative and dynamic expression. However, the televisual landscape accessible to our children makes less and less room for local series or for TV shows mirroring their imaginary.<sup>1</sup> (SARTEC and UDA 6)

Globalization and the opening of borders necessarily entail a destabilization of identities. So, in this context of cultural diversity on a global scale, television's role is to preserve national identities.<sup>2</sup> (Wolton 23)

How does the local/national negotiate the global within the dubbing process? The present research conducts a comparative study of the dubbing of two American animated TV series, *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*, in two francophone regions/countries, Québec and France. Since audiovisual products are complex blends of semiotic signs, in which the interplay between the visuals and the verbal is crucial to the understanding of the product, and since they convey their own cultural world, the study follows three axes: the (1) verbal/nonverbal dynamics; (2) the language(s) used in the dubbing and (3) cultural references. While most theories rely on either a linguistic or a cultural approach to the dubbing process and product, the present research offers an interdisciplinary analysis bridging the gap between these two approaches.

The dubbed shows are conceived as processes and products of the “contact zones” understood as “... social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple

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<sup>1</sup> My translation of “Au Québec, la télévision a de tout temps été le médium culturel le plus important, un lieu d’expression créatif et dynamique. Or, l’offre télévisuelle accessible à nos enfants fait de moins en moins place aux séries locales, à des œuvres qui reflètent leur imaginaire.” Unless otherwise noted, I will provide my own translation.

<sup>2</sup> “La mondialisation et l’ouverture des frontières provoquent nécessairement une déstabilisation des identités. Donc, dans ce contexte de diversité culturelle au niveau mondial, le rôle de la télévision est de préserver les identités nationales.”

with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...” (Pratt 1991: 34). These contact zones create points of tensions inscribed within a power play at the industrial, linguistic and cultural levels. The dubbing industry is conceived as a space of negotiations or a contact zone between the local and the global characterized by power relations. The dubbing process becomes a subversive “Third Space” (Bhabha 1994: 36) in both versions, a space in between the verbal/visual dynamics, language(s) and cultures that generates a semi (in)visible translation.

Ultimately, I contend that both versions become rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) entities connecting heterogeneous elements within the dubbing process that blur the TV series’ fixed identities. The translation becomes literally political in *The Flintstones* through multiple references to Québec’s language policies and figuratively in *The Simpsons* by featuring a meta-commentary on the state of the dubbing industry as an invisible art. The French version incarnates a limbo place or a Third Space in *The Flintstones* matching its artificial Third language and, in *The Simpsons*, evolves towards a more concrete patchwork matching a more ‘authentic’ language.

I will first cover the most recent research in dubbing along these three axes with a special focus on France and Québec, largely understudied, especially *The Simpsons*. Each chapter will also present its own relevant literature and theoretical framework for the sake of clarity and relevance. There will be no mention of work on *The Flintstones* since it has never been studied with the exception of Hornero who presented a paper at the *Media for All* conference in 2011 entitled “A Yabba-

dabba-doo Translation of the Stone Age: From Bedrock to Spain”. I will first survey (0.1.) the field of audiovisual translation within which is (0.2) the dubbing technique, conceived as an art of the contact zone in terms of (0.2.1) language(s), (0.3) the multidimensionality and (0.4) cultures represented. I will then present the (0.5) theoretical framework used in the dissertation in which dubbing is not only interpreted as a (0.5.3) rhizomatic entity but also as a practice of the (0.5.2) Third Space. Finally, the last section (0.6) will introduce the corpus under study and provide a description of each subsequent chapter.

### **0.1. Audiovisual Translation: Periphery/Centre**

Audiovisual translation (AVT) is a ‘network-like’ entity requiring different disciplines and theories in order to study the complexity of a field that is highly technical. AVT is understood as “the translation of text that (1) is transmitted through two simultaneous and complementary channels (acoustic and visual) and (2) combines several signifying codes (Martínez-Sierra 2008: 29). It forms a prominent theoretical subfield and practice within Translation Studies in the 1990s. According to Gambier, one of the pioneers in the field, AVT goes beyond the mere application of translation theories from literary origins. It represents a revolution of the translating process and translated product as well as the rethinking of the role and identity of the translator in a globalized context. The discipline has changed the nature of translation and text, concepts of fidelity and equivalence and the centre/periphery dichotomy (Chaume 2002: 1).

The audiovisual branch of translation follows the “cultural turn” (Snell-Hornby 47) of translation studies in the 1980s in which the translated product and

translating process are considered as cultural processes and artefacts that cease to be studied outside their economic, political, linguistic and cultural context. For Gambier (2008), AVT offers new untrodden paths as it questions the idea of text (source/target), authorship (dubbing is a translating chain), terminology (are we talking about a translation or an adaptation?), translational norms, written and oral codes, reception, equivalence and faithfulness as well as accessibility, to name just a few. The complex nature of the field requires interdisciplinary approaches combining theories ranging from media studies, sociolinguistics, film studies (Chaume 2004b: 22-4), to literary theories within a new framework. Despite the multiple possible connections between different approaches and fields, according to Díaz-Cintas “studies that combine the linguistic dimension with feminist ... post-colonial ... gender ... or power and cultural perspectives ... have not made an appearance in audiovisual translation” (2004: 32) Even if “... audiovisual translation is experiencing an unprecedented boom of interest and activity at all levels ...” (Díaz-Cintas 2009: 8), much still remains to be discovered in terms of power relations for instance. Díaz-Cintas further deplores the fact that most of the research is divided, either focused on linguistics or literary theories, while few connections are made with media studies (2008: 3).

Designing a theoretical framework that could be applied to different products and modes of translation—subtitles, voice-over, dubbing, surtitling etc.—within AVT is crucial according to Díaz-Cintas who advocates a descriptive approach (Toury 1980) designed to lead a systematic study of not only translational phenomena but also the systems within which translations are inscribed. Such a systematic

approach would help uncover the norms governing the translated products as well as the translational systems: “This new approach to translation allows for the translated work to be studied as a product in itself that is integrated in the target polysystem” (2004: 23). Karamitroglou provides an extensive investigation of norms in the audiovisual industry in Europe in *Towards a Methodology for the Investigation of Norms in Audiovisual Translation* (2000). At stake is the place of translation within the system of translation and economic powers.

## **0.2 Dubbing or the Art of the Contact Zone**

Within the field of AVT, stands the decried dubbing technique.<sup>3</sup> Fodor (1976) provides the first extensive definition and study of dubbing in *Film Dubbing* as

... that procedure of cinematography which consists of a separate and new sound recording of the text of a film translated into the language of the country in which it is to be shown. Thus new recording of the sound, apart from the original background noises and the film music, has to be matched with the picture in a way that the new speech sounds coincide with the visible movements of the articulatory organs as perfectly as feasible. (9)

Fodor ponders over the intricacies of lip-synchrony, which has been of main interest for a few researchers such as Chaume (2004) and Heikkinen (2001) as it contributes to the illusion of this art. Far from being a simple process, dubbing involves different agents along a long and complex chain of processes that may vary depending on the country or region, such as is the case for France and Québec (Chaume 2007: 204) as we will see in Chapter 1.

Despite the prevalence of dubbing in European countries such as France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, “dubbing has on the whole been relatively little studied” (Gambier 2008: 20). Its designation itself is a blurry area, some

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<sup>3</sup> Jorge Luis Borges’ outcry come to mind: “they propose monsters” or again “artistic malignity” (1945).

theoreticians calling it a “localization [technique] that is the adaptation of products/works to different linguistic-cultural areas, the new frontiers of the market...” (Paolinelli n.pag.), or again an “indigenization” process (Ferrari 2010: 3), a “nativization” (Martínez Sierra 2004: 37) or even a process based on the “domestication/foreignization” (Martínez Sierra 2005b; Ferrari 2010: 3) conundrum. All these different labels refer to the same process of transplanting a TV show originating in a specific culture to a different language and culture and bringing linguistic and cultural changes.

## **0.2.1 The Language of Dubbing: the Hybrid Language**

### **0.2.1.1 *Dubbese* in Spain and Italy**

Filmic dialogue is highly crafted and presents a verisimilitude of a natural and spontaneous spoken language. It is a hybrid between the written script of the written dialogue and the oral quality of spontaneous or authentic dialogue. This hybrid generates a dialogue that must sound as if it has not been written or be “written to be spoken as if not written” (Gregory and Carroll 42) dubbed a “prefabricated orality” (Baños-Pinero and Chaume n.pag). Dubbing, understood as the replacement of the original soundtrack by a target language one, acts as a superimposition on this already artificial dialogue while bearing some of its natural aspects (hesitations, pauses) (Chaume 2004a: 17). Dubbing’s goal is ultimately to sound natural, idiomatic and credible so as not to rupture the illusionary contract or the “suspension of linguistic disbelief” (Romero-Fresco: 2009: 68): the French viewer, for our present research, is watching an American character expressing himself in French. Maintaining that balance in dubbing has

garnered little research interest outside Spain and Italy and even there, it is still in its infancy.

For researchers of the dubbed dialogue, the language tends to be viewed as formulaic in that it favours calques due to the permeability to the source language (Romero-Fresco 2009: 53) and prefers the same set of expressions and structures over other ones, ultimately presenting a predictable translation that is far from being idiomatic. Delving into the specifics of *dubbese* or “audiovisual translationese” (Chaume 2004 qtd.in Romero-Fresco 175)<sup>4</sup>, researchers in Italy compiled several databases or corpora of English language films dubbed in Italian: the Forlì corpus of screen translation (Valentini 2008; Heiss and Soffriti 2008), the Pavia corpus of film dialogue (Freddi 2009) and eCoLingua (Baldry, Pavesi, Torsello and Taylor 2007). Bruti and Pavesi focus their study on the translation of interjections in dubbed dialogue, considered as marking spontaneous English dialogue (2008: 209). Based on the study of twelve films, they observe not only the drastic reduction of interjections in Italian, repetitions, but also the creation of new interjections in Italian born out of the interference with English, which showcases the permeability of the target language to the source language. Pavesi carries her research on the Pavia corpus further with personal pronouns (2009b) in which she compares dubbed Italian with “spontaneous spoken Italian as well as original Italian filmic speech” (93). Pavesi comes to the conclusion that dubbed language is marked by “geographical

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<sup>4</sup> See Romero-Fresco (2006 and 2009), Pavesi (2008 and 2009), Von Flotow (2009 and 2010) and Chiaro (2005) for a list of names. Although *dubbese* originally refers to the language used in Spanish and Italian dubbing and *synchronian* refers to French dubbing, both terms are interchangeable.

underdifferentiation, register and style neutralization, less textual cohesion, lexical permeability to the source language, repetitive use of formulae” (2008: 81). It entails a systematic choice for carriers of orality that can be taken as an effect of globalization if understood as a standardizing process. Walking in Pavesi’s footsteps, Bucaria (2009) studies “the influence of source language structures and expressions on target language audiovisual texts” (149) and determines their likelihood to happen in everyday language. Chaume focuses on audiovisual markers comparing the dubbed version of *Pulp Fiction* to the translated script and the subtitled one (2004a: 844). He observes the loss of discourse markers causing a decrease of coherence and cohesion in the dubbed version as their pragmatic function shifts in the translational activity.

Studies comparing dubbed dialogue to spoken spontaneous dialogue are slowly increasing with Romero-Fresco (2009) who encompasses the idea of *dubbese* and its vagueness in a study of idiomacity or “naturalness” against which *dubbese* has to be assessed. Watching *Siete Vidas*, a Spanish sitcom, and comparing it both to dubbed language and spontaneous speech criteria, his threefold approach focuses on intensifiers contributing to naturalness (60). Once again, his conclusions are somewhat mixed as he finds dubbed speech to be less idiomatic than the Spanish sitcom and even less than spontaneous speech.

Finally, Vald on (2011) studies *dysfluencies* or, in other words, “interruptions, unfinished utterances and repeats in Anglophone audiovisual fiction and their translation into Spanish” (221) of *The West Wing* and *Brothers and Sisters* compared, once again, to *Siete Vidas*. While most of the interruptions

and unfinished sentences are retained in the dubbed version, they are repetitive and they feature a clear register levelling. The same observation is made in Freddi's "The Phraseology of Contemporary Filmic Speech" (2009).

The general consensus that seems to be delineated out of these different case studies is that "the language of dubbing is in compliance with ... 'the third norm'" (Pavesi 1996: 128 qtd in Bucaria 162). "*Dubbese* takes as reference not the source language or the target language, but *dubbese* itself, a third language that keeps reinforcing its repertoire of formulae, translational clichés, and other examples of formulaic language through repeated use" (162). For Freddi, the complex nature of dubbing, due to its superimposition of source and target cultures and languages, is "a third norm" (100) that obeys neither "the source nor the target language norm" (100). The language of *dubbese* in Spanish corresponds to a contact zone between the written script and the oral enactment of it on one part but also the recreation of said oral script through another language giving birth to a third norm corresponding to a "Third language" (Duff 10): "concepts do not cover exactly the same fields of meaning in different languages. One translator who imposes concepts from one language to another is no longer moving freely from one world to another but instead creating a third world and a third language" (10). The contact between written and verbal within dubbing generates "borderline affects and identifications" (Bhabha 1994: 167) which are the main interests of the present research.

#### **0.2.1.2. The French Synchronian: Fantasyland Third Space**

The only extensive systematic approach to French *dubbese* or “synchronian” (Von Flotow 2009) is that implemented by Goris in his article “The Question of French Dubbing” (1993) which is a summary of the findings in his M.A. thesis (1991). His study investigates the French dubbing of five feature films in which he adopts a descriptive approach (Toury 1980) to describe translational phenomena. Goris acknowledges the linguistic standardization characterized by the diminution or erasure of idiolects (174), of spoken features of spontaneous speech and of social and geographical referents. This is combined with a naturalization strategy through a sociocultural adaptation at work in the dubbed versions passed off as original French productions. He also notes the use of an explicitation technique: “Next to the norms of standardization and naturalization, a third general norm [is that] ... the translations are made more explicit than the original, by means of different types of explicitation” (182) which would be a universal rule of translation according to Toury (1980: 62). The text becomes more coherent as “vague expressions have become clearer or more precise...” (183). This phenomenon has also been observed by Pettit in “The Audio-Visual Text: Subtitling and Dubbing Different Genres” (2004): “in the examples analysed, the dubber often prefers to standardise and simplify the dialogues” (37).

Plourde is the first scholar to have led an extensive comparative study of *The Simpsons* in French from France and French from Québec. In his M.A. thesis (2000a), which he also presented in several papers at various conferences, Plourde reprises the theories of Brisset in *Sociocritique de la traduction* (1990), in terms of the reterritorialization process and discursive identities, as well as Goris’

theoretical framework. Plourde draws two conclusions from his research: the dubbing in “Parisian” French resorts to a uniform and homogenizing language, on a par with Goris’ findings, namely the erasing of accents and dialects from France in order to feature “correct” French. Conversely, the Québécois dubbing featuring *joual* increases social class differences. *Joual* is used for intellectually inferior characters and those belonging to the working class, whereas what he refers to as *standard/international French* is reserved for the more educated characters. As a consequence, the French dubbing enforces the nationhood feeling in France with its unified and homogenized language while the Québécois one stigmatizes *joual* to the benefits of international French. In addition, subversive discourse is toned down or altogether removed in the Québécois version, children being the first consumers of *The Simpsons* according to Plourde, while the French version amplifies the subversion. Dubbing becomes a useful tool for the erasure of linguistic differences (dialects) in France while offering a model of polished language. However, Plourde seems to overlook the irreducibility of the foreign character of the audiovisual product due to its multidimensionality: the visuals. Moreover, there is no clear definition of what is meant by *standard French*, *Québécois* and *international French*; terms that, we will see, have been hotly debated by sociolinguists as well as within political circles.

Still in Québec, Mboudjeke, in “Translating Idiomatically into French in Quebec” (2008), briefly studies an episode of *The Simpsons* in terms of Québécoisms marking the vernacular side of the translation and featuring contact with English (116). To him, “the whole Simpson clan cannot become true

Quebeckers unless its members speak vernacular Quebec French, which carries some interferences from English. These interferences are thus key elements in the domestication of the American series in Quebec” (116). Furthermore, “... it can be argued that the authors of the dubbing are ... helping foster the agenda of those who would like to create ... a distinct nation (Quebec) with a distinct national language (Quebecois)” (116). In his article, Mboudjeke makes a distinction that Plourde does not when he refers to the vernacular and not necessarily Québécois. However, cultural and morphosyntactical features are not tackled and his consideration of Québécoisms as helping recreate a national sense in Québec might be too vague.

Von Flotow also studies the language used in Québécois dubbing in a seminal article entitled “Frenching the Feature Film Twice—or le synchronien au débat” (2009). Following a recording session in Québec, Von Flotow discovers the language used in French dubbing, which dubbing actors baptized “synchronien” (84). In many regards, this term can be associated with *dubbese* according to the earlier findings in Spanish dubbing, although this is not referred to in the present article. Von Flotow questions the decision to dub in “international French or *français standard*...” (85) instead of the language of proximity in Québec that would be Québécois. She conducts an analysis of some Québécois features compared with the French from France version in the dubbing of *Chicago* songs and the crude language of *Cell Block Tango*. Both sexual content and crude language are toned down in the Québécois version whereas the French version emphasizes (87-9) them, which seems to correlate Plourde’s

thesis. On the morphosyntactical level, the French version “seems to follow this pattern: dropping syllables ... including colloquial language ... [and] sentence fragments” (95). In that regard, she highlights the contradiction between what the UDA (Artists union representing dubbing actors in Québec) proposes in terms of which language should be used, the language of proximity, and the actual language used in the industry: a standard one devoid of any local feel baptized synchronian. Since this sterilization of the language is imposed by the Majors and their Québec’s distributors “circulating a list of words and expressions to be avoided in all dubbing ...” (92), in addition to the constant time pressures, the quality of the dubbing work in Québec is compromised. The other option, dubbing in Québécois language and accent, is only reserved for the poor, reprising Plourde’s theory.

This standardization of the language has been observed by other theoreticians such as Caron who sees it used as a comedic effect with neutralization of space in the translation of *Star Trek* (2003). It would seem that Québec is caught between a rock and a hard place and is “walking a tightrope” (Mboudjeke 118) between French from France becoming increasingly foreign to the Québécois and a vernacular Québécois that is embarrassing in the mouth of respectable actors: only the so-called and ill-defined *international French* seems to be the solution to dubbing in Québec despite its linguistic poverty, artificiality and dullness observed by both Von Flotow and Caron. Von Flotow concludes her article with a plea for: “more work is doubtless in order in this area [Québec synchronian versus vernacular] as well as on the Franco-French materials and

discourses if we wish to understand the motives and practices and results of these competing translation practices” (96).

Von Flotow delves into the language used in dubbing in more detail in “When Hollywood Speaks ‘International French’: The Sociopolitics of Dubbing for Francophone Québec” (2010) and its correlation with the diverse policies regulating the dubbing industry in Québec for cinema. Starting with the decision of having *Shrek the Third* dubbed in France for the Québécois market, which caused an uproar, Von Flotow states that this is the visible tip of the iceberg of the dubbing industry in Québec and what is at stake between the different policies. Her goal is “... to explore the cultural and political contexts of the Québec translations, and to understand the finished product as a product of those environments” (35). Based on a more specific, yet limited<sup>5</sup>, study of questions, the negation “ne” and the adverbs in *21 grams* and *Bridget Jones diary*, she notes the drop of the “ne” in the slightly more idiomatic Franco-French version as opposed to the systematic levelling of the language used in the Québécois version. She reiterates the idea that synchronian (neutral and ungeographically rooted) does not allow for identification from the Québécois audience, while vernacular Québécois used in *The Simpsons*, based on Plourde’s thesis, is a source of embarrassment for the viewer. However, Von Flotow identified an insightful purpose to the use of such a decried language at the end of the article, which is “to establish and maintain community, a sense of belonging, a certain clannishness in a hostile world” (41). For her, the vernacular becomes a language of warmth and proximity, which conveys a sense of community. This is what I would like to

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<sup>5</sup> Which is due to the scope of the article.

further delve into, but I would also add the notion of a political subtext. According to my observations, *joual* becomes a political tool besides fostering a sense of community in *The Flintstones*. I would also like to put forth a redefinition of *international French* that seems to be tacitly agreed upon as French from France. I contend that this sense of community is not only conveyed through the vernacular use but also through *standard Québécois* concomitant with Québécois cultural references and the inscription of both dubbed shows within the Québécois *téléroman* tradition: the community within the dubbed shows extends to the global village. This is evidenced by a sense of self-derision—about language policies in a Québec that is “less obsessed” about its language in *The Simpsons*. I finally contend that synchronian resorts to compensation techniques in order to sound more idiomatic and that it does not systematically characterize every audiovisual product in France.

Besides Plourde, Altarac, in her PhD thesis “The adaptation of U.S. television programs in foreign markets: How Japan and France put their distinctive spin on ‘The Simpsons’” (2007), offers a corpus-based study of *The Simpsons* combining an interdisciplinary and descriptive approach with the main focus being Hofstede’s cultural distance. According to this concept, the further away a country will be culturally from another one, the more alterations within its translation it will undergo. She challenges globalization as a homogenizing process and claims that shows are adapted locally and given a distinctive spin. Based on the in-depth study of 20 episodes over the course of the series, Altarac worked with the back translations of the French and Japanese translations

provided by professional translators of the TV shows and encoded by research assistants (121-4). Choosing radically different cultures and languages she hypothesizes that, based on Hofstede's idea of cultural distance, the Japanese adaptation will retain fewer cultural elements pertaining to the American culture and provide more changes in general than the French version that is culturally less distant: violence, crude language, intertextuality and cultural references are the different components analyzed. She concludes that Japan resorts to censorship and greater manipulation of discourse than the French version. The French version tends to keep the original spirit of the show whereas the Japanese one offers a polished and sterilized language targeted at children. However, she contends that instead the "adaptations demonstrate the hybridization that occurs in imported media products. Because the dubbed versions retain many of the original characteristics and also absorb new foreign elements, the identity of *The Simpsons* is somewhat blurred..." (220), which can be interpreted as the effect of globalization if the latter is understood as a hybridization process. Altarac does not include the visual dimension of the dubbing process, which she acknowledges as a potential limitation.

Finally, in "Voicing 'The Simpsons' from English into French: a Story of Variable Success" (2004), Armstrong is the only researcher who studied "the relative levelling of French pronunciation [that] puts difficulties in the way of the oral translation of some social-regional accents that are used with rather subtle effect in *The Simpsons*" (34). Although he does not entirely judge the value of the translation per se, Armstrong's study examines the effectiveness of the adaptation

of *The Simpsons* from English to French in terms of voice quality. His examples show a lack of variety of accents used in the French version which prevents a complete and successful transposition of the show. He is one of the very few researchers to be interested in paralinguage<sup>6</sup>, which is part of the nonverbal dimension.

### **0.3 Studies on the Multidimensionality of the Dubbed Product: Foregrounding the Contact Zone and Disjunctures or the Visible Invisible**

The non-verbal aspects of translation have rarely been touched upon except for by mainly Spanish academics, such as Chaume (2004b, 2001), Poyatos (1997, 2002) and Zabalbaescoa (1997). In the words of Paolinelli: “there is not only the verbal element to take into account, but also the whole physical structure of the image, which makes for more imperatives which must be obeyed and drastically reduces the dialogue adaptor's metacreative ability” (n.pag.).

Despite a spark of interest for AVT across academic disciplines in recent years, most AVT scholars seem to have forgotten the “visual” quality of audiovisual texts. They rarely study its role in translation but focus instead on the rendition of the verbal channel, downplaying the importance of the visual channel. This approach is quite surprising, for an audiovisual text is primarily received visually by the viewer and considering the extensive academic research on the role and place of images in the construction and reflection of our reality.<sup>7</sup>

Both Chaume (1997: 315) and Gambier note such a

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<sup>6</sup> Paralinguage is the vocal characteristics of the voice. As a consequence it is not considered as part of the language per se. Instead it is part of the nonverbal category (see Chapter 4 for further definitions).

<sup>7</sup> We can think of communication and media studies for instance.

... strong paradox: we are ready to acknowledge the interrelations between the verbal and the visual, between language and non-verbal, but the dominant research perspective remains largely linguistic. The multisemiotic blends of many different signs are not ignored but they are usually neglected or not integrated into a framework. Is it not a contradiction to set up a database or a corpus of film dialogues ... with no pictures, and still pretend to study screen translation? (Gambier 2006b: 7)

Traditionally speaking, scholars have focused on the written text—the one read by the dubbing actors for dubbing and the one displayed on screen for subtitling. However, the nature of the audiovisual text undermines the neat distinction set by Jakobson between “intralingual ... interlingual ... and intersemiotic translations” (Jakobson 114; Zabalbaescoa 1997: 331).

Chaume stresses the importance of the visuals and especially “the interplay between verbal and non-verbal information, i.e. the interaction between the verbal subtext and the visual subtext that mark audiovisual texts as an independent genre” (1997:315) in translation. Nonverbal researchers state the need for a more systematic and taxonomical study of not only audiovisual texts but also of written ones.<sup>8</sup> Chaume goes so far as to claim that audiovisual texts should be taken as a genre in itself demanding a systematic study and a taxonomy adapted from other disciplines.

The visual subtext can be versatile in nature ranging from kinesics (body language, gestures) to pictorial signs (memos, book titles appearing on screen, etc.) and are an integral part of the audiovisual text, and therefore must be reckoned with in the translation. Poyatos delineates one of the earliest studies of nonverbal communication with a taxonomy that will be built upon by other scholars later on. At the basis of communication is the “basic triple structure” that

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<sup>8</sup> For a study of nonverbal communication in written texts refer to *the Nonverbal Communication Across Disciplines* Series. Ed.Fernando Poyatos. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J.Benjamins Publishing Co, 2002-present.

is “language-paralanguage-kinesics” (Poyatos 1983:131). Language by itself, stripped of paralanguage and kinesics, is not sufficient for adequate communication as they both infuse language with meaning, help the encoding and decoding of conversation. They are primordial to communication, especially in face-to-face interaction (131). They form a cohesive whole able to create a meaningful conversation. We can then create a tentative taxonomy of aspects falling under the audio and visual channels.

Audio		Visual	
verbal	non-verbal	verbal	non-verbal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• voice of actors</li> <li>• heterodiegetic narrator</li> <li>• song lyrics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• music</li> <li>• sound effects (e.g.: aural sounds, fall...)</li> <li>• silence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• words written on screen, e.g. brand names, mottos, etc.</li> <li>• subtitles</li> <li>• posters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• kinesics (gestures, facial expressions, etc.)</li> <li>• symbols</li> </ul>

Table 1: The Multidimensional Nature of Dubbing (adapted from Valdés and Luque 135).

This can be called a polysemiotic text, which “... refers to the presence of two or more parallel channels of discourse constituting the text in question. In a film, up to four semiotic channels are in operation simultaneously: non-verbal picture; written pictorial elements; dialogue, and music & effects” (Gottlieb 1997: 227). Of this list, the translator mostly has power over the verbal audio and visual channel in order to preserve the coherence of the audiovisual text. I will analyze then how the translator handles words written on screen, posters as well as kinesics.

The visual channel/subtext of a TV show is the remainder of the source culture in translation. Not only will a pictorial sign written in English remind the viewer that he/she is watching a foreign TV show but specific body language and symbols will also convey the same effect. Non-verbal gestures and idioms are

“borderline features” (Bucaria and Chiaro qtd. in Colm Caffrey 165) and “lingua-cultural drops in translational voltage” (Antonini 2005: 214) since they are carrying their referential world with them. Specific body language in one language will be culturally connoted differently in another.<sup>9</sup>

The visual dimension can complement the verbal one in the source text to such an extent that it can ‘constrain the translation’ (Chaume 1998). Determining priorities can render the task of the translator arduous depending on whether the nonverbal information also belongs to the target culture. When faced with nonverbal items the translator has to determine if it is subdued to the verbal one or vice-versa. This will help him/her decide if the non-verbal is crucial to the plot or not.<sup>10</sup> If it is the former, the item will have to be translated. If it is the latter, then he/she may choose not to translate or else provide an understated/flouted one through a verbal explicitation technique. The non-verbal dimension is transmitted in three ways:

- (a) showing only the non-verbal information item and allowing the audience to interpret or decode it according to their culture and world knowledge
- (b) showing the non-verbal information item and giving a verbal explanation of it or making reference to it through words hence changing sign-systems or
- (c) showing the non-verbal information item and flouting its semiotic meaning by means of deceiving verbal explanation or a word play between image and words- the visual metaphor’ (Chaume 1997: 320)<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, the thumbs up in North-American culture, conveying a positive feeling, will in Iran be the equivalent of a rude gesture or the equivalent of the American ‘giving the finger’.

<sup>10</sup> Body gestures can become the main focus of a specific scene as we will see in Chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> Letters in parenthesis are added for the sake of clarity.

Audiovisual works are not produced in a cultural void and originate in a specific context and culture, which are made visible through the visual. They convey their own cultural codes through both the visual and verbal channels.

#### **0.4 Dubbing *The Simpsons*' Culture: Cultures in Contact**

For Nornes, “moving image translation inevitably sports bumps of a jeep trail and is flooded by so much remainder that we should come up with a different term” (7-8). The “remainder”, concept at the core of Lawrence Venuti’s theories and postcolonial theories in general, represents an essential element within the local and the global dynamics. For Venuti, the remainder is “the collective force of linguistic forms that outstrips any individual’s control and complicates intended meanings.” (1998: 108). The remainder is the impossibility to suppress the Other in the TV show, a remainder that persists over the course of the translation process. The remainder gives birth to hybrid translations and readings, even in dubbing which is considered to be a domesticating art (Ferrari 2010; Danan 1990; Plourde 2000; Martínez Sierra 2004). In dubbing, the visual remainder generates a translation that refuses to become invisible as:

A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other, and resistance, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity, can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures. (Venuti 1995: 306)

Ferrari offers the most comprehensive study of *The Simpsons* with Martínez-Sierra (2008) in terms of cultural translation based on the domestication conception of translation. In *Since when is Fran Drescher Jewish? Dubbing Stereotypes in The Nanny, The Simpsons, and The Sopranos* (2011), Ferrari offers detailed and thorough research on the transplanting of audiovisual products from

the US to Italy based on three case studies adapted from her thesis “Translating Stereotypes: Italian Television and the Cultural Politics of Reformatting in *The Nanny*, *The Simpsons* and *The Sopranos*” (2007).<sup>12</sup> The reason for the international popularity of *The Simpsons* is the wide range of adaptations it has undergone in the countries that have aired the shows. These adaptations have “indigenized” the text for international audiences” (2009: 20). Reframing the shows in a context of globalization, Ferrari revisits the old paradigms of the global/local tensions, in a manner similar to Altarac, and focuses her analysis on stereotypes present in the original version that have been replaced by native stereotypes in order to fit an Italian audience. It challenges the concept previously mentioned of globalization’s homogenizing effects. Seen as cultural ventriloquism, a term borrowed from Béhar (2004), these shows domesticate the original product by speaking to a foreign audience through the replacement of not only cultural references but also accents and a voicing that reminds the viewers of Italian regionalisms. She analyzes “how *cultural* (and stereotypical) discourses and myths of the nation are shaped in communities’ ‘imagination’...” (15) and to what extent they reproduce Italian’s strong sense of nationhood. To her, *The Simpsons*’ secondary characters are stereotypical characters whose goal is to provide quick laughs. Through some Italian cultural references and the use of Italian regional accents, the show is effectively regionalized or localized (25). For Ferrari, dubbing allows for a complete cultural reformatting of the imported TV shows in order to seamlessly enter the importing country’s audiovisual landscape:

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<sup>12</sup> An expansion itself of her study of *The Simpsons* in “Dubbing *The Simpsons*: Or How Groundskeeper Willie Lost His Kilt in Sardinia” (2009).

“... dubbing ... in a language different from the original is the most local level a network can reach before having to produce its own programming” (25). Taking its source in fascist propaganda dubbing is a stealthy practice that passes off as an original product; it is a ventriloquist art. In that sense for Ferrari, globalization does not necessarily promote a culture of the same that eradicates the difference or the Other since

... globalizing forces towards ‘homogenization’ such as satellite television, exist in tension with contradictory tendencies towards ‘heterogenization’ conceived ... as fragmentation ... as pluralism ... identity and cultural affiliation ... are matters of ambiguity and complexity, of overlapping loyalties and symbols with multiple meanings ... (Sinclair et al 25)

Finally, in his M.A. thesis, “‘Oh my God! Ouh pinaise! C’est la cata’. The French Dubbed Versions of *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*, the Translation of Intertextual References and Puns: a Corpus-based Study” (2010), Labate offers a corpus-based analysis of intertextual elements and puns in the French version of *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy* in terms of losses based on the study of 10 episodes taken from each TV show. Labate systematically studies the changes and the frequency in puns and intertextual elements as well as the translation of religious interjections and cultural references. He concludes that the French version of *The Simpsons* is more professionally done and “gives a more faithful rendition of the original than that of *Family Guy*: the translation of *The Simpsons* is more accurate...” (63). Labate offers the first academic study of *Family Guy* dubbed in France.

## **0.5 Framing the Research: Of Rhizomes and Third Space**

### **0.5.1 Dubbing or the Art of the Contact Zone**

The present interlinguistic and interlingual research presents a three-tier methodological approach focusing on three axes within the dubbing process of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* in France and Québec: (1) the language(s) used; (2) the verbal/visual dynamics and (3) the cultures in contacts. The contact zone will be the running thread of the present research relying on an interdisciplinary approach and will allow me to touch upon the politics within the dubbing industry and process. As it will become apparent in the subsequent chapters dealing with the macro (dubbing industry) and micro (the audiovisual text itself) structures of the dubbing process and product, my approach to this comparative study of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* is interdisciplinary in nature. Drawing upon sociolinguistics or media studies concepts is necessary but not sufficient for a comprehensive view of the inner workings of the process.

Within the contact zone, the verbal dimension of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* undergoes several mutations as it grapples with other languages—English, Spanish, German, Japanese, etc—as well as with its own registers and varieties (1) to become a “linguistic zone of contact” (Venuti 2000: 477). This interconnection within the QV is characterized by “heteroglossia” (Bakhtin 263) defined by Bakhtin as:

The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day ... The novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types ... and by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions. Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, ... the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia .... can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships ... (262-3; my emphasis)

For Bakhtin, heteroglossia characterizes every apparently unified linguistic community. Language is the contact zone for the clash of different social accents within the novel and in our case the audiovisual text. Different varieties of the French language pervade the Québécois version: *joual*, *standard Québécois*, *international French*, *the sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie* and *accented French*. Through this symphony of languages in which various languages and varieties of the same language come into contact, the Québécois version of both TV shows recreates a “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) but especially a sense of ‘social mobility’ in the sense that characters are not bound to one specific social class unlike Plourde’s earlier assessment. Moreover, this sense of community is also conveyed by the use of *standard Québécois* beyond the vernacular according to my observations. Conversely, the French version features a selective patchwork of “lects”—*provençal* and rural French—and especially a ‘wooden’ (Von Flotow 2010: 28) language called “dubbese” (Chiaro 2005), which is an artificial language, paired with the domestication of the visuals in both TV series. This synchronian language is systematically studied at various levels outlined by Baños-Pinero and Chaume in “Prefabricated Orality” (2009): phonetic and prosodic, morphological, syntactical, lexical and semantic levels. However, there is a clear move away from synchronian towards a more authentic and colloquial language in the French version of *The Simpsons*.

(2) As a dubbed product, the audiovisual text combines the American non-verbal dimension and the French/Québécois verbal one. These two dimensions meet and create points of tension; as a consequence of its make-up, various

“contacts zones” (Pratt 1991: 34) emerge from the dubbing process, a term defined by Pratt in *Arts of the Contact Zone* as “... social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...” (34). Through translation perceived as a site of power struggle, interconnections occur between the Québécois/French voices and the American visuals. They give birth to “discrepancies” (Appadurai 47) and “disjunctures” granting a ‘joyful’ absurd quality to the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* that is fundamentally visible and hence political by drawing attention to the site of translation. The quality and nature of the dubbed product and dubbing process as a multidimensional or “polysemiotic text” (Gottlieb 2000:15) has been largely overlooked so far and rarely integrated within a comprehensive approach to a comparative study. The Québécois version readily emphasizes the visual remainder and acknowledges its importance within the dubbing process by laying the emphasis on it in *The Simpsons*. In that regards Chaume’s taxonomy (0.3) and Zabalbaesca’s studies of the nonverbal will be crucial to this axis. This will allow me to pay special attention to the voice quality in both TV shows that Armstrong touched upon.

The Québécois dubbed product reinscribes the characters’ identity within a new framework that is in sharp contrast to the “domesticating” (Venuti 1995: 21) tendency the French version adopts towards the visual “remainder” (Venuti 1998: 186)—the visuals of the original version. Domestication has been defined as “An illusionism produced by fluent translating, the translator’s invisibility ... [that] enacts and masks an insidious domestication of foreign texts, rewriting

them in the transparent discourse that prevails in English and that selects precisely those foreign texts amenable to fluent translating” (Venuti 1995: 16-7). The French version posits itself as the domesticated ‘voice of reason’ in *The Flintstones* and tends to relegate the visual’s remainder to the background in *The Simpsons* placing greater emphasis on the verbal unlike the QV. However it will compensate for its lack of idiomaticity in *The Flintstones* with a play on voice quality outlined by Armstrong when studying *The Flintstones*. The play on voice quality becomes a trademark of the French version of *The Simpsons* and confers a cartoonish feel to the translation of both TV shows.

### **0.5.2 Dubbing as a Practice of the Third Space**

Communication between cultures involves, by a translational process, not only a redefinition of the Other’s meaning according to one’s own representational context, but also a transformation of one’s own articulation, the construction of a ‘third space’ of meaning... (Carbournell 91; my emphasis)

Contacts between various elements in terms of cultures, dimensions, and languages occur between different regimens of signifiers that blur boundaries and origins in order to become a “Third Space” (Bhabha 1994: 36).

The readings of transparent texts are indigenous, but the images and sounds are transplanted. Over time, these new images become familiarized, naturalized, and “real”, just like those they replace. The result is something new, something interstitial, but not something American or Americanized. (Olson 114)

Both the FV and QV feature:

a hybridity ... not necessarily the result of cultural merging in the traditional sense of the word but rather of ‘contact zones’ ... between cultures of the encounter of spaces, which now, as the product of ‘translation between cultures’ can generate ‘borderline affects and identifications’ ... By transferring the cultural between former fixed territories, a ‘Third Space’ is opened up’...”. (Wolf 2008: 12-3; my emphasis)

This Third Space is defined as “... a space-in-between, a space of transition, which helps to make visible ‘the idea of something incompatible, concealed,

unconscious” (Hárs qtd. in Wolf 2008: 13; my emphasis). Or again “it is a place where different cultural constellations cross each other in a continuous movement, provoking diverging moments and contradiction” (15). The Third Space “... challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People” (Bhabha 1994: 317).

The dubbed shows remain ‘disturbing’ objects that are never truly domesticated. Dubbed TV shows stay connected to the culture and language they originated in within a Third Space where references to both source and target cultures co-exist. The language itself indicates this hybrid disturbing status of *dubbese* for the French version. When Ferrari states that *The Simpsons* “... is not geographically transported and based in Italy, but the stereotypical traits of its citizens are” (2009: 25), what I understand she means is that the contact zone between American and Italian spaces gives birth to a Third Space of geographical blurriness:

Effectively, the show does not remain fully American in the adaptation process but it is clearly not fully Japanese or French either. While there is a strong indigenizing process involved, Lorenzo et al. (2003) note that *The Simpsons* maintains its status as an American show even as it takes on certain elements of the foreign culture. There are enough elements of non-translation to remind viewers of the series’ U.S. origins. Overall, the dubbed versions do not pretend to be a Japanese or French show, even with the numerous ways they recontextualize the dialogue to fit the local language and culture. (Altarc 223)

However, beyond being a celebratory mixing of identities, the Third Space is a zone of tensions between the visuals and the verbal, the different languages and the cultures present. More than hybrids, they are rhizomatic processes multiplying connections, blurring points of origins and destinations to incarnate a process that is always taking place in the middle.

### 0.5.3 Dubbing as a Rhizome

I ultimately contend that the Québécois version of both TV shows becomes (3) a rhizomatic entity through the varieties of languages used and the multiple references to French, Canadian and US culture. It also becomes a subtle political text enforcing a sense of community already enacted through the language used in the Québécois versions:

Unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point ... it brings into play very different regimes of signs, and even nonsign states ... It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overflows. It constitutes linear multiplicities within dimensions having neither subject nor object ... When a multiplicity of this kind changes dimension, it necessarily changes in nature as well, undergoes a metamorphosis. Unlike a structure, which is defined by a set of points and positions, the rhizome is made only of lines ... the line of flight or deterritorialization...the rhizome pertains to a map that must be produced, constructed, a map that is always detachable, connectable, reversible, modifiable, and has multiple entranceways and exits and its own lines of flight. (Deleuze and Guattari 21; my emphasis)

Deleuze and Guattari question the arborescent model of thought based on hierarchies that have dominated every aspect of human life in Western society from philosophy to sociology and even sciences. Instead of the root and tree, Deleuze and Guattari propose the image of the rhizome, a concept also taken from botany, which is bulbous or tubular:

A rhizome as subterranean stem is absolutely different from roots and radicles. Bulbs and tubers are rhizomes... Even some animals are in their pack form. Rats are rhizomes. Burrows are too, in all of their functions of shelter, supply, movement, evasion and breakout... The rhizome life itself assumes very diverse forms... The rhizome includes the best and the worst. (6-7)

The rhizome is a network characterized by four principles: connection; heterogeneity; multiplicity; rupture. The rhizome in the dubbed Québécois version (QV) connects various languages and cultures to form a hybrid entity that claims its North-American roots, its “américanité” (Thériault 2002), while putting forth

dubbed shows that are inscribed within the Québécois “téléroman network”<sup>13</sup> (Nguyễn-Duy 1995c: 29). Fundamentally, the original cultural fabric of the TV show is interpreted as a “node” (Appadurai 31) within the creation of this new entity that is the dubbed show: the “US is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes” (31). It also becomes a political entity through references in both TV shows: a political statement about language policies in Québec for *The Flintstones* (TF) and a political statement about the invisible status of the dubbing industry in *The Simpsons* (TS).

The French version also becomes a rhizomatic entity increasingly blurring identities as it becomes an impersonal ‘fantasyland’ in which cultural references are sparse and matched by a “Third language” that is synchronian. This rhizomatic entity evolves in the French version (FV) of *The Simpsons* towards a more geographically anchored show matching a more concrete language. The move operated by the French version towards a more concrete language is reflected through the retaining of most original (3) cultural references in the French version of *The Simpsons*.

Finally, “multiplicities are defined by the outside, by the abstract line, the line of flight or deterritorialization according to which they change in nature and connect with other multiplicities” (Deleuze and Guattari 9). In that sense the present research goes beyond the concept of reterritorialization as understood by Brisset (68) and Plourde (2000) or the cultural reformatting of TV shows in Ferrari and its domestication of various original elements. I contend that instead

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<sup>13</sup> “réseau téléromanesque”

different regimens of signs are connected in both versions and give birth to moments of “rupture” (Deleuze and Guattari 9), and contact zones, or “disjunctures” (Appadurai). Using the image of the orchid and the wasp feeding on it, Deleuze and Guattari states that “the orchid deterritorializes by forming an image, a tracing of a wasp, but the wasp reterritorializes on that image. The wasp is nevertheless deterritorialized, becoming a piece of the orchid’s reproductive apparatus. But it reterritorializes the orchid by transporting its pollen” (10). Translation for dubbing creates a “map” of signs connecting variables through the contact zones underlain by power relations.

If we understand translation, and more specifically the dubbing process and product as rhizomatic entities, which connect different elements indiscriminately, which are traversed by different sets of norms, then we can approach these different elements as contact zones giving birth to hybridities. The rhizome in dubbing connects different dimensions (verbal and nonverbal), different languages and varieties of the same language. The rhizome goes beyond the contact zone as a space for ruptures; it acts on a multiple principle, rejecting dualities or binarisms.

I argue that the rhizome connecting verbal and nonverbal, languages and cultures makes the translation irremediably visible and political while fostering a strong “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) in the Québécois version (QV). In the French version (FV) of *The Flintstones*, it gives birth to a fantasyland belonging to a blurry Third Space traversed by international, vague references for the most part while it generates a patchwork of references in *The Simpsons*.

## 0.6 Corpus and Structure of the Thesis

I chose cartoons since they play an important part in children's and teenagers' identity formation (Van Evra 2004). According to the *Insee* (2010) (French governmental statistics agency), more than 85% of French household's have a TV and, 64.7% have access to the Internet (*iabfrance.com*). For Québec, the situation is similar with almost every household being equipped with a TV, and 67% having access to the Internet (Lapointe 70). With television playing such an important role in the household, and with the popularity of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* in both France and Québec, studying them became an obvious choice. Moreover, *The Flintstones* is considered the ancestor of *The Simpsons* in that they both feature a traditional nuclear family, at least on the surface, and both were/are aired in primetime in the US. It allows me to chart the evolution of those TV series and their dubbing.<sup>14</sup> The reason why I decided to conduct a comparative study of French and Québécois is that this specific axis (Québec-USA-France) has barely been touched upon<sup>15</sup> for *The Simpsons* and has never been undertaken for *The Flintstones*.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> In S04E02, *The Simpsons* pay a tribute to *The Flintstones* in the opening credits. Also Booker, in *Drawn to Television: Prime-time Animation from the Flintstones to Family Guy*, states that *The Flintstones* is "widely regarded as the first animation program on prime-time series television" (1) paving the way for, much later, *The Simpsons*.

<sup>15</sup> As mentioned earlier, Labate studies the dubbing of *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy* in French from France. Armstrong studies *The Simpsons* in French from France, Altarac focuses on the Japanese and French version. Plourde is the only scholar who has studied the Québécois and French translations of *The Simpsons*. Von Flotow reprises parts of Plourde's analysis in an article and offers a new comparative analysis of dubbed Hollywood films. These are the only comparative studies similar to mine.

<sup>16</sup> As stated earlier, the only scholar in translation dealing with *The Flintstones* is Hornero. She analyzed the dubbing of cultural aspects and intertextuality coming to the conclusion that 54% of the characters' names have been domesticated except for the main cast. She concludes that the same trend or norm might be found in other languages, a concept I study in the present research.

According to Díaz-Cintas “... the academic construct is more productive when the scholar carries out the contrastive analysis in several films ... rather than just one” (Díaz-Cintas 2004: 27) and according to Chaume “... the discipline remains essentially European” (2008:14), while language policies and their relation to dubbing remain largely unexplored. Finally, “... research should find out in which areas dubbese resembles spontaneous speech and which areas, on the other hand, contributes to set it apart from the target language norms” (Pavesi 2009a: 208).

Another reason for a comparative approach between the Québécois and French versions is that it presents both an interlinguistic and interlingual translation. Very few cartoons are dubbed both in Québécois and French, namely: *The Flintstones*, *The Simpsons*, *King of the Hill*, *South Park* and recent seasons of *Family Guy* and *American Dad*.<sup>17</sup> Accessibility to DVD or taped episodes proved most challenging and costly. I believe this is worth mentioning here as it clearly shows the lack of visibility and accessibility to the translation of two popular series.<sup>18</sup>

Since *The Flintstones* is only comprised of 6 seasons, I watched the series in its entirety. I could not have the same approach for *The Simpsons* that has been

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<sup>17</sup> I was unable to find the French DVD of *King of the Hill* (*Les Rois du Texas* in France and *Henri pis sa gang* in Québec). Only the first 5 episodes of *South Park* in Québécois have aired on *V* in 2009. Due to a lack of ratings it was pulled off the air. The QV for *Family Guy* (*Les Griffin* in France and Québec) has started with season 8 while finding French DVDs is nearly impossible. Finally, I could only find a few episodes for *American Dad* in French and Québécois.

<sup>18</sup> I managed to find the complete series of *The Flintstones* for \$200 with both the Québécois and original versions on *Amazon.fr* where I also found the French version in each season box set on *Amazon.fr*. *The Simpsons* was an altogether different challenge for the Québécois version. I had to resort to asking friends to tape the episodes on *Teletoon* for seasons I could not find on DVD. I then converted them to a digital format in order to watch them on *VLC Mediaplayer* and use the same time coding.

on the air for 21 years. Instead I watched several episodes in each season (at least 10) based on what I was focusing my research on: verbal/nonverbal discrepancies and points of tension, languages in contact and finally cultural references. I transcribed most of the dialogues, which can be found in the appendices. This proved to be time-consuming as I had to often retrace my steps and watch the same scene several times as my thesis changed shape. I could not possibly transcribe the entirety of every single episode I watched as it would have taken a lifetime to do so. Transcription of oral phenomena proved to be a challenge as there is no consensus on whether to use an orthographic convention, a more impressionistic “aménagée” (Gadet 2003: 45) one or a phonetic (IPA) one. I will follow Gadet’s footsteps for whom: “there is no ideal system of transcription: both targeted audience and the purpose of the study dictate a choice between the two poles of faithfulness and readability” (1989: 44).<sup>19</sup> While the former can be considered biased, the latter is oftentimes difficult to read and less fluid whereas the last one is the most faithful but presents certain ‘heaviness’<sup>20</sup> (2004: 46). Blanche-Benveniste (1997) notes the same difficulty towards the designing of a generalized transcription that would be systematically used.

I decided to divide the linguistic study into two parts, one for the French version and, one for the Québécois version, for the simple reason that many phenomena proved to be interesting and needed to be fully developed. Each chapter will also feature a short introduction with a micro theoretical framework

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<sup>19</sup> “il n’y a pas de système de transcription idéal: c’est à la fois le public visé et l’objectif de la recherche qui peuvent dicter un choix, entre les deux pôles de la fidélité et de la lisibilité.”

<sup>20</sup>“lourdeur”

relevant to the axis under study. In Chapter 1, I will study the power relations at work within the dubbing industry in and between France and Québec and how they fit within the broader globalization network. The dubbing network itself is a rhizome, connecting different institutions and different “agents” in the shadows, policies regulating its structure. Von Flotow’s assessment of the dubbing landscape in France and Québec (2010) will be central to that study along with Danan’s study of the birth of the industry. While both France and Québec consider the dubbing industry as a safeguard of one’s culture, a piece of their cultural exception/diversity, France sees Québec as a threat to its dubbing industry and its heavily structured regulations over this industry prevent any intrusion from the Québécois dubbing industry. As a consequence, Québec’s policies and regulating network display significant creativity and ‘survival’ skills in order to ensure the prosperity and visibility of its industry.

Chapter 2 delves into the dubbing process and product with the study of the contact zones between languages within the French version of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* and their evolution. Called “dubbese” or “synchronian”, a fictitious language specific to the dubbing product in both TV shows this language lacks systematic definition and study. After an analysis of the different varieties of French present (*rural, provençal, the sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie* and *accented French* or foreign accents) I will study the third language that is synchronian, featuring the contact zone between written and spoken registers on different levels of the language: phonetic and prosodic, morphological, syntactic and lexical. I will use tables featuring various examples

taken over the course of the series for the sake of clarity. More extensive dialogues are to be found in separate appendices at the end of the dissertation. They will be adapted from both Mboudjeke's (2008) and Romero-Fresco's articles.

Chapter 3 deals with the Québécois dubbing and the varieties of French it uses and to what extent multiple contact zones are manifested through the porous boundaries between different registers and levels of French: *joual*, *standard Québécois*, *international French*, the *sociolect of the Parisian haute-bourgeoisie* and *accented French*. I will attempt to provide clear definitions of these different varieties based on concrete examples taken from the TV series. I will determine to what extent this use of language fosters a “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) within the show that is unique to the Québécois version as well as the social mobility of its characters. However, I need to state the difficulties sociolinguists and myself have in drawing a line between *standard Québécois*, *international French*, and *standard French from France*. There is a lack of clear definitions and relative interpenetration or superimposition of these varieties. Although there will be a relative superimposition between these three varieties, the study of the idiosyncrasies of the characters will allow for a tentative taxonomy. Keeping these possible shortcomings in mind, the QV layers the spoken language of its dubbing in both TV shows far beyond the original and creates a symphony of ‘varieties’ or registers of French, which redefines the identities of its characters.

Chapter 4 focuses on a dimension that is often left out of the study of dubbing: the contact zone of the nonverbal and verbal dimension. I will conduct a quantitative and qualitative descriptive analysis of *TF* and *TS* with the image of the “contact zone” as a running thread. I have studied different scenes from several episodes of the series in order to offer a comprehensive view of the dubbing’s inner workings. I will first study the play on voice quality in both versions and to what extent it compensates for the lack of idiomacity in the French version of *The Flintstones* and creates a cartoonish symphony in both TV shows. Finally I will move on to the visual dimension per se, the different techniques used and their effect on both versions whose approaches to the visuals are radically different. While the Québécois version resolutely gives an absurd and visible translation in *The Flintstones* and displays significant creativity as well as a sense of self-derision in *The Simpsons*, the French version tends to domesticate the visuals, on a par with its linguistic fantasyland.

Chapter 5 focuses on the other purpose of the language used in the QV, which is to reinscribe the TV show within a Third Space featuring *américanité* and *téléroman* connections. The QV takes it as an opportunity to stand midway between nation or community building and *américanité*. It focuses on the contact zone between the different cultures through multiple references and becomes a rhizomatic entity. The FV presents a fantasyland for *TF* with no specific geographical attachment, offering a Third Space matching its third language. The FV of *TS* becomes more anchored in American culture and offers a more concrete

language although the space remains a geographical limbo drawing upon multiple American cultural references.

Finally, the conclusion will not only provide a synthesis of the findings for each axis and bring together the Québécois and French versions but it will also explore the need for further study of the Québec-France-USA axis.

## Chapter 1. The Dubbing Industry: How the Local Negotiates the Global

This new economy is global; because the central activities of production, consumption and circulation, as well as their components...are organized on a global scale, either directly or through a network of connections between different economic agents. (Cronin 2003: 11; my emphasis)

...a network by definition is open-ended and therefore capable of being extended indefinitely ... [but] two roles are central: that of the gatekeeper and that of the switch. The gatekeeper decides who will or will not be admitted in the network. The switch decides what network will or will not be connected to another network. (45)

The worldwide traffic of audiovisual products is embodied by translational organizations challenging the borders of nation-states creating a contact zone between the local and the global. “Gatekeeping” systems are designed against the perceived threat of globalization, a synonymous for Americanization otherwise known as the “colonization of the imaginary”<sup>21</sup> (Gruzinski 1988) of a specific nation with American economic, cultural and social values. Faced with this superpower, the local, understood as the nation-state, negotiates the global.

Although sociologists and anthropologists such as Appadurai (2008) have challenged this monolithic and ultimately pessimistic conception of globalization as synonymous with colonization and failing to accurately reflect the current world-order, audiovisual products are arguably one of the main commodities circulating around the globe. Moreover, most of the worldwide audiovisual production comes from the United States and carries its own cultural codes and values. Nations such as France and Québec rely on these products in order to fill

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<sup>21</sup> “La colonisation de l’imaginaire.” The term “imaginary” has been used in previous PhD thesis such as “Colonizing the Imaginary: Children’s Embodiment of Cultural Narratives” by Andrew Rees Chappell (2008).

the increasing airtime due to the increased number of channels. However, they are subjected to regulations and gatekeeping strategies among which the dubbing industry. The organization of the dubbing industry in a globalized context has shifted the place of the translator within the translating process. Power struggles occur in the shadow of the “in-between” space, between the moment a TV show leaves its national borders to be transplanted to the country/region for which it will be dubbed, and the moment the product airs. The dubbing industry represents not only economic, but also linguistic and cultural stakes. France and Québec resort to policies stemming from their cultural exception/diversity initiatives in order to regulate their respective dubbing industries. Despite being overwhelmingly visible (Luyken 34 for France; Gariépy 2004 for Québec), the “battle for linguistic transfers” (Dries 1995) is fought in the shadows. Through dubbing, “the non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space—a Third Space—where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existence” (Bhabha 1994: 218). This Third Space, between global and local within the dubbing industry and technique, becomes a site for productivity and creativity not only in terms of the micro-structure but also the macro-structure.

I will determine (1) to what extent dubbing as an economic powerhouse in both France and Québec is understood as a “subterranean” (Deleuze and Guattari 6) network underlain by visibility/invisibility dynamics: multiple discourses about dubbing refer to the technique as a ‘shadow art’ evidenced by its complex process in which the translator/adaptor is lost. I will then (2) determine to what extent the

dubbing technique acts as one of the components of the cultural exception/diversity initiative upheld by both France and Québec motivated by a willingness to make this art more visible. Finally, (3) I will delve into the intricacies of the battle between the French and Québécois dubbing industries over the years and how the two industries fare in a field of struggles motivated by economic, cultural and linguistic issues (Von Flotow 2010: 32).

### **1.1 The Dubbing Process: A Shadow Game**

Dubbing is an underground or “subterranean” (Deleuze and Guattari 6) network within audiovisual production. From dubbing actors to theoreticians in the field, a discourse surrounding dubbing creates a specific imaginary: dubbing is a stealthy art living in the shadows. The place of the translator/adaptor in the shadow and anonymity is clearly stated by several agents within the dubbing industry. Stéphane Rivard, a Québécois dubbing actor, states that “... our studios are in near-darkness”<sup>22</sup> (n.pag.) while theoreticians refer to the dubbing actors as “the shadow voices”<sup>23</sup> (Pommier 113; Justamand 2006) and “shadow artists”<sup>24</sup> (Justamand *objectif-cinéma* n.pag.). The original voice actors take precedence over the dubbing actors who have to disappear behind the original character as they have “to mold themselves into this character”<sup>25</sup> (Charbonneaux *n.pag.*). A discourse around the dubbing process and product shrouds it in a strong shadow/invisible imaginary, some of which seems to be internalized by its various

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<sup>22</sup> “nos studios sont dans la pénombre”

<sup>23</sup> “les voix de l’ombre ”

<sup>24</sup> “des artistes de l’ombre”

<sup>25</sup> “se mouler au personnage”

agents. Dubbing as an art of the shadow is a multi-layered invisibility (Venuti 1995: 16). As ‘the art of make believe’ or illusion (Justamand *objectif-cinéma* n.pag.), dubbing has to remain invisible or, more precisely, inaudible.

The process of translation itself decentralizes the translator’s place. Along with the other dubbing agents (adapter/detector, dubbing actors, etc.), the translator, for dubbing, is one component of a complex chain. Whereas in literary translation the translator is part of a complex translational chain comprised of various agents in which the texts undergo several transformations (Buzelin 139), the level of complexity is heightened in the dubbing industry. The translator’s work can be altered by the director, the actors and the various agents involved in the process.<sup>26</sup> In broad terms there are ten steps to the dubbing process in France and Québec from choosing the product to airing it:

1. An American major hires a French/Québécois dubbing company.
2. Once the dubbing company receives the master copy, they hire either an artistic director in charge of supervising the dubbing process and agents or only a translation team until step 7 when the artistic director will be chosen.
3. The artistic director hires a team comprised of a detector, a translator, an adapter, a calligrapher, a dubbing cast and a sound engineer. Some of these agents can perform 2 to 3 other tasks: the detector often serves as

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<sup>26</sup> In “Independent Publisher Networks of Translation”, Hélène Buzelin provides a sociological analysis of the translation/publishing industry in Québec through a case study. She follows the various agents or actors involved and the different translational stages: “The actors who happened to play a key role in the process (translators, senior editor, general director and rights manager) were interviewed on three to four occasions each, at critical times of the process. Nine other actors (chief reviser, production manager, distributor, sales representative, press officer, author’s agent, Montréal and Paris-based co-agents, senior editor of the original text)” (139).

translator and adapter or even calligrapher. Gambier baptized this person a “tradaptateur” (2004: 171), a portmanteau word combining “translator” and “adapter”.

4. The detector watches the master copy of the episode to translate. He/she is often working as a translator or with a translator. He/she transcribes the original text on the *bande rythmo*, “a wide piece of transparent tape” (Von Flotow 2010: 30) paying attention to the mouth opening and closing as well as labials.
5. They will then provide the adapter with a copy of the original transcript including the lip movements using a time-code (if the calligrapher does not work as a tradapter). The adapter transcribes the original dialogues into French on the *bande rythmo*.
6. The calligrapher (who can also work as the detector and adapter) will then copy the adaptation on the *bande rythmo* using codes referring to the prosody.
7. Once the working copy is available, the dubbing company hires a dubbing director and sound engineer, if this was not already done. Together with the adapter they design a working schedule and the casting of voices if necessary.
8. The recording sessions can begin using the *bande rythmo* featuring the translated text scrolling at the bottom of the screen for actors to interpret.
9. Once the recording is finalized, a sound engineer will verify lip-synchrony and bring any corrections if necessary to perfect the illusion.

10. The final tape is sent to the customer ready for airing.<sup>27</sup>

Such an intricate and overlapping process typifies audiovisual translation characterized by “... (1) Teamwork ... (2) Translators often work with intermediate ‘texts’ (scenarios, scripts, drafts), which tends to defy the traditional dichotomy between source and target text...” (Gambier 2001: xi-xii). Working in the dubbing industry entails that the translator not only has to translate but also to adapt the script for the dubbing actors: they can in turn bring changes to the script along with the artistic director who can intervene at any step. Given the complexity of the chain, degrees and points of manipulation are multiple and difficult to highlight (Von Flotow 2010: 30-31).

Within the dubbing industry, “translators are first and foremost mediators. They are the medium by which texts from one culture and language are transmitted to another. Translation is, therefore, a subset of the larger sets of transmission and mediation” (Cronin 2009: 26). Translation as a chain of production equates the role of the translator to a mediator between heterogeneous elements and processes, standing in an unfixed and unbound “Third Space”, at the crossroads of culture and languages. Diverse means of communication decentralize the work of the translator who ceases to be the stable point within the translating process. The mediator’s voice and body are disincarnated since “the principal aim of systems of mediation is to make themselves transparent ...” (27), hence domesticated; the Other is suppressed in translation, which entails the invisibility of the translator who fades out behind the original author. The

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<sup>27</sup> This is adapted from *doublage.qc.ca* in conjunction with Le Nouvel (12-3) and Von Flotow (2010: 30).

invisibility of the translator seems double, even triple, within the audiovisual translation.

The invisibility of dubbing is further actualized at the level of the actors voicing the translation. Replacing the original voices, this technique poses several ethical problems for some theoreticians. From a strictly technical viewpoint, the dubbing actor is invisible to the spectator as he/she disappears behind the character's body while his/her voice remains 'visible' but detached from his/her body. This deterritorialization of the voice has been dubbed "ventriloquism" by Doane (1985), Nornes (2007) and Ferrari (2007).

According to Doane, dubbing reinforces the dissimulation of the "cinematographic apparatus" (Baudry): "the sound track is a ventriloquist who, by moving his dummy (the image) in time with the words he secretly speaks, creates the illusion that the words are produced by the dummy/image whereas in fact the dummy/image is actually created in order to disguise the source of the sound" (Doane 67). The dubbing actor only lends his/her voice to the character's body. While his/her body disappears in the shadows of the dubbing studio, his/her voice is artificially attached to a character's body on screen. While this technique questions the natural unity of the voice and its body, everything is undertaken to make this process natural. Dubbing claims to preserve the integrity of a work of art by avoiding the dissociation between visual and oral perception: "... the illusion that the words are produced by the dummy/image whereas in fact the dummy/image is actually created in order to disguise the source of sound" (Altman 67).

Nornes goes as far as calling the dubbing technique an infantilizing process since it was originally meant for programs targeted at children (189). However it presents an interesting paradox to him. Although domesticating and invisible, the dubbing made after WWII presents technical defects in its lip-synchrony: “Here in the gap between the ventriloquist’s thrown voice and the flapping of the dummy’s lips, the hegemony of the target language is laid bare as we speak through them” (209). The dubbing process becomes an unsettling visibility/invisibility paradox in which the body of the dubbing actor is invisible yet his/her voice remains present. The rupture or “disjuncture” (Appadurai) between the voice and the body attracts the viewer’s attention to the site of translation at the centre of the image.

Taking up the expression “cultural ventriloquism” from Béhar’s study of subtitles (2004) Ferrari transposes it to dubbing. She considers the technique as part of the domesticating process since “dubbing allows texts to become culturally and nationally specific... Dubbing reinforces, through a heightened illusionary translation process ... a sense of national identity and national belonging” (2010: 46-7). For Ferrari, the dubbing process suppresses the otherness of the product through a vocal domestication.

However, for Nornes, “moving image translation inevitably sports bumps of a jeep trail and is flooded by so much remainder that we should come up with a different term” (7-8); it prevents thorough domestication and ventriloquism but instead is filled with discrepancies and points of tension. Audiovisual products are not produced in a cultural vacuum, but come from a specific context and culture.

They convey their own cultural codes through multiple channels. The remainder, an essential concept in Venuti's and postcolonial theories, represents a vital element within the encounter between the local and the global. Suppressing the Other is impossible as the remainder, understood at the irreducible nature of the foreign object, generates a hybrid translation and discrepancies.

Through dubbing, the persistence of the remainder creates a translation that manipulates perception. The remainder attracts attention to the site of translation and the Other. In cinema, "abusive translation" (Nornes 155) is a form of violence against the target language, culture and spectator:

A translated text should be the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other, and resistance, a translation strategy based on an aesthetic of discontinuity, can best preserve that difference, that otherness, by reminding the reader of the gains and losses in the translation process and the unbridgeable gaps between cultures. (Venuti 1995: 306)

According to Nornes, the complexity of the audiovisual work resides in its hybrid nature, communicating through various channels and multiple codes. The hybridity of the original product must be preserved through translation respecting the alterity of the product and forcing the viewer to acknowledge the Other within the contact zone between the local and the global. Knowing that an audiovisual text will carry its "otherness" and its specific codes into the cultural fabric of the French and Québécois audiovisual landscape, both nations design specific strategies to contain it.

## **1.2 Globalization, Cultural Exception and Cultural Diversity**

The debates around dubbing are ... in line with recent initiatives to protect cultural diversity in the francophone world, and which target the power and influence of globalized English-language audiovisual products. (Von Flotow 2010: 34)

Positioning dubbing technique as an expression of French/Québécois cultural expression/diversity is crucial to the understanding of the micro-structure of the dubbed TV series. For globalization critics, the phenomenon essentially fosters American interests—or in other words multinationals such as Vivendi-Universal, Endemol in Europe, Astral Media in Canada belonging to Pathé—to the detriment of the rest of the world. These translational organizations transcend physical state borders and Laroche and Bohas emphasize their impact as follows: “The creation of multimedia empires and the predominance of a world cinema have turned the cultural plurality principle into a global stake, be it on a symbolic level or on the economic and political scale”<sup>28</sup> (173). These multinationals stand as rivals to national or local companies such as *France Télévisions* in France or la *Société Radio-Canada* in Québec. Through the scattering of multiple products all over the globe on thousands of channels, these Majors create networks that conglomerate activities and products and question the notion of border. This conglomerate phenomenon, for some theoreticians, leads to a homogenizing process fatally leading to the homogeneity of means and contents, which are characteristics of the globalization phenomenon nation-states have to face.

The popularity of American audiovisual products, perceived as homogenizing agents, lie in “world content”<sup>29</sup>, or in other words, contents for which “differences between national cultures do not constitute an obstacle to the

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<sup>28</sup> “La constitution d’empires multimédias et la prédominance d’un cinéma-monde, ont transformé le principe de pluralité culturelle en enjeu global, tant dans sa dimension symbolique qu’au plan politico-économique.”

<sup>29</sup> “contenus-monde.”

spreading of their products that have a translational nature”<sup>30</sup> (Laroche and Bohas 90). According to Laroche and Bohas<sup>31</sup> the success of American audiovisual works is indebted to Americans’ unique *savoir-faire*, a sense of formula and a way to direct actors nobody else can compete with. The combination of these different elements allows them to convey universally understood notions such as the value of the family, courage, etc.

It would seem then that two conflicting tendencies exist on a global scale. Along national contents, born out of the cultural exception, “... a global television industry is emerging, based on scenic means, formats, narration style and ingredients ... that tend to become institutionalized throughout the Western world. Global television is the result of a subtle balance, with a strong commercialization potential, between a proximity appeal and well-tried recipes”<sup>32</sup> (210). American audiovisual works rely on an indiscriminate mixing of ingredients while presenting a local flavour in order to blur identities. They offer a collective imaginary that ceases to be rooted in a specific social or cultural space. As Nowell-Smith explains: “There is a clear loss of specificity, a blurring of identities... There is an increasingly global cuisine mixing ingredients associated with different localities, and an increasingly global pop culture” (16). By mixing multiple cultural and social codes, American audiovisual products have a

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<sup>30</sup> “les différences entre cultures nationales ne représentent aucunement des obstacles à leur diffusion car ces biens revêtent un caractère transnational.”

<sup>31</sup> Laroche and Bohas analyze the contents of American audiovisual works in order to explain their undeniable success since the advent of the Talkies

<sup>32</sup> “émerge une industrie de la global television, fondée sur des dispositifs scéniques, des formats, des styles de narration et des ingrédients ... qui tendent à s’institutionnaliser à travers le monde occidental. La global television procède d’un équilibre subtil, à potentialité commerciale forte, entre un parfum de proximité et des recettes éprouvées.”

translational appearance and appeal that allow them to reach a global audience. As a consequence, they enact the sterilization of specific cultures by replacing them with generic tastes while developing consumerism.

In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson emphasizes the consolidation of the nation through mass media such as the printed ones. Television, mass art, has replaced and reinforced the role once held by print media. It ensures the prosperity of the nation by representing a national imaginary:

...the 'national identities' embodied by national cinemas are shaped by the gaze looking in, toward the culture, as well as the gaze looking out. This dialogic process of identity-formation is created in a space where subjects inside a given nation-state project what they believe will be the external response to their own images of identity and this projection of an 'other' inevitably changes the nature of the image projected outward. (MacKenzie 174)

Television in both France and Québec plays an important part maintaining of the national imaginary and the creation of this “imagined community” (Anderson): “We often forget to what extent media operate on a national identity matrix, to what extent they become mediators between different segments of a society and to what extent they reflect ... a history and a culture attached to a territory<sup>33</sup>” (Dagnaud 30).

### **1.2.1 Negotiation of the Global at the Local Level: France and Québec**

Dagnaud's statement clearly features concepts belonging to the cultural exception: the imaginary, the national and the territory. These notions betray the nationalistic or protectionist dimension of the cultural exception. The term “*exception culturelle*” appeared in the late 1980s during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in Uruguay regulating commercial exchanges from

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<sup>33</sup> “On oublie combien les médias œuvrent sur une matrice identitaire nationale, combien ils se posent en médiateurs des différents segments d'une société et combien ils reflètent ... une histoire et une culture circonscrites à un territoire.”

1986 to the early 2000s. The cultural exception makes its first appearance as a vivid reaction against the perceived Americanisation of cultural goods and economy in general by European countries and especially France. During the GATT, the US, one of the largest exporters of cultural goods, proposed a move towards the liberalisation of exchanges or free trade (Nowell-Smith 14): they wanted to place audiovisual works—films and television—in the category of economic goods. Both France and Canada criticized the proposal followed by other European countries. They refused to consider audiovisual works as simply economic goods. Carrying cultural values and codes, these works represent a stand-alone category and cannot be subjected to the laws of international market.<sup>34</sup> The “*exception culturelle*” became firmly established in 1994 during the Marrakech cycle (Trautman n.pag.): “it means that the European community and most of the members of the WTO have refused to move towards a liberalisation of the audiovisual industry, since they believe that it is essential to preserve the ability of states to intervene against the WTO’s possible contentious decisions”<sup>35</sup> (n.pag.).

In more concrete terms, the traffic of audiovisual products as cultural goods is regulated by the countries that adopted the cultural exception through

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<sup>34</sup> In “La culture une marchandise comme les autres” by the UNESCO, cultural goods are understood as “des objets de commerce et des biens qui véhiculent des valeurs, des idées, du sens...” (UNESCO 8) (“trade objects and goods that convey values, ideas, meaning...”).

<sup>35</sup> “Elle signifie que la Communauté européenne et la plupart des Etats membres de l’OMC (113) ont refusé de prendre des engagements de libéralisation dans le secteur audiovisuel, estimant qu’il était essentiel de préserver la capacité d’intervention des Etats contre d’éventuelles remises en cause par l’OMC.”

quotas of airing and production as well as taxes on imported works.<sup>36</sup> For the opponents to this initiative, it is perceived as a protectionist move (Gourmay 13) that cannot be justified by any ethical will to preserve a country's culture: the cultural exception is a nationalistic decision motivated by economic and political reasons. In a move attaching culture to the idea of a nation or territory, the politics of the cultural exception turns culture into the flagship of the nation; it becomes a "cultural nationalism" (21) understood as "the expression of a will to be self-sufficient, in other words the rejection of any artistic or cultural product from a foreign country"<sup>37</sup> (21).

The assertion of the cultural nature of audiovisual works is an acknowledgment of the evocative power of such products. They offer an imaginary of their own and carry codes and signs that an individual, in his/her identity quest within consumer society, will internalize. The cultural exception recognizes the powers and potential dangers of an intensive and unregulated circulation of audiovisual works, most of them from the US. The cultural exception becomes a means to stimulate an imaginary specific to France and Québec, able to reflect their respective cultures. The initiative is then understood as a political desire to develop a nationalistic sentiment within a specific territory geographically defined: "... these policies are inspired by 'national' concerns. What is meant is that those in charge of these policies want to maintain and often

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<sup>36</sup> Cultural exception is a term that is still debated as to its meaning and its specific regulations. It is a symbolic initiative from countries who went against the US' proposals during the GATT negotiations. It has never been officially legislated although it is tacitly agreed on.

<sup>37</sup> "l'expression d'une volonté d'autarcie, autrement dit le rejet de toutes les productions artistiques et culturelles en provenance des pays étrangers. "

develop, on the national territory, an original artistic and cultural life, against other countries, be it neighbouring ones or not”<sup>38</sup> (19).

The cultural exception initiative in France translates into a system of quotas and a complex financing system of the cinema industry involving taxes. In France “60% of these products must be from Europe, 40% of which from France”<sup>39</sup> (49) which effectively regulates the spread of American audiovisual and cultural products in general. The cultural exception is perceived not only as a strong defensive stance against the invasion of mostly American products but also as a negative initiative as it is mostly one country’s doing: France.

It evolves towards the cultural diversity initiative upheld by Canada in 2005 and, more specifically, Québec. Québec is the front runner of the *Coalition for Cultural Diversity* created by the Union des Artistes (UDA) in 1998, whose president was Pierre Curzi, in conjunction with the UNESCO’s *Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* in 2005. Canada is one of the main opponents to the *Multilateral Agreement on Investment* (AMI) proposed in 1998 by the US, which was considered a threat to Canada’s economy and culture and led to the cultural diversity initiative. Recognized by the

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<sup>38</sup> “ces politiques sont inspirées par des préoccupations «nationales». On veut dire par là que les responsables de ces politiques sont animés par le souci de maintenir et souvent développer, sur le territoire national, une vie artistique et culturelle originale, face aux autres pays, voisins ou pas.” This is difficult to apply as there is an increasing amount of airing time due to the multiplication of channels. According to Bennett, governments are involved in cultural policies fostering a national agenda (479). The interaction between policies and cultural communities need to be researched: “...the references to policy [within cultural studies] serve to flag a more general set of issues concerning the kinds of political stances, programs, styles of intellectual work and relation of intellectual production...” (482).

<sup>39</sup> “60% de ces œuvres devraient être originaires d'Europe dont 40% françaises.”

UNESCO and involving different agents, state and supranational authorities, its goal is:

to clearly avoid the standardization of the world by preserving the diversity of cultures, and more precisely by promoting the diversity of the cultural offer. It's not only a question of preserving one's territory from the domination of cultural products coming from one country, the United States, but it is also a question of helping the spread of cultural products from other countries. The cultural exception and exemption did not integrate that second dimension. Cultural diversity becomes the promotion and protection of world cultures in the face of the danger of standardization but within a globalization context.<sup>40</sup> (George 6-7)

Cultural diversity is interpreted as a less defensive stand than "cultural exception". The latter, understood as an initiative whose goal is preserving and promoting diversity, is received in a more favourable light although differences are not particularly visible. The emphasis on intercultural exchanges promotes and preserves cultures, be it national ones or not, without imposing any specific legislation to the nation-states. Cultural diversity ultimately allows them to preserve their televisual landscapes.

The goal of the cultural diversity act is to contribute to the promotion and development of a Canadian national unity and reality. Following France's footsteps, Québec also has a complex and efficient system financing the production of audiovisual products. In Canada, the place and importance of audiovisual products is similar to France where "... broadcasting is considered an instrument of production and diffusion that must contribute to the maintenance and development of Canadian culture" (Tremblay n.pag.) with for instance *Radio-*

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<sup>40</sup> "clairement à éviter l'uniformisation du monde en préservant la diversité des cultures, voire plus précisément en faisant la promotion de la diversité de l'offre culturelle. Il est alors question non seulement de préserver son territoire d'une trop grande domination de la diffusion de produits culturels en provenance d'un seul pays, les États-Unis en premier lieu, mais aussi de favoriser la diffusion de produits culturels en provenance d'autres pays. Les expressions d'exception et d'exemption culturelle n'intégraient pas cette deuxième dimension. La diversité culturelle apparaît donc comme la mise en valeur et la protection des cultures du monde face au danger de l'uniformisation mais dans un contexte de mondialisation."

*Canada's* programs. As a francophone province within a mostly English-speaking country and in close proximity to the United-States, Québec has a unique identity and status. While the French might consider that the physical distance between their country and the USA grants them enough impermeability to the influence of the American giant, the close proximity of danger entices governmental institutions in Québec to promote the development of audiovisual products in cinema and television.

According to Mac-Kenzie, starting in the 1960s, Québécois cinema developed a national imaginary, an identity matrix for the Québécois population setting it apart from the rest of Canada: “It is the imaginative capabilities opened up by the image that often allow both Québécois and Canadian nationalists to create the borders that delineate what separates them from the nation-states surrounding them, and from each other” (21). The developing of cinema in the 1960s centered around the designing of a Québécois imaginary that works towards the shaping of a Québécois nation within specific borders: “Borders are as psychological and imaginary as they are concrete and material. To create a border, one needs an imaginary space that signifies difference as much as one needs a concrete geographical space; without both, the value and power of the border begins to crumble” (MacKenzie 23)

In Québec, although cinema remains popular, local television knows an even greater popularity, especially *téléromans*: “*les 10 émissions les plus populaires sont québécoises*” ([téléduquebec.wordpress.com](http://téléduquebec.wordpress.com)) and “data about Québécois viewership show that ... they are faithful not only to French speaking

channels but also to national ones”<sup>41</sup> (Nguyên-Duy 1995: 19). According to Nguyên-Duy (1995b), “the law on broadcasting ... has contributed to the birth of a movement protecting and promoting Canadian industries and cultural products”<sup>42</sup> (17). In Québec, the cultural diversity convention allows authorities to resort to quotas and to promote and facilitate the developing of audiovisual works similar to the French system. Among the different components of the system supporting Québécois audiovisual industry stands the Canadian Radio-Television Commission (CRTC). The latter imposes quotas on television such as the one specifying that airtime must consist of 60% of Canadian content. However the definition of what qualifies as Canadian is somewhat unclear. The CRTC designed a point system according to which in order for a program to qualify as Canadian, it has to gather 6 points: the requirements for a production to be considered Canadian is having a Canadian producer and a certain number of Canadian agents involved in the process in order to garner the 6 points required.

However, the promotion of the dubbing industry and how it relates to this points system remains a vague field in Québec, though this industry clearly stands to preserve the cultural industries and the cultural initiatives that present national imaginary of France and Québec stands the dubbing industry. Although France’s film industry is thriving, its televisual landscape is dominated by American programs (Gourmay 46). Dubbing becomes a tool towards gatekeeping the Other

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<sup>41</sup> “les données concernant les téléspectateurs québécois révèlent ... qu’ils [les Québécois] sont non seulement fidèles aux chaînes francophones, mais aussi nationales.”

<sup>42</sup> “la Loi sur la radiodiffusion ... a contribué à l’avènement d’un mouvement de protection et de promotions des industries et des produits culturels canadiens.”

but cultural fabric still features other values generating hybrid elements as we will see in the subsequent chapters.

### **1.3 Dubbing Industries in France and Québec: the Shadow Fight**

Discourses surrounding France and Québec's dubbing industry, history and language have been imbued with power relations enforcing Québec's status of David against France's Goliath. The dubbing industry is a battle of linguistic transfers (Dries 1985), a battlefield over who has the best product and, in this fight, the cultural exception card/cultural diversity is key. Not only do France and Québec fight against the perceived American threat but they also lead an internal 'brotherly' battle.

#### **1.3.1 Dubbing Industry in France**

In the context of globalization, the advent of dubbing in 1929 for Noel (4) is interpreted as a nationalistic tendency whose goal is to preserve the nation of France and French cultural industries against the invasion of Hollywood products (Danan 1991; Ferrari for Italy)<sup>43</sup>, and the spread of the English lingua franca. Williams writes that "direct state regulation of broadcasting, at the level of its early technical regulation, [led] to direct state regulation of broadcasting production, as still for example in Italy and France. In fascist societies this direct state control was a natural instrument of policy" (28).<sup>44</sup> In her thesis, Danan studies the French dubbing industry after WWII, especially the use of dubbing for American movies. Danan evokes the rise of Hollywood cinema to its status of

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<sup>43</sup> Ferrari (2010: 30) and Danan (45) both examine the coming of dubbing as a tool for fascist propaganda (Mussolini's and Pétain's)

<sup>44</sup> In *Television* (1975), Williams studies the advent of television not only as a technological innovation but also an institutional tool.

production powerhouse and its hegemony and influence over French cinema. Due to the advent of Talkies, Hollywood studios developed dubbing as a strategy to conquer the French market. However, France seized it as an opportunity to use dubbing as a tool for censorship<sup>45</sup> and the suppression of the alterity of the original product with one specific goal: consolidate French nationhood. As a nationalistic technique:

The assumption ... that the choice of dubbing and subtitling is essentially dependent on economic reasons cannot be accepted at face value... Dubbing is an attempt to hide the foreign nature of a film by creating the illusion that actors are speaking the viewer's language. Dubbed movies become, in a way, local productions. (Danan 612)

However, such strategy is a double-edged sword since the importation of foreign materials familiarizes the viewer with the Hollywood format, which is echoed by de la Garde in his observation about the dubbing industry in Québec:

...if language is synonymous with culture, one should encourage the consumption of French language television programs, even of dubbed American programs because of their low cost and high-viewing appeal. If, on the other hand culture is more than language, the question is whether the consumption of dubbed American programs, while reinforcing the vitality and public awareness of the French language, also introduces American values into the cultural fabric of the Québécois identity. (de la Garde 1996: 268; my emphasis)

However, Danan is more concerned about the changes to the cinema industry in France where the audiovisual industry is leaning towards the adoption of an American model. The financing system for cinema designed by the government, which is a complex machinery, is changing with the apparition of multinationals posited between traditional/national and globalized tendencies.

What becomes apparent is that the constitution of multinationals is entailing the

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<sup>45</sup> Le Nouvel states that “Le doublage a été un filtre censurant majeur du temps de Vichy et surtout sous Franco” (52) (“Dubbing was a censoring filter in the Vichy government and Franco’s regime”). For an in-depth study of dubbing as a tool for censorship refer to Danan’s “From Nationalism to Globalization: France’s Challenges to Hollywood’s Hegemony” (1994). Plourde also studies an example of censorship in the QV of *TS*: “the target audience is children, resulting in the toning down of the original language.” (200b: 118). I also study a case of censorship in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.

“homogenization of cinematographic fields...”<sup>46</sup> (Dagnaud 173). However, this does not seem to be the case for the dubbing industry in which cultural exception seems to be thriving.

“In broad terms, the French dubbing industry deals annually with an excess of 2 000 hours of programme material for television, 85% of which are from English into French” (Luyken 34) and according to *RS doublage.com*, 90% of films and 60% of TV programs are dubbed in France (*rsdoublage.com*). France, along with Spain, Germany and Italy, is considered a dubbing country as opposed to subtitling countries such as Finland, Norway, Holland and Sweden, for instance (Media consulting Group n.pag). This choice is partly explained by the fact that “... audience preference is, in the first place, determined by familiarity and conditioning to either of the two main methods of Language Transfer [subtitling or dubbing] ” (Luyken 112); this explains why 68% of the population prefers dubbing as opposed to 11% for subtitling according to the *Centre d’Etudes d’Opinion* in 1982. This situation could appear dated but is still relevant since as of 2007 (Media Consulting Group n.pag) “cartoons are invariably revoiced even in subtitling countries. This is almost inevitable both because of the age-range of their expected audience and because of the need to preserve their visual integrity” (Luyken 134).

The dubbing industry is a component of the French cultural exception. This industry is characterized by a fight for visibility for two main reasons: (1) the regulatory work by governmental institutions and (2) the technical aspects. The French dubbing industry is represented by the *Association des Traducteurs*

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<sup>46</sup> “l’homogénéisation des secteurs cinématographiques.”

*Adaptateurs de l'Audiovisuel* (ATAA) and the *Syndicat Français des Artistes-Interprètes* (SFA) created in 1952. The status of the dubbing actors in France is a unique one. The French dubbing industry was shaken by strikes in 1994 against dubbing made in Belgium, the lack of visibility of their work and the fact that dubbing actors were not paid for the rerun of their dubbed work. The dubbing actors were recognized as *artistes interprètes* and, as of 2005, they are paid for the use of their work in different areas on DVDs for instance. After 1994, they officially became recognized as artists of their own unlike Québécois actors who are in a more precarious situation. However, the dubbing industry in France is threatened by dubbing companies (essentially located in Belgium) who offer lower rates in order to become more competitive. However, the latter provide translations that are not necessarily of the highest quality. The legal framework surrounding the French profession is unique:

The study concluded that, in those countries with a clearly defined legal framework (Germany and France for dubbing actors, for example), there are no reasons for producers and distributors to try to lower prices ... and it was concluded that only French legislation acts as a genuine tool to support the dubbing and subtitling industry (Media Consulting Group n.pag.)

Or again:

the French situation is quite particular, in that translation professionals are heavily protected. Translators are well paid and no Belgian translator has managed to penetrate the French market even though Belgian tariffs are half those of France. Moreover, dubbed and subtitled works for the French cinema are considered “prestigious products” for which customers are prepared to pay a high price, and it would seem that there is a tacit agreement between sector companies not to start price wars (n.pag.)

The dubbing process in France represents a cultural exception to some and its technology is unique to France and Québec in that it uses the *bande rythmo* which according to Chaume is the only specificity in the dubbing European landscape: “...although minor differences in the dubbing process are noted across

Europe ... the most significant difference is the French *bande rythmo*, and the subsequent time and money invested in trying to improve the dubbing process” (2007: 205). This particular tool is considered “too expensive and time-consuming” (205) for other countries. Once again, this goes to show one instance where “localization beats globalization” (203).

### **1.3.2 Dubbing *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* in France**

Finding information about the dubbing cast and process for *The Flintstones* was a real challenge despite extensive research on the Web. This is most likely due to the fact that the TV show originally aired in the 1970s before airing in the 1990s in *Hannah Barbera Dingue Dong* in the morning on Antenne 2, now France 2 ([ohmygoodweb.com](http://ohmygoodweb.com)). *The Flintstones* comprises a small cast of famous actors (see Appendix A) among them dubbing legends Roger Carel, a specialist in dubbing animation, and Gérard Hernandez. There is a no great interest in France for the dubbing industry with the exception of *The Simpsons* with [simpsonpark.com](http://simpsonpark.com), a comprehensive website with extensive resources on the dubbing cast and process. This attitude somewhat diverges from Québec’s comprehensive website [doublage.qc.ca](http://doublage.qc.ca) and the numerous interviews of the dubbing cast of *The Simpsons* available in newspapers and online. Québec seems to fight the invisibility of the dubbing industry at the macro-structural level as well as the micro-structural one as we will see in the subsequent chapters.

Finding information for *The Simpsons* was a much easier task thanks to the multiple online resources as well as Altarac’s interview with the French adapters, which once again can be credited to the fact that the show started airing

in the information age, specifically on a specialised network, Canal +, in 1990 (*simpsonpark.com*) at 7 pm. Since then it has been airing at various times and on different channels such as M6 and W9 for reruns. The show was an immediate hit largely due to the work of the dubbing cast and adapters. The cast only comprises eight actors (see Appendix A) with two adapters, Juliette Vigouroux and Alain Cassard, until 2009 when they left and were replaced by Christian Dura (artistic director) and Régine Teyssot (one of the dubbing cast members) (*sousdoubles.com*) in an approach similar to the Québécois one (1.3.6).

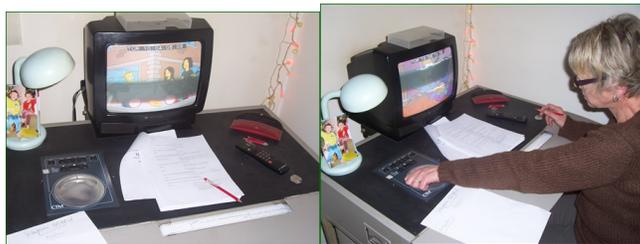


Fig.1. Vigouroux working on *The Simpsons* (*simpsonpark.com*)

Adapters are pressured by time as they translate an episode in five days working long hours (Vigouroux and Cassard *simpsonpark.com*). The main difficulties for the adapters are the prosody of English, different from French (Cassard *simpsonpark.com*), lip-synchrony as well as songs and inside jokes (Cassard *simpsonpark.com*): “we have to adapt without falling into a *franchouillard*<sup>47</sup> approach, without ever alluding to French things but instead to something

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<sup>47</sup> I decided to leave this term untranslated. According to the *Larousse*, “franchouillard” “présente les défauts traditionnellement attribués au Français moyen (en particulier chauvinisme, étroitesse d’esprit).” It can be translated as “presents the defects traditionally attached to the average French (especially chauvinism, narrow-mindedness).” In this context it would be considered as a chauvinistic approach, an approach deemed francocentric when the show is clearly American.

internationally famous because, even if its is dubbed in French, the context is American”<sup>48</sup> (Vigouroux *simpsonpark.com*).

### 1.3.3 The Québécois Dubbing Industry: Fight for Visibility

By forcing the industry to dub here, we respect cultural diversity and we acknowledge the unique nature of Québécois culture.<sup>49</sup> (Benjamin qtd in *dvdfrancais.com*)

Dubbing practice in Québec appeared in 1956 with *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (Justamand 2006: 11-2) for cinema and in the 1950s with *Foreign intrigue* for TV series (Deslandes 45). However, dubbing became a true institution in the 1960s (45) with the goal to safeguard the language and culture of Québec, which would later on become a part of the cultural diversity initiative. The dubbing industry’s institutionalization coincided with the social upheavals of the *Révolution tranquille* in the late 1960s and mid 1970s. The situation of the dubbing industry strongly mirrors the one for literary translation studied by Brisset in *Sociocritique de la traduction* (1998).

The dubbing industry in Québec also has an intricate funding process whose goal is to offer high quality dubbing at a lesser cost in order to be more attractive to Hollywood studios that exercise constant pressures on it. The Québécois market does not represent enough profit for American studios, especially when they can hire French dubbing companies where the market is not only bigger but also exclusive as it prevents any dubbing made outside Europe to

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<sup>48</sup> “il faut adapter sans jamais tomber dans le franchouillard, jamais faire d’allusions à des choses françaises mais toujours à quelque chose de connu internationalement, car, même si c’est doublé en français, le contexte est américain.”

<sup>49</sup> “En obligeant l’industrie à doubler ici, on respecte la diversité culturelle et on reconnaît le caractère unique de la culture québécoise.”

be aired. Economically speaking the Québécois dubbing industry still represents more than 20 million dollars (Gariépy 23). The dubbing industry in Québec seems to be characterized by a constant fighting mode unlike France and this is reflected in the micro-structure of the audiovisual text (see Chapter 5). The invisibility of the dubbing industry in Québec is counteracted by its actors who make themselves heard and visible within the dubbed texts (see Chapter 5).

Québécois dubbing studios and actors, who until recently (2012) were the only artists who did not have a collective agreement, are represented by the *Association Nationale des Doubleurs Professionnels* (ANDP) and *Société des Auteurs de Radio, Télévision et Cinéma* (SARTEC). They also work with the *Union des Artistes* (UDA), one of the frontrunners of the cultural diversity initiative. Until 2012, Québécois dubbing agents saw their salary stagnating unlike fellow actors. Like France, the ANDP regulates the conditions of the dubbing process with a concern for visibility: “the dubbing company should put the name of narrators and main artists, as well as the origins of the dubbing (name of the dubbing house and place) and the union affiliation of its artists in the credits as much as possible”<sup>50</sup> (22).

Moreover, dubbing is perceived now as a prestigious art according to Hubert Gagnon, Homer’s voice: “After being looked down upon by theatre people for a long time, dubbing is now respected by the field. ‘It’s well regarded now.

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<sup>50</sup> “Autant que faire se peut, la maison de doublage inscrit au générique le nom des narrateurs et des artistes principaux, de même que la provenance du doublage (nom de la maison de doublage et lieu) et l’affiliation syndicale des artistes.”

They teach dubbing in theatre schools, it's an excellent training for an actor"<sup>51</sup> (Gagnon qtd. in *la presse.ca*). Besides the UDA and ANDP, dubbing is protected by an intricate web of different associations as well as governmental, provincial and private institutions such as the *Conseil de la Radiodiffusion et des Télécommunications Canadiennes* (CRTC) *Telefilm Canada*, the *Société de Développement des Entreprises Culturelle* (SODEC) (Paquin 2000) and the SARTEC previously mentioned. Financially, the *Fonds des Médias Canadiens* (FMC) instated the "crédit d'impôt remboursable" (Gariépy 51), which helps lessen the cost for different investors in the dubbing work.

Although the system mirrors the one adopted in France and although France and Québec both promote cultural diversity and seem to present a common front, no dubbing made in Québec is allowed to air in France due to the 1996 decree stipulating that no dubbing outside Europe can circulate in France (Paquin 127). This is in turn closely linked to the status of literary translation in Québec: "The French scene is dominated by protectionism. The translation of foreign works undergoes the same treatment as dubbing. Everybody knows that foreign works must be dubbed in France in order to be shown there"<sup>52</sup> (41)

Faced with France's decree "dubbing in Québec is then limited ... to Québec"<sup>53</sup> (128), constrained to a small yet thriving market which forces studios

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<sup>51</sup> "Longtemps regardé de haut par les gens du théâtre, le doublage inspire désormais le respect du milieu. 'C'est bien vu maintenant. Dans les écoles de théâtre, on enseigne le doublage, c'est extrêmement formateur pour un acteur'."

<sup>52</sup> "Un protectionnisme domine corrélativement la scène française. La traduction des oeuvres étrangères est soumise au même principe que le doublage cinématographique. On sait que les films étrangers doivent être doubles en France pour y être présentés."

<sup>53</sup> "le doublage au Québec se voit donc limité ... au Québec."

to find creative solutions in order to ensure and promote the dubbing made in Québec. Not only is France clearly fighting Québec but the latter has to lead an internal fight: “Supreme humiliation: although Radio-Canada got Universal to dub season 2 and onwards of *Quincy* in Québec, the Toronto-based channel CBC dubs its TV series *Un journaliste un peu trop voyant* in France”<sup>54</sup> (Justamand 2006:16). Lèveillé, Bart’s voice, comments on the state of dubbing in Québec: “In the USA, they produce about a hundred films less than usual. Several of these films are dubbed in France, but also in Belgium, in Italy, in Morocco and in Israel ... Two thirds are dubbed in France and Belgium...” According to various articles, Québécois channels dub their TV series in Europe. For instance Vrak.TV dubbed *Jacob Two Two*, a Canadian animation series, in Belgium. According to Vrak.TV “the additional costs to have it redubbed in Québec would be unreasonable: up to 8,000\$”<sup>55</sup> (Parent 2007 n.pag.). The purchase of a TV show that is already dubbed costs \$10,000 while dubbing only half an hour in Québec costs between \$8,000 and \$9,000 (Parent 2007 n.pag). Dubbing in Belgium is even cheaper than in France since “the cost of dubbing is around 40% cheaper than in France due to lower salaries and payroll tax as well as less important rights”<sup>56</sup> (Picquet n.pag.).

Different creative strategies are then put in place to preserve the economic viability of the dubbing industry in Québec. For instance, the *Ministère de la*

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<sup>54</sup> “Humiliation suprême: si radio-Canada obtient de Universal le doublage au Québec des saisons 2 et suivantes de *Quincy*, la chaîne torontienne CBC fait doubler sa série *Un journaliste un peu trop voyant* en France.”

<sup>55</sup> “les coûts additionnels pour la redoubler au Québec auraient été de 8 000 \$ par émission, un montant démesuré.”

<sup>56</sup> “Le coût du doublage y est environ 40% moins cher qu’en France, en raison de salaires plus faibles, de cotisations sociales moins élevées et de droits moins importants.”

*Culture et des Communications* (MCC) “has adopted the Loi 109 stipulating that films in a language other than French must be available in French within 45 days of the first presentation in movie theatre”<sup>57</sup> (Paquin 130), instead of the initial 60 days in the original 1983 law. This is meant to prevent Québécois viewers from defecting to the English version available earlier than the dubbed versions since American studios release their movies in Canada and the US at the same time. Another strategy they developed was instated by the UDA who targeted the public image of the American majors through the *Citron* and *Orange* awards, granted respectively to studios that dub the least and the most in Québec (*uda.ca*). In both official reports from SODEC “*L’industrie du doublage au Québec*” (2008) and “*Le développement de l’industrie du doublage au Québec*” (2010), the situation of dubbing for cinema is not deemed alarming considering the growth in the industry of dubbed films and the increase in profits. However, for television the situation is more dire since the Loi 109 does not apply to television or DVD release in Québec: “American and foreign fictional TV series almost completely escape the Québécois dubbing industry”<sup>58</sup> (2010: 5). What they recommend is an increase in funding as well as an intensive marketing campaign with the Hollywood studios.

Beyond these strategies, a decree such as the one in France, called the *Projet de Loi 193*, was vehemently put forward by the UDA in 2007 according to which “close to 72% of Québécois prefer films dubbed in Québec and 77% were

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<sup>57</sup> “a ... fait adopter un article de loi stipulant ‘que les films en langue autre que le français doivent être disponibles en français dans les 45 jours à compter de la date de la première présentation du film en salle.’”

<sup>58</sup> “Les séries de fiction américaines et étrangères échappent presque entièrement à l’industrie québécoise du doublage.”

agreeing with a law forcing the dubbing of films on our territory”<sup>59</sup> (Parent and Patry n.pag.). For the UDA, in the campaign “*Les films présentés au Québec doivent être doublés au Québec*”, every film in Québec should be dubbed in Québec; nowhere are televisual programs mentioned. However, the law was strongly opposed by not only the Minister of Education, Sports and Leisure Line Beauchamp, but also the *Association des Propriétaires de Cinéma et Cinéparcs Québec* in a 2008 report. They refer to the *Rapport Lampron*, the report at the origins of the *Loi 109*, according to which a law similar to the one in France is a false solution as it is not judicially viable and would negatively impact cultural diversity. They instead propose measures towards a greater marketability. They also argue that Majors could decide to drop any potential dubbing in Québec (9) and that the importation of Québécois works could be penalized by retaliation measures should such law be approved. They finally emphasize the thriving state of the dubbing industry and its constant growth (12). Once again this is the conundrum of the audiovisual industry in Québec, and in general. Although it is considered as an artistic product it is also an economic product obeying market laws and profits. Whereas France protects its market efficiently, this is not completely the case for Québec caught between the French embargo and the unwillingness of its institutions to adopt the same decree (Deslandes 1999), which preserves the status quo.

### **1.3.4 Dubbing for Children in Québec: a Lost Battle?**

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<sup>59</sup> “près de 72% des Québécois préfèrent les films doublés au Québec et 77% étaient en accord avec une loi obligeant le doublage des films sur notre territoire.”

In the multiple reports about and demands on televisual products, television targeted at children and teenagers, especially animated cartoons, is not mentioned. When it comes to TV series targeted at children, two official reports raise warning flags: “Shadows over the Canadian Television Landscape” (2009) by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages and “*Séries jeunesse et animation: le jeune public francophone dépossédé de sa culture et privé des ses artistes*” by SARTEC and UDA.

The first report analyzes the steady decline in the production of original children’s programming in French over the years when “programs aimed at children and youth are important for passing on language and culture at an early age. Francophone youth, in particular, need programs in which they can see themselves reflected” (2). The decline in youth programming in French is partly due to the removal of “the time credits for programs broadcast during children’s peak hours” (40) which decreased private general interests. Secondly, “the lack of interest in producing children’s programs may also be linked, at least in part, to Québec’s Consumer Protection Act of 1980, which prohibits any commercial advertising directed at children under 13” (41). Hence both the Office of the Commissioner and the UDA/SARTEC duo urge the reinstatement of time-credits.

The second report highlights the lack of francophone works (targeting specific channel such as *VRAK.TV* who airs *The Simpsons*) meant for a young audience but also CBC and *Télé Québec*. Only 11% of TV series targeted at children are produced in Québec and only 24% of those dubbed are done in Québec by Québécois voice actors, the rest being dubbed in France. The financial

system does not take youth television into consideration and underestimates the role such programs play in the identity formation of children through an imaginary that is specific to the province: “the televisual offer accessible to children provide less and less room for local series, to works reflecting their imaginary. More and more, the young audience is now watching Anglophone shows dubbed in Québec, as if the last fifty years dedicated to developing the system of Francophone airing had not had any effects”<sup>60</sup> (7). The SARTEC/UDA go as far as stating that “the young audience is deprived of its culture and actors”<sup>61</sup> (2). Out of 173 series “... 149 required a version (original or dubbed) but actors from here only worked on 36 of them or 24%”<sup>62</sup> (16). As a consequence the SARTEC and UDA demand that the CRTC impose a more restricted definition of what is meant by original airing and Canadian content. This has since been partially done with new measures to promote dubbing made in Québec. Once again they demand a decree similar to the one in France (28).

### **1.3.5 The Cultural and Linguistic Issues: Québec’s *Américanité***

The question “why dub in Québec?” is answered by Von Flotow who contends that there are two stakes in the Québécois dubbing industry besides the economic one: the cultural and linguistic issues (32). For Pierre Curzi, the president of the

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<sup>60</sup> “l’offre télévisuelle accessible à nos enfants fait de moins en moins place aux séries locales, à des œuvres qui reflètent leur imaginaire. Le jeune public est désormais de plus en plus à l’écoute d’émissions de langue anglaise doublées, comme si les cinquante dernières années consacrées à développer un système de radiodiffusion francophone n’avaient pas porté fruit.”

<sup>61</sup> “le jeune public francophone dépossédé de sa culture et privé de ses acteurs.”

<sup>62</sup> “les artistes francophones n’ont pas leur juste part du doublage des productions de langue étrangère diffusées sur nos ondes. Ainsi, 149 des 173 séries échantillonnées requéraient une version (voix originales ou doublage), mais les comédiens d’ici ont œuvré dans seulement 36 cas, soit 24 %.”

UDA until 2006: “At the beginning it was fundamentally a protection issue: trying to protect the market in which we work and live. But more and more it has become a quality and identity issue. It is quite clear that the French used in France is radically diverging from the French here”<sup>63</sup> (28) which echoes both Lampron’s report and its claims about “*langue de proximité*” but also Von Flotow’s assessment of the actual language used in the dubbing industry synchronian). For Lampron and Curzi, dubbing has to be done in the “language of proximity” since “people prefer films that are dubbed into the language they speak, which has a direct influence on business” (Lampron qtd in Von Flotow 2009: 90).

Beyond the linguistic issue is the cultural one. Québec has its own specific culture that has to be preserved in the process. In that regards the website dedicated to dubbing in Québec ([doublage.qc.ca](http://doublage.qc.ca)) has a summary that is well-worth reproducing here as it will impact the rest of the present research:

More than a vocabulary issue, the specificity of Québécois dubbing is expressed in the structure of sentences used, the intonation unique to Québécois French, some pronunciations, certain inflexions and resonances of the voice. Its goal is to translate as most adequately as possible the emotions according to our own cultural codes. In short, it’s about the film’s soul that has to be translated through the character’s acting. The way we understand the text to be translated, be it its spirit or words, is very different than the French one, because the way we apprehend North-American reality is also very different. Our daily proximity to American culture allows us to understand the spirit of the American language and customs. This is where our way to do things becomes our own and is more faithful to the original culture of the film. In this way, French dubbing, no matter how good it is, will never satisfy the Québécois audience. A French dubbing will almost always be noticed, whereas Québécois dubbing will be forgotten. What it might lose in panache, will be largely made up for by its cultural and emotional impact on the viewer.<sup>64</sup> ([doublage.qc.ca](http://doublage.qc.ca); my emphasis)

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<sup>63</sup> “Au début, c’était fondamentalement une question de protection: tenter de protéger le marché dans lequel on travaille, dans lequel on vit. Mais de plus en plus, c’est devenu une question de qualité et une question d’identité. Il est bien clair que le français courant en France est en train de s’éloigner radicalement du français d’ici.”

<sup>64</sup> “Mais plus encore qu’une simple question de vocabulaire, la spécificité du doublage québécois s’exprime dans les structures de phrases utilisées, l’emplacement des accents toniques propres au français québécois, certaines pronunciations, certaines inflexions ou résonances de la voix, tout cela dans le but de traduire le plus adéquatement possible les émotions en fonction de nos propres

What can be inferred from this statement is that due to Québec's *américanité*, Québécois dubbing is the most adequate translation available, not only in linguistic but also in cultural terms. The dubbing in Québec will mirror the Québécois viewer's own reality and connect emotionally with him/her. A certain discourse about the *américanité* of Québec is present in the dubbing industry and noted by Von Flotow: "giving its special access to the 'spirit of the American language and the mores of its people'" (2009: 91). A few words of what is exactly meant by *américanité* are essential here as this will be important in Chapter 5, which is focused on the translation of cultural references.

Discourses on *américanité* clearly emerge from the Québécois dubbing team with Benoit Rousseau, *The Simpsons*' adapter for whom "the adaptation came from a desire to make the nuances of the North-American spirit survive in the text whereas they were often erased by texts"<sup>65</sup> (136; my emphasis) pointing to a shared North-American culture or *américanité*. Hubert Gagnon, the voice of Homer, declares: "He is the Homer that resembles the most the original one— since Québécois culture is the only non-English speaking culture that has so many

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codes culturels. Bref, il s'agit là de l'âme même du film qui doit être rendue à travers le jeu des personnages. Notre façon de comprendre le texte à traduire, autant dans son esprit que dans sa lettre, est d'ailleurs fort différente de celle des Français, parce que notre manière d'appréhender la réalité nord-américaine est également très différente. Notre proximité au quotidien avec la culture américaine nous permet d'arriver à cette compréhension de l'esprit de la langue et des mœurs américaines. D'où cette manière de faire qui nous est propre et qui respecte davantage la culture originale du film. En ce sens, un doublage français, aussi bon soit-il, ne pourra jamais vraiment satisfaire le public québécois. Un doublage français se fera presque toujours remarquer, alors qu'un doublage québécois tendra au contraire à se faire oublier. Ce qu'il perdra peut-être en brio, pourra être largement compensé par l'impact intellectuel et émotionnel qu'il aura sur le spectateur."

<sup>65</sup> "l'adaptation, c'est venu du désir de faire survivre, dans le texte, les nuances de l'esprit nord-américain qui étaient souvent gommées par les textes..."

common points with American culture”.<sup>66</sup> Gagnon adds: “That’s because we are North-Americans and we understand them ... I listened to the French adaptation, but it’s not as good. We have the same mentality and the same level of language”<sup>67</sup> (*quebec.huffingtonpost.ca*; my emphasis). Not only is he asserting the existence of a state of mind common to the US and Québécois society, but Gagnon also considers the French spoken in Québec as “practical” (Thériault 74) as American English.

In the words of the Québécois adapters explaining the success of *The Simpsons*: “the finesse of the translation (from the quality of the actors’ performance to the translation of jokes and cultural and social references), the in-depth analysis of the adaptation (monitored by Matt Groening) and the fact that, right from the start, we adapted the viewers’ ear to the reality of the Simpson planet ‘made in Québec’ is a sign of success” (Léveillé).<sup>68</sup>

It would be expected that, due to its geographical proximity to the US, Québec, despite being an official French-speaking province, is indeed culturally influenced by its Southern neighbour. As such we would expect most cultural references in both TV shows to be kept in the Québécois version. However, most Québécois researchers, sociologists and historians, want to distinguish between an

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<sup>66</sup> “il est le Homer qui ressemble le plus à l’original—puisque la culture québécoise est la seule culture non-anglophone qui a autant de points communs avec la culture américaine.”

<sup>67</sup> “C’est parce qu’on est nord-américains comme eux et on les comprend, plaide Hubert Gagnon. J’ai entendu l’adaptation française, mais elle n’est pas vraiment aussi bonne. Nous, nous avons la même mentalité et le même niveau de langage.”

<sup>68</sup> “La finesse de la traduction (tant au niveau du jeu des acteurs que de la traduction des gags et références culturelles et sociales), l’analyse poussée de l’adaptation (surveillée par Matt Groening d’ailleurs) et le fait d’avoir, dès le départ, adapté l’oreille des téléspectateurs à la réalité de la planète Simpsons «made in Québec» est signe de cette réussite.”

Americanized Québec and a Québécois *américanité*. While Québec's *américanité* is a reality, Québec's Americanization can be argued. For Pacom, Québec holds a unique status not only within Canada but also within the *francophonie* especially since the dramatic shift in values in the 1960s brought about by the *Révolution tranquille*. The latter is "characterized by openness to North American, continental, and cosmopolitan values" (Pacom 444) departing from "conservatism and from the original French culture" (444). According to her, the *Révolution* "brought awareness of the triple nature of the social imaginary. It became not only French (*la Francité*), but also Québécois (*la Québécoité*) and American (*l'Américanité*)" (445) in order to embody a particular culture specific to Québec. This hybrid identity combining American, French and Québécois elements celebrates Québec's evolution towards a cosmopolitan American hub further enhanced by its recent waves of immigration. This conception of Québec's identity has been fiercely criticized by Thériault in *Critique de l'américanité* (2002).

Reprising the different definitions and discourses on *américanité* in Québécois literature, art and interviews, Americanization is the domination of US culture and enterprises on Americas, and the world, which engenders different forms of resistance: it creates a culture of opposition. Conversely, *américanité* would be Québec's and Canada's 'deep' culture shared not only with the USA but also with Mexico and Latin America. This common sense of identity is a direct result of their continental belonging. This geographical sharing underlies part of a common identity: "it would be the true, authentic being of francophone

Québécois” (Thériault 24).

This essentialist conception of Québec’s identity would be Québec’s true identity that reject a false (French) identity in the 1980s.<sup>69</sup> Québec’s identity as *américanité* is then four-fold according to Thériault. The first path, the essentialist one, considers *américanité* as the true Québécois being, a hybrid nomad without any referent evolving with no aim or purpose in the manner of Jack Kerouac’s protagonist in *On the Road*. This culture born out of the confrontation with nature, the frontier between nature and culture characterizing the foundations of North-American society, is the culture of a new world fusing and blending elements as opposed to a rooted and monolithic one. It goes against the traditional identity of the Franco-Canadian whose motto is “*je me souviens.*” This individual does not remember his past and no longer has one. The figure of the individual is exalted as opposed to that of the tight-knit family unit that used to prevail until the Québécois awakening: “*Américanité* came into being ... within a globalization movement and culture mixing that it accentuates, an exaltation of the globalized citizen, a citizen who does not belong to one culture, without any particular link, absorbing all of them in a purely individualized *bricolage* ” (55-56).<sup>70</sup> The second

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<sup>69</sup> Thériault explains that “l’américanité est la véritable identité québécois, vérité longtemps cachée par cette croyance imaginaire que le Canada français était de culture française” (24) (“américanité its the true Québécois identity, a truth that had long been concealed by the fake belief that French Canada had a French culture”). *Américanité* is a rupture from the European roots in Québec’s history. The true essence of the Québécois is American, finally rid of the European past.

<sup>70</sup> “L’américanité s’est déployée ... dans la mouvance de la mondialisation et du brassage des cultures qu’elle accentue, exaltation du citoyen mondialisé, un citoyen qui n’est d’aucune culture, d’aucun lien particulier, les emmagasinant toutes et tous dans un bricolage purement individualisé.”

path is the “material adaptation”<sup>71</sup> (63) or the technological one. When entering consumer society the Québécois embraced their *américanité*. The third path is the one of *américanité* against *européanité* (89). Europe incarnates the old world, based on logic rather than experience, and is linked to the idea of nationhood or the “group” instead of something more concrete, individualistic and technical like America. The historians and sociologists of *américanité* reinterpret Québec’s history in this new light and consider the *Révolution tranquille* as the rupture between the European elite and the people, in their American way of life, which was sparked by general discontent. Finally, the fourth path is *américanité* as the way to a new society. Québec, along with all other societies experiencing recent waves of immigration, underwent four different movements: rupture with the mother society (Europe in this case), imaginary of a new beginning, appropriation of space and, finally, political emancipation, a last stage Québec has not reached yet.

Thériault criticizes *américanité* on all accounts. First, he criticizes its simplistic conception of culture since *américanité* mixes primary culture with secondary culture. For him, primary culture stems from society, from our socialization through family and relatives or village. The secondary culture does not emanate from daily life and contact with people but from literature and educational institutions (98-102): this culture works as a reference as opposed to daily experienced life. For Thériault, a nation is a grouping of secondary cultures while primary culture is not necessarily reproduced in the former, a shortcut taken by *américanité*. Collective and political identities are different for Thériault.

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<sup>71</sup> “adaptation matérielle.”

Québec ‘rereads’ its American belonging keeping it at a distance and transforming it in order to engage with the material.

Second, *américanité* effectively denies the past and its traditions, understood as the dark age of the Québécois people while it exalts the modernity of the present. Abjuring the past is deeply destructive to Thériault. In denying the past, Québec’s *américanité* becomes the enactment of “the erasure of the Québécois subject”<sup>72</sup>. What differentiates Québec from the rest of North America is “the acuity ... of a politically active memory...” (272).<sup>73</sup> Québec must and does actively engage with its past while building its future and this is done through the French language. For Thériault, the identity of Québec is characterized by an intentionality, which is a national project expressed through a particular history. This intention lies in the identity issue of Québec and its unique status of being the only North-American nation using French as its official language. We will see that Québec’s *américanité* is unique in both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*. Québec actively engages with its past and this is reflected in both TV shows through the French language.

### **1.3.6. Dubbing of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons***

Little information about the dubbing of *The Flintstones* is available online except at [doublage.qc.ca](http://doublage.qc.ca) where we can learn that Cyné-Sync studio was in charge of the dubbing process and that famous *téléromans* actors of the time provided their voice (see Appendix A). What we do know is that the dubbing cast for *The*

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<sup>72</sup> “l’effacement de sujet québécois”

<sup>73</sup> “l’acuité...d’une mémoire active politiquement...” Thériault especially criticizes Bouchard for discrepancies in his historical discourse of Québec.

*Flintstones* is also more extensive than the one for the French version, and the versions aired in the 1970s on *Radio-Canada* (Rousseau qtd. in Justamand 2006: 167) directed by Robert Verge. *The Simpsons* first aired in 1990, a year earlier than the French version, on *TQS* at 6 pm and now airs on *Teletoon la Nuit* ([teletoonmedia.com](http://teletoonmedia.com)). After Réal Picard left, Benoit Rousseau and Johanne Léveillé, Bart's voice, became the adapters for the dubbing studio Technicolor Services.

According to Rousseau (Justamand 2006: 169), the adapters receive a PDF of the original transcript along with a VHS and the master copy. Once the translation is finished, they send the copy back to the production company who hire a calligrapher for the transcription on the *bande rythmo*. Once the transcription is over, the calligrapher sends it back to the adapters who check the quality and provide corrections if needed. Recording four episodes takes about a week. Once recorded the sound engineer finalizes the product, which can take up to 10 days. Johanne Léveillé adds that they start receiving the scripts at the end of June and usually adapt four episodes before starting recording sessions. It takes about two weeks to adapt four episodes and one week to record them. By December, 20 episodes have been recorded ([quebec.huffingtonpost.ca](http://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca)). While the process is faster than for the French version, Rousseau considers that it is not enough time for the creation of a quality product (173)

The battle for linguistic transfers is a contact zone for economic, cultural, political and linguistic interests deeply rooted within the French and Québec

industries, the latter fighting for a certain visibility. Understood as a repository of national imaginary, audiovisual products fall under the cultural exception/diversity card put forth by countries whose desire is to preserve their culture and language as well as economic interests. However, France seems to adopt a protectionist or even an imperialistic stance (Plourde 2000a) while Québec is forced into a 'resistance' mode. The French cultural exception and its quota system as well as its decree fiercely fight against non-European interests that directly penalize the Québécois industry which is this way constrained to a small domestic market. Caught between a rock and a hard place, the Québécois industry still puts up a strong fight for the visibility of its dubbing industry and its *savoir-faire*. While dubbing is an art of the illusion underlined by an invisibility discourse, that is internalized by the dubbing actors, the industry itself fights for visibility. The fight though seems to be moving towards the DVD market in Québec, which escapes any form of regulation.<sup>74</sup> The ANDP reports: "Dubbing for shows that have a direct link to DVD release (in video-clubs, through direct sales to consumers or videos on demand, downloading or others) remains a problematic field for Québécois businesses"<sup>75</sup> (ANDP 2008: 3) or again "on our tablets and in our stores we have a DVD with the French from France dubbed version"<sup>76</sup> (*blog.doublage.qc.ca*).

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<sup>74</sup> Finding the QV for *The Simpsons* on a DVD format is a challenge. I managed to find the complete series of *The Flintstones* on a DVD that had just come out in 2010.

<sup>75</sup> "Le doublage des émissions destinées directement à une sortie DVD (dans les vidéoclubs, par la vente directe aux consommateurs ou la vidéo sur demande, par téléchargement ou autrement) demeure un secteur problématique pour les entreprises du Québec."

<sup>76</sup> "nous retrouvons donc, sur nos tablettes et en magasins, un dvd avec la version doublée en France."

Moreover, both France and Québec have to compete against another dubbing giant: Belgium. “We cannot compete against Belgium, it has become the China or Wal-Mart of dubbing”<sup>77</sup> (Joey Alimi qtd in Parent and Patry n.pag.) since they offer more competitive rates than both France and Québec. In the words of Paquin, both France and Québec: “should put their colts back in their holsters and meet at the saloon to drink a beer together and try to agree on the most efficient way to protect themselves from the tornado on the horizon. They can learn from each other and they can rely on their efforts to gain support from their respective governments to build fences and shelters ensuring the maintenance of their own culture”<sup>78</sup> (152).

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<sup>77</sup> “On ne peut concurrencer la Belgique, c'est devenu la Chine et le Wal-Mart du doublage.”

<sup>78</sup> “auraient donc avantage à ranger leurs colts et à se retrouver au saloon pour boire une bière ensemble et chercher à s’entendre sur la façon la plus efficace de se protéger de la tornade qui menace à l’horizon. Ils peuvent apprendre l’un de l’autre et s’appuyer dans leurs efforts d’obtention de soutien de leurs gouvernements respectifs pour construire des clôtures et des abris qui assureront le maintien de leur culture propre.”

## **Chapter 2. The Dubbing Voices in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*: From Reaching Fantasyland to the American Imaginary**

In his Master thesis Plourde contends that the French version works towards the enforcing of a national cohesion through the use of a uniform language (2003: 27). In this chapter we will see that the French version of *The Flintstones* layers its language to a lesser extent than the QV and (1) features only two varieties of French: *provençal* and *rural* French. Moreover, the FV (2) corrects the syntactical non-standard forms present in the main characters' and foreigners' speech in the OV. Although it features some regional accents, such as *provençal*, and 'foreignized' accents, it seems to mirror Bourdieu's symbolic violence (1992) through its use of a "standardized French" (Goris 173) that theoreticians call "synchronien" (Von Flotow 2009) in *TF*. Broadly speaking, the latter is an artificial language that fails to reproduce the features of spontaneous spoken language due to various phenomena (see introduction) that will be analyzed in this chapter. The French version of *The Flintstones* offers a (3) "prefabricated orality" (Chaume 2004a: 168) in which the text is "written to be spoken as if not written" (Gregory and Carroll 42). This hybrid born from the written script and the oral speech is coined as "dubbese" (Chiaro 2005) in Spain and Italy or "synchronien" (Von Flotow 2009) in Québec—the latter has never been studied in depth, on morphosyntactical or lexical levels for instance. Moreover, the same voice actors dub various secondary characters, which further neutralizes this hybrid language spoken by nobody outside the fictional world of television. In order to make up for the un-idiomatic quality of its product, the dubbing actors resort to playing on

voice quality to a greater extent (see Chapter 3) than the original with the featuring of ‘cartoonish’ voice pitch and expressions filled with neologisms.

However, a notable shift occurs within the language used in the dubbing of *The Simpsons*. The French version of *The Simpsons* features a different approach to its language and increasingly resorts to colloquial speech; this more spontaneous or authentic language does not shy away from disjunctions and also features a wider variety of accents. The following analysis relies on a transcription of salient features following the IPA style combined with a more impressionistic one (Gadet).

### 2.1 Patchwork of “-lects”

The French version of *The Flintstones* strikes an odd balance between a standardized, international synchronian and the featuring of several “-lects” in the form of *provençal*, a *rural accent*, *hipster youth language* as well as an *accented French* similar to the one featured in the Québécois version. The subsequent section will provide an analysis of the language(s) used in the French version divided into tables for the sake of clarity as well as appendices with a larger sample of the different dialogues analyzed.

#### 2.1.1 Accented French: Pseudo-language

	OV	Comments
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hollyrock director (S01E06) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Professor Rockimoto (S01E14) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Alvin Brickrock (S02E04) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Doctor (S02E15) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• André the hairdresser (S02E26)* (Spanish in FV not in QV) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Roberto Rockollini (S02E31) <i>TF</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clearly identified (if not stereotyped) as foreigners through the visuals</li> <li>• Foreign family names</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Russian ballet professor (S03E04) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Gina Lollobrickida (S03E17) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Baffles (S04E11) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Professor Freudstone (S06E01) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Server (S12E05) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Sébastien Koppe (S04E12) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Ukrainian mafia boss (S23E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Apu (S04E12, S05E13) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Carl (S04E17) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Dr. Nick Riviera (S04E21). <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Rainier Wolfcastle (S06E18) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Luigi Risotto (S15E08) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Bumblebee Man (S05E12, S06E18, S07E21) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Nobel prize president (S15E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Kim Jong Il (S23E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Unknown Scottish woman (S04E20) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Unknown Scottish man (S04E20) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Dog trainer (S02E16) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Mr. Schindler (S02E18) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Ringo Starr (S02E18) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Sarah Ferguson (S10E06) <i>TS</i></li> </ul>	
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rockimoto: “Ha non/ ça c’est sûr/ ça c’est sûr” (5’’03’)</li> <li>• Freudstone: “Dé/solé, vous /êtes trop vieux” (12’’30’)</li> <li>• Carl: “Il pa/rait qu’ils les ba/lancent dans une mine de craie abandonnée et qui coulent du ciment dessus” (00’’35’)</li> <li>• Rainier: “C’est/ ça/ la/ bla/gue” [ə] (5’’33’)</li> </ul>	<b>Choppy prosody</b>
	Alvin: “une pelle” (6’’15’)	<b>Lengthening of vowels</b> [e:]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Doctor: “<u>h</u>umain” (8’’20’)</li> <li>• Hat seller: “<u>u</u>n oeil” (10’’05’)</li> <li>• Server: “excusez-moi” (17’’05’)</li> <li>• Luigi: “nom d’<u>u</u>n [un] cannelloni” (9’’25’)</li> <li>• Apu: “on m’a tiré dessus <u>h</u>uit fois” (S04E12: 4’’10’)</li> </ul>	<b>[y] ~ [u]</b> paired with play on popular expressions with Luigi (“nom d’un chien”)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scottish woman: “Je viens d’<u>a</u>rriver en ville” (3’’06’)</li> <li>• Scottish man: “c’est <u>v</u>rai”</li> </ul>	<b>Softening of the [ɹ] to a [w] for native English speakers</b>

	(18"40') <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fergie: "plus près" (14"18')</li> <li>Trainer: "Ca c'est du beau travail [w] et prenez [w] en-un " (10"35')</li> </ul>	
	Carl: "dormir" (00"43')	[ə] pronounced [o]
	Schindler: "Un autre aurait utilisé cette <u>toile</u> [twɛl] pour en faire un chef d'œuvre, <u>une fois</u> " [unfwɛ] (7"56')	<b>Belgian accent in OV, no accent in OV or QV</b> [wa] ~[wɛ] for "toile" and "fois" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>[y] ~[u] for "une"</li> <li>Use of the stereotypical Belgian expression "une fois"</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ballet prof.: "chérie<u>s</u>" (13"25')</li> <li>Ukrainian boss: "humou<u>r</u>" (13"21')</li> <li>Ukrainian boss: "tous ceux que j'<u>a</u>imais" (13"45') [zɛmɛ]</li> </ul>	Russian and Ukrainian accents with apical [ɤ] <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>[ɛ] pronounced [e]</li> </ul>
	Nick Riviera: "Salut tout <u>le</u> monde! Troy, voulez-vous <u>un</u> [un] verre de <u>ju</u> s [ʒu] d'orange?" (1"00') "l'éc <u>o</u> no <u>ju</u> s" [ʒus] (1"25')	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>[ə] ~ [e]</li> <li>[y] ~ [u] and [ʒy]~ [ju]</li> <li>Silent ending [s] pronounced for "jus"</li> </ul>
	Apu: "excusez-moi..." (S04E12: 4"06')	<b>Portuguese accent</b> [ks] ~ [ʃ] ("sh")
	Gina: "j' <u>a</u> i jamais entendu" (10"50')	[ʒɛ] ~ [jɛ]
	Rockollini: "un joli t <u>i</u> ter" (2"15')	Odd pronunciation not fitting any specific accent
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Freudstone: "approfond<u>i</u>" (12"45'), "magnifique" (12"55')</li> <li>Sébastien Koppe: "j<u>e</u> [ʃɛ] m'appelle" (12"33') "engagé" [ʃɛ] (12"40'), "les <u>v</u>oyages" [fwajaz] (12"42'), "lamentabl<u>e</u>" [əl] (12"50')</li> </ul>	<b>German pronunciation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pronunciation of normally silent or inexistant consonants [t] ("approfond<u>i</u>") and [g]</li> <li>[ʒ] ~ [ʃ] and [ə]~[ɛ]</li> <li>[ʒ] ~ [ʃ], [v] ~ [ʃ]</li> <li>"e" ending pronounced "el". [lamãtabl]~[lamãtabəl]</li> </ul>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rockollini: "Dans un mois, la terre entière <u>il</u> l'aura vu" (2"15')</li> <li>Mafia boss: "peut-être qu'on vivra dans un monde où il n'y aura plus besoin de kidnapping" (15"20')</li> </ul>	<b>Standard morphosyntax</b> except for director in <i>TF</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rockimoto: “Ha non, ça c’est sûr, ça c’est sûr (“Oh no, that for sure, that for sure” in OV 5”20’)</li> <li>• Gina: “Mama mia! C’est trop affreux ça” (“Oh I can no stand!” in OV 14”20’)</li> </ul>	<b>Higher register</b> Correction of non-standard forms present in OV
<b>Lexis</b>	Rockimoto: “Aligato à la crème” (“sukiyaki” in OV, 5”55’)	<b>Additional wordplay with foreign words</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• André: “Por favor señoritas ... Gracias ... Hasta luego” (14”35’)</li> <li>• Baffles: “Mine God<sup>79</sup>...My God! Perfect!...Absolutely charming” (see Appendix B)</li> <li>• Gina: “Grazie...Mama mia” (10”21’)</li> </ul>	<b>Addition of foreign words</b> (see appendix B)
	Ringo: “Chère Sally, en réponse à votre lettre du 12 décembre 1966, ma couleur préférée c’est le “blue” et mon véritable prénom c’est Richard. Merci pour votre photo, vous êtes un joli petit lot. Love, Ringo. P.S.: pardon pour le lenteur de ma réponse” (16”05’)	Some foreign words in OV are kept+ incorrect gender for “lenteur”
	Scottish woman: “Oh j’aperçois un [un] pauvre homme tout seul” (3”00’)	<b>Additional non-standard forms.</b> Incorrect gender with “un”
	Ballet prof.: Bubulasha...Fredolushkaya” (14”00’)	<b>Fake foreign words</b>
	Roberto: “Buena sera carissima” (“bona sera” in OV, 5”10’)	<b>Standardization of non-standard forms in foreign words present in OV</b>
	Bumblebee Man: “Ay, quelle journée misérable j’ai passée au boulot. <i>Primero</i> , il y a eu l’attaque de [de] ces pics-verts <i>locos</i> . <i>Ensuite</i> [swit], il y a eu ce désastre électrique. <i>Finalmente</i> , une catastrophe avec un [un] balle de baseball” (13”10’)	<b>Domestication technique</b> with mixture of French and Spanish. Different from OV and QV where entire monologue is in Spanish

Table 2. Accented French in the FV.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> “Mine God” is an incorrect form in English.

In both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*, characters speaking “accented French” are visually stereotyped as foreigners.<sup>81</sup> Professor Rockimoto is stereotyped to the point that he never opens his eyes, Roberto Rockollini is sporting a moustache, Professor Freudstone wears a stethoscope wherever he goes; Luigi Risotto is never seen without his chef’s clothes, and finally, Rainier Wolfcastle is a visual and verbal parody of Arnold Schwarzenegger. However, some characters who are originally Americans in the original version become foreigners in the French version of *The Flintstones*—namely the Hollyrock director, André the hairdresser and Mr. Schindler. Based on the visuals, they could pass for Italian or Spanish citizens, which are the nationalities the FV tends to favour along with Portuguese for Gina.<sup>82</sup> Both the director, Roberto Rockollini, and the hairdresser have a moustache—the former’s is oddly reminiscent of Salvador Dalí’s. Rockollini could potentially be interpreted as a tribute to famous Italian directors such as Roberto Rossellini from Cinecittà. The hairdresser has a French accent in the OV, which the FV replaces with Italian. This choice could be explained as an equivalence strategy.<sup>83</sup> As for their speech patterns, based on table 2, it is stereotyped with most Spanish and Italian speakers unable to pronounce the French [y], Sébastien Koppe, a German, unable to pronounce the [v] and [Z] and Carl the uvular [r] (Labate 57). The dubbing of foreign characters tends to

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<sup>80</sup> See Appendices B and C for dialogues scripts and snapshots. Each table features a sample of the most salient features of the language variety. The comments section explain these phenomena.

<sup>81</sup> See Appendices B and C.

<sup>82</sup> Gina actually speaks an odd mixture of Italian and Portuguese.

<sup>83</sup> The original French accent cannot be reproduced in the FV and Italy is geographically close to France. Italian would be one of the most familiar accents to both the translators and a French audience.

stereotype the foreign language portrayed by emphasizing the salient features of the pronunciation.

Besides the reproduction of the foreign accent, the French version of *The Flintstones* also features more words from the foreign language the characters speak in comparison to the original version. The French version adds different Spanish expressions (*por favor, hasta luego*) in order to reinforce the link between the character and his/her origins. As a result the FV seems to offer a more authentic rendition of the language. However, in addition to correcting the foreign words in the original version, the FV also systematically corrects the non-standard forms, whether these are used on purpose or not, in the OV, and hence standardizes the language. The FV seems to be pulling in two directions. On the one hand, it corrects non-standard forms at the morphological/syntactical level present in the OV, but, on the other hand, it tries to compensate such loss with the insertion of additional ‘authentic’ foreign words. This technique points to the dubious attitude adopted by the FV towards the OV that will be later evidenced in the treatment of the visuals (see Chapter 4).

For *The Simpsons*, the French version manipulates accents to a greater extent than the Québécois version and switches the original accent to another one. One of these manipulations is a genuine mistake from the dubbing actors who gave Apu a Portuguese accent. In an interview, Alain Cassard, one of the dialogue adapters for the TV show, justifies his choice: “Since the Indian or Pakistanese

accent might not be easy to imitate, they gave him [Apu] a Portuguese accent in the recording studio” (*simpsonpark.com*).<sup>84</sup>

However, in all of the other instances, the choices are clearly made on purpose. For instance, the French version chooses to give Mr. Schindler, young Marge’s drawing teacher, a stereotyped Belgian accent topped with the clichéd expression: “*une fois*”.<sup>85</sup> The choice appears somewhat incongruous as he briefly appears in the episode and his only purpose is to criticize Marge’s talent and dash her artistic dreams. The strengthening of stereotypes in the FV also applies to Luigi Risotto, the Italian chef, with his “*nom d’un cannelloni*” expression (see table 2), a play on the French expression “*nom d’un chien*” and the Italian pasta “cannelloni”.

On the morphosyntactical level, the approach is similar to *The Flintstones*: the characters do not diverge from the standard grammatical forms except for English speakers such as Ringo Starr and the Scottish woman who both mistake genders (see table 2). Finally, on the lexical level, while retaining some of the foreign words present in the original version, with Ringo Starr for instance, the French version domesticates Bumblebee Man’s speech. In both the original and Québécois versions his entire speech is in pseudo-Spanish (see Appendix C) unlike the FV that decides on a code-mixing approach, a blend of French and Spanish. While it does indicate the character’s ethnic origins, the goal of this approach is most likely to ensure that the French audience can understand his

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<sup>84</sup> “Comme l’accent indien ou pakistanais n’est peut-être pas facile à imiter, sur le plateau d’enregistrement ils lui [Apu] ont donné un accent portugais.”

<sup>85</sup> In both the OV and QV he does not speak with a foreign accent.

words. This is an arguable choice standing midway between domestication and foreignization (Venuti 1995) tendencies since the scene relies mostly on slapstick humour that barely requires an explicitation technique.

### 2.1.2 *Provençal*<sup>86</sup>

	<b>Provençal</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charlie (S01E03) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• King of the Buffalo association (S02E10) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Policemen (S02E19, S02E29, S02E30, S02E31) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Doctor (S01E15, S02E15) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Plumber (S02E14) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• César and Ugolin (S01E11) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Unknown prisoner (S07E09) <i>TS</i></li> </ul>	Not characteristic of one particular social class
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charlie: “Demande-leur” (17’47’)</li> <li>• Prisoner: “Bon, ça suffit, je possède soixante pourcent des actions de cette boîte” (2’23’)</li> <li>• César: “Ah Maurice” (8’42’)</li> </ul>	See Auguste Brun <i>Le français de Marseille</i> . <b>Realization mute “e” or schwa</b> <sup>87</sup> leaning towards [œ]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plumber: “<u>mentir</u>”, “2 <u>joint</u>s” (6’20’)</li> <li>• César: “<u>un</u> peu dure” (6’50’)</li> </ul>	<b>Nasal vowels are longer and more open</b> (Brun 35)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• King: “notre <u>réunion</u>” (4’22’)</li> <li>• César: “je m’appelle César” (9’00’)</li> </ul>	<b>Apical [ʁ]</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plumber: “Voyons voir <u>ça</u>, 4 <u>coude</u>s, 2 <u>joint</u>s, <u>une</u> paire de valves. Ça vous fera 200 coquillages” (6’20’)</li> <li>• César: “<u>Bienvenue</u> dans ta <u>nouve</u>lle maison” (9’10’)</li> </ul>	<b>‘singing’ prosody</b> . Underlined letters indicate rising intonation

Table 3. *Provençal* in the FV.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> As noted by Armstrong (2006a) the Southern accents do not form a homogeneous entity or do not constitute a standard since there are many variations. However, they share some common pronunciation models that are the most stereotypical ones present in the dubbing of *TF*.

<sup>87</sup> This list of pronunciation phenomena are taken from the article “A prototype-theoretic model of Southern French” by Elisa Pustka (78-9). They are also listed in *Le français de Marseille* by Auguste Brun.

*Provençal* or *meridional French* is the most easily identifiable accent in France due to its schwa, apical “r” (Brun 76) and ‘singing’ prosody. The meridional accent in France is quite popular and “Parisians caricature the ‘*accent du midi*’ by pronouncing the otherwise mute “e” everywhere” (Gadet 1989: 88).<sup>89</sup> It only differs from standard French on the pronunciation level since the morphosyntax is the same and although the lexis can be different (Brun 81), there is no example in the series. In the FV of *TF*, characters who do not have an accent in the OV speak with a Southern accent.

Most of them are policemen, which tends to reproduce a cliché about the French police.<sup>90</sup> This variety of French is not socially marked according to Blanchet and Armstrong: “In some southern regions, especially in Provence and its capital Marseille, the local variety of French has gained certain legitimacy and is even seen as a valued mark of regional identity. It has become a true regional norm (above all in pronunciation), more or less opposed to the so-called ‘Parisian’ standard norm” (Blanchet and Armstrong 2006: 258). Moreover, characters from different social classes, both from the city—King of the Buffalo convention, policemen—and outside Bedrock—Hollyrock directors—speak *provençal*. *Provençal* is mostly used to give some ‘flavour’ to the TV show as it provides a comic touch evidenced by the nonchalance of policemen: they are incapable of solving crimes and tend to provide little insight. Instances of this variety are

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<sup>88</sup> See Appendix D for dialogue scripts.

<sup>89</sup> “Les Parisiens caricaturent un ‘*accent du midi*’ en plaçant des e muets partout...”

<sup>90</sup> In France, many French policemen speak with a Southern accent even if they are not native of the region. A Facebook group dedicated to this odd info shows the popular perception.

scarce in *The Simpsons* and only apply to César and Ugolin who are winemakers living in the Bordeaux region, and an unknown prisoner.

### 2.1.3 Rural Accent

	Rural accent	Comments
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Hatrocks (S04E18, S05E19) <i>TF</i></li> <li>Cletus (S18E14) <i>TS</i></li> <li>Willie (S23E02, S04E20, S09E03) <i>TS</i></li> </ul>	Farmers, uneducated
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hatrock: “<u>r</u>evoir” (S05E19: 4”35’)</li> <li>Cletus: “j’<u>a</u>pprends aux <u>g</u>rans” (5”35’)</li> <li>Willie: “J’<u>p</u>r<u>é</u>sumions” (S23E02: 5”38)</li> </ul>	<b>Apical or trill [ʀ]</b>
	Peasant: “gadon” [regarde donc] (S04E18: 1”25’)	<b>Assimilation of group of words/Fusion</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr.Hatrock: “D<u>é</u>p<u>ê</u>che-toi” (S05E19: 7”10’)</li> <li>Cletus: “c’est bon pour <u>m</u>oi” (9”40’)</li> </ul>	<b>[wa] ~[we]</b> “t <u>ou</u> a” sounds like “t <u>ou</u> é” and “m <u>ou</u> a” sounds like “m <u>ou</u> é”
	Hatrock mother: “Il aurait dû s’douter qu’il finirait par <u>c</u> asser” (S04E18: 1”35’)	<b>[a] pronounced [ɔ:]</b>
	Hatrock father: “ <u>i</u> l connaîtra jamais la joie de tirer sur un d’ces en <u>q</u> uineurs” (S04E18: 1”40’)	<b>Elision of letter “l” in “il”: pronounced [i]</b>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	Hatrock mother: “C’est pas juste. Pourquoi qu’y’a fallu qu’cet imbécile d’oncle nous quitte. Quelle idée d’monter dans un arbre aussi fragile. Il aurait dû s’douter qu’il finirait par casser” (S04E18: 1”35’)	<b>Standard conjugation and morphosyntax</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cletus: “mais comme jamais personne a <u>a</u>ppris à <u>m</u>oi ça sert à rien de rien du tout” (5”28’)</li> <li>Willie: “oh bien joué l’<u>S</u>eymour. J’<u>p</u>r<u>é</u>sumions que vous devez avoir quelque pierre dans votre jardin” (S23E02: 5”38’)</li> </ul>	<b>Standard syntax</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Standard syntax: “mais comme jamais personne ne m’a appris...”</li> <li>Standard syntax: “oh bien joué Seymour. Je présume...”</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mr.Hatrock: “m’attarder” (S05E19: 4”40’)</li> <li>Mother: “s’est éteint” (S04E18:</li> </ul>	<b>Neutral or high register</b>

	2''00') • Hatrock grandfather: "mettre un terme"	
	• Mr.Hatrock: "vieux chacal" (S05E19: 4''35') • Willie: "p'tit salopiaud" (S09E03: 6''19')	<b>Occasional popular expressions</b>
	Cletus: "Hé, r'gardez c'que l' <u>bourricot</u> vient d' <u>débusquer</u> dans la boue" (7''32')	Odd combination of a colloquial word "bourricot" and a high register "débusquer" instead of a more common "trouver"

Table 4. Rural French in the FV.<sup>91</sup>

On the other end of the accent spectrum is *rural French* spoken by the Hatrocks, the Flintstones' arch-enemies from Arkansas. In the original version, they have a strong rural accent from their state and are visually portrayed as peasants: they smoke the pipe, carry rifles at all time and wear straw hats (see Appendix E). Their accent is accordingly replaced by what can only be described as stereotypical rural French in the French version, especially since they refer to themselves as "*campagnards*" (country people). The characters tend to perform apical [ʁ] and their speech features several elision phenomena and other marked pronunciation features that can be depreciated such as the [a] pronounced [ɔ:]. It departs from the main characters' speech and portrays them as French 'hillbillies' with no culture and refinement, which is enhanced by the storyline in S05E19 where they become uninvited guests at the Flintstones' house.

However, despite the fact that their pronunciation diverges from the other characters', the morphosyntax of their speech abides by the rules of standard French to such a degree that they even respect the sequence of tenses (*concordance des temps*) with the use of the simple past. This use would arguably

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<sup>91</sup> See Appendix E.

not be expected from French countrymen. Even their lexis is, at the very least, standard, if not part of a higher register (*m'attarder, s'est éteint*). As seen with accented French, the French version is pulled into two directions: on one hand, it resorts to a rural accent hinting at the characters' lack of formal education, while on the other hand it still presents a standard morphosyntax and even more "hypercorrected" lexis use.

In *The Simpsons*, Cletus is the local 'redneck' who is possibly married to his own cousin with whom he has 51 children (S05E17). His speech is stereotyped with apical [ʁ] complete with a non-standard morphosyntax. All these different aspects point at his lack of formal education. While he often resorts to country expressions, on the lexical level, he mixes familiar French, "*bourricot*", and a more neutral or even higher register with "*débusquer*". Willie is the second character in the French version to speak with a rural accent. Although he performs trill 'r', which for Labate indicates the FV reproduces the Scottish accent in the original version,<sup>92</sup> I would tend to concur with Altarac instead, for whom "Willy has a marked French regional country accent and uses old French peasant expressions" (Altarac 179) such as "*p'tit salopiaud*" (see table 4). Moreover, his speech differs from both the Scottish woman and man's as well as Sarah Ferguson's (see section 2.1.1).

#### **2.1.4 Youth language in *The Flintstones***

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<sup>92</sup> Labate writes that "... Groundskeeper Wille's speech features alveolar trill 'r' to match the Scottish accent. The same holds true for non-recurring characters, such as Fergie (alias Sarah Ferguson), who is given the same accent as Willie's in *TS-x-6#29*" (58). However, their accent clearly differs: Sarah Ferguson's speech does not feature peasant expressions.

	<b>Youth lingo</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	Young music school students (S01E27: 17''50')	'Hipster' youth
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “on cherche une belle p'tite <u>crèche</u>”</li> <li>• “on cherche une <u>super piaule</u> où <u>crécher</u>”</li> <li>• “giga géant génial”</li> </ul>	Popular youth expressions

Table 5. Youth Lingo in *The Flintstones*.

Moreover, the dubbing of *The Flintstones* does not shy away from youth lingo in S01E27. In that episode, Wilma and Betty are looking to make money by renting rooms in their houses. Two music students come knocking shortly after the rental sign has been posted. In the following conversation, the only speech marker differentiating them from other characters is their lexis such as “*une super piaule où crécher*” (see table 5). At first Wilma and Betty do not understand their expressions especially when the French version opts for a hyperbolic translation of “crazy, madam, crazy” with “*giga, géant, génial.*” The French version of *The Simpsons* uses youth lingo to such an extent that it becomes a norm and is worthy of a subsequent section (see 2.2.4).

### 2.1.5 Sociolect of the Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie

	<b>Sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helen Lovejoy (S04E21)</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel (S07E01)</li> <li>• Woman working for Krusty (S0814)</li> <li>• Director of whizz kids academy (S09E03)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pastor's wife (proper and judgemental)</li> <li>• Shakespearean wanabe</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helen: “Eh <u>bien</u>, en tant que femme de pasteur, j'ai accès à quantité d'informations confidentiel<u>les</u> [ɛ:] Alors voilà: le mari [a:] de Marge Simpson ne gagne pas grand-chose, la famille va à <u>vau-l'eau</u> et honn<u>ête</u>ment je</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Affected pronunciation</b></li> <li>• <b>Lengthening of vowels</b> (underlined)</li> </ul>

	<p>pense qu'elle... (<i>pretends she's drinking from a bottle</i>) glou glou glou..." (15"16')</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Woman: "dans votre [ɔ:] imagination" [a:], "irréremédiablement" [e:] (6"19')</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel: "Monsieur Smithers a dû voir [a:] cette émission lui-aussi. Il ne la [a:] manque jamais. A la réunion de la mairie il dit avoir vu <i>Les Boeufs d'amour</i>. La chose [o:] ne m'avait pas [a:] échappée à cause de son caractère inhabituel [e:]. Nom d'une pipe! Direction le poste de police!" (5"50')</li> <li>• Director: "Je peux vous assurer [a:] que notre maternelle est d'un très [ɛ:] haut niveau. Plus de 75% entre [ã:] au cours préparatoire" (11"15'), "je suis navrée" (11"40') [a:]</li> </ul>	
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helen: "la famille va à vau-l'eau" (for "the family is a mess")/ "On n'aurait jamais dû vous laisser partir! Dorénavant, je cancanerai pour le bien et non plus pour le mal!" (19"35')</li> <li>• Director: "Fort bien!" [ɔ:] (11"27')</li> </ul>	High register, old-fashioned expressions

Table 6. *Sociolect of the Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie in The Simpsons.*

The French version of *The Simpsons* presents a few examples of the sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie mostly featuring the lengthening of the vowels /e/ and /a/ (Mettas, Fant and Stalhammar 3).<sup>93</sup> Three secondary characters speaking it are Helen Lovejoy, Reverend Lovejoy's wife, Sideshow Mel/Tahiti Mel and an unknown woman working for Krusty. Their speech is characterized by a lengthening of syllables, especially at the end of words and affected or exaggerated pronunciation. Their lexis, Helen Lovejoy's, is markedly levelled and belong to a higher register than the one in the original version with, for instance,

<sup>93</sup> The list of phenomena can also be found in Mettas "La prononciation parisienne: aspects phoniques d'un sociolecte parisien." *Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France*. Paris: SELAF, 1979.

an old-fashioned expression “*va à vau-l’eau*” (Grand Robert de la langue française) to translate a colloquial “mess” and a formal “*dorénavant*”. This choice of variety is deliberate and portrays her differently by enforcing her insufferable attitude. Despite her conservatism and religious convictions, Helen Lovejoy is a judgmental character who constantly gossips, especially at the expense of the Simpsons family. In giving her a bourgeois speech the French version portrays her as even less likeable and aloof from the rest of the community than the OV. The same technique is used for Sideshow Mel who is an educated and intelligent character described as speaking in a grandiose British/Shakespearean way clashing with the rest of the Springfield inhabitants. His accent is the equivalent of a British accent in that it is refined and departs from the rest of the community. His talents and refinement go to waste since he is merely Krusty’s sidekick and suffers constant belittlement at his hands. Finally, the unknown woman working for Krusty is one of the clown’s TV show screenwriters whose ideas are constantly overlooked by the clown.<sup>94</sup> We will see that the same type of idiosyncrasy for this sociolect is at work in the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*.

## **2.2 Synchronien, Standard French, International French or Dubbese in *The Flintstones*: the “Third Language” (Duff 10)**

Besides the minor variations and the varieties present in the dubbing most of the characters—main and secondary—speak the same variety of language that would be considered standard or what what Plourde names *standard French*, borrowing

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<sup>94</sup> As a matter of fact all expressions and embodiments of highbrow culture are subjugated to Krusty’s vulgarity, while Lisa Simpson’s sophisticated taste in music and art in general along with her talent go to waste in *The Simpsons*.

from Goris's expression: "the standardization of spoken language" (173). This odd balance between an attempt at 'authentic' speech and 'artificiality' is evidenced in the main characters' speech known as "*synchronien*" (Von Flotow 2009: 84).<sup>95</sup> Although no definition or systematic study of synchronian exists, Von Flotow provides insights and equates it to "international French ... used for translating films. Regional pronunciations, dialects, strong slang or expressions that might date quickly are generally avoided and a 'neutral' form of French is employed in order to make the product as palatable as possible to the greatest number of viewers" (2010: 28) or again "... the convention in French dubbing is to keep the language as free as possible of associations to a particular speech community" (28). According to her, "this is a constructed, relatively artificial language, noteworthy for its lack of color, lack of expressiveness, its 'woodenness', its use of repetitive solutions for recurring problems in translating American English, and its often rather high register..." (28).

Based on these various observations and definitions, synchronian would be the language of film dubbing. Film dialogue is highly crafted and might sound punctual and natural despite being written in advance. It follows specific constraints that make it stand out from the language spoken in real life conversation (Pérez-González 2). The translation and dubbing of this prefabricated orality adds another layer of factitiousness dubbed as "*synchronien*" or "audiovisual translationese" (Chaume: 2004a: 175). Synchronian is then perceived as a hybrid factitious language that tends to be "a neutral uniform written standard, thus failing to portray sociolinguistic variation" (Pavesi 2004:

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<sup>95</sup> The Québécois dubbing actors coined the term (Von Flotow 2009: 86).

1). The language used in the French version diverges from the one used in the Québécois version (see Chapter 3). *Dubbese* is a limbo language differing from what are perceived as natural elements of spontaneous spoken language and relying on formulaic phrases. It becomes a new variety or variation of orality understood as a textual and linguistic construction. “Geographical underdifferentiation, register and style neutralization, less textual cohesion, lexical permeability to the source language, repetitive use of formulae” (Pavesi 2008:81) all characterize *dubbese*, a language that is riddled with calques from the source language, here English, and with formulaic expressions. Outside the filmic screen nobody speaks *dubbese*, hence it fails to portray ‘real’, authentic spoken language based on a number of factors. Research on *dubbese* is still scarce but it can and should be analyzed at the “Phonetic and prosodic level, morphological level, syntactic level, lexical and semantic level (Baños-Pinero & Chaume 4-8) in order to identify “carriers of orality” (6) that alter the characters’ discursive identities in the French version of both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*.

Given the scope of this chapter, I will focus on specific examples and provide an overview of the language in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* with the help of Goris’ article “The Question of French Dubbing: Towards a Frame of Systematic Investigation” (1993), Gadet’s body of work, *Approches de la langue parlée en français* (Blanche-Benveniste 1997) focusing on the norms of *standard French*, Armstrong’s *Sociolinguistic Variation in contemporary French* (2009) as well as Pavesi’s body of work. The tables provided are adapted from the ones found in “Prefabricated Orality” (2009) by Baños-Pinero and Chaume and

Mboudjeke’s “Translating Idiomatically into French in Quebec” (2008). These tables are not only pertinent but clear enough for an exploration in such uncharted territory.

### 2.2.1 Phonetic and Prosodic Level

	OV	FV
<b>Elisions or assimilation phenomena</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wilma: “This is not Arkenstone” (S05E19: 4’05’)</li> <li>• Mrs.Gruesome: “I don’t blame them” (S05E19: 19’17’)</li> <li>• Barney: “After dinner”(S02E07: 10’45’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Drop of the /e/ or schwa</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>C</u>’n’est pas un champ de bataille</li> <li>• On <u>n</u>’peut pas leur en vouloir</li> <li>• Après <u>l</u>’dîner</li> </ul>
	Mr.Gruesome: “Waist-high crabgrass” (S05E09: 21’39’)	<p><b>Drop of the /il/ in impersonal constructions</b></p> <p><u>Y</u>’a même de l’herbe à crabes</p>
	Fred: “You, too, Barney?” (S01E07: 11’13’)	<p><b>Drop of the /u/ in personal pronoun /tu/ (and explicitation technique)</b></p> <p>Toi aussi <u>t</u>’as un poids sur la conscience?</p>

Table 7. Phonetic and Prosodic Level in *The Flintstones*.

Due to its lack of systematic analysis in French, standardized spoken language or *synchronian* is a difficult concept to grasp. Broadly speaking, it “consists in reducing a multiplicity of distinctive features characterizing the original spoken language used to two well-known and generally accepted French oral features” (Goris 173), which are “the elision of the final vowel of a personal pronoun before the initial character of the verb ... and the omission of the first part of the negation” (174). “At the phonetic level, film dialogue has locutionary purity, and ... it avoids spontaneous prosodic ambiguities or metathesis” (Romero-Fresco 2009: 48), which means that the language is bare of any non-standard forms present in spontaneous spoken dialogue and flows perfectly without any non-

standard pronunciation and hesitations. This in turn results in undifferentiated social classes unlike the Québécois version (see Chapter 3).

In *The Flintstones*, the characters' speech also features elisions of part of the definite articles, which is widely accepted in spoken French as being a feature common to all social classes (Blanche-Benveniste 38). Although the dialogues remain highly crafted and differ from everyday spoken French, the French version strives to render some aspects of 'natural' spoken French through the elision technique. However, there is a clear tendency towards systematic explicitation (Goris 182) technique with Fred and Mr. Gruesome's speech (see table 7).

### 2.2.2 Morphological Level and Change of Register

	OV	FV
<b>Non-standard grammatical forms</b>	<p><b>Gonna</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barney: "that's <u>gonna</u> be my swimming pool" (S01E03: 6"17')</li> <li>Fred: "I'm <u>gonna</u> sue you" (S01E03: 6"20')</li> <li>Barney: "Betty isn't <u>gonna</u> like it" (S02E14: 7"45')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>C'est ma future piscine (glossed over)</li> <li>J'_vais t'_faire un procès (schwa)</li> <li>Betty va pas aimer ça (elision of "ne")</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Ain't</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fred: "You <u>ain't</u> working over time" (S02E18: 7"40')</li> <li>Fred: "This <u>ain't</u> <i>What's my line</i>" (S02E19: 12"10')</li> <li>Barney: "<u>ain't</u> that true" (S02E03: 2"34')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tu vas <u>pas</u> travailler des heures sup' (elision of "ne"+lexical colloquialism)</li> <li>Tu r'_gardes pas un film à la télé (schwa)</li> <li><u>Hein que</u> c'est vrai Joe (idiomatic expression)</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Got and gotta</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Barney: "You <u>got</u> your hat backwards" (S02E32: 14"32')</li> <li>Fred: "We <u>gotta</u>" (S04E11: 9"12')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tu as mis ton casque à l'envers (levelling)</li> <li>on doit (glossed over)</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Verb/subject agreement</b></p> <p>Barney: "We <u>was</u> just talking about you" (S06E03: 3"08')</p>	<p>on parlait justement de toi (glossed over)</p>
	<p><b>Incorrect category</b></p> <p>Barney: "one of <u>them</u> teenage shows"</p>	<p>C'est encore une de leurs émissions</p>

	(S06E01: 2'30')	pour les jeunes (levelling)
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Table 8. Non-standard Grammatical Forms in the OV of *The Flintstones*.

In the original version, Fred and Barney's speech feature grammatical non-standard forms such as non-standard subject-verb conjugation (*you was, you ain't* instead of *you were* and *you are not*) or the contraction of verbs with their prepositions (*gonna* instead of *going to*). All of those features are characteristics of colloquial spoken American English and the main characters' speech reflects their belonging to the working-class. The French version does not reproduce the same level of grammatical colloquialism and systematically glosses over these oral features by correcting them and entailing, once again, a possible loss of "social differentiation" (Goris 174). At the morphological level, synchronian will shun away from grammatical non-standard forms (Romero-Fresco 2009: 48). Instead the FV opts for another type of compensation. While it discards these morphological inconsistencies, it compensates for the loss of idiomacy through the elision of the central vowel "e" (*ça s'rait bien, tu r'gardes pas*) and the drop of the "ne" in the negation (see table 8), which according to Blanche-Benveniste is present in 95% of every conversation, be it familiar or formal contexts (37). Goris' previous observations of the use of these techniques in the dubbing of TV shows lead him to believe in the possibility of it being a norm in the dubbing industry (174) or a trope, which confirms Pavesi's observations on the translational "routines" (2008:79) of dubbed texts.

Another compensation technique the French version adopts is the use of lexical colloquialism with "*hein que c'est vrai*" as well as "*heures sup*" instead of "*heures supplémentaires*", which are common features of spoken rather than

written French. However, this technique is rare compared to the next trend. The most radical technique, common in dubbing, is to simply discard the colloquial grammar and standardize it (“*tu as mis ton casque à l’envers*” for “you got your hat backwards”). From the diverse examples taken from the French version (see table 8), the morphological level in the FV clearly tends to be more rigid and standardized and fails to reflect many features of spoken French; it seems to be aligned with Spanish and Italian *dubbese*.

### 2.2.3 Syntactic Level: Levelling the Language

	OV	FV
<b>Connectors (strong and weak)</b>	<b><i>Oh boy!</i></b> Barney/ Fred: “Oh boy!” (S02E03: 6”25’/S05E01: 6”35’/S05E02: 3”23’)	Oh bon sang!/ Oh misère /Oh tu t’rends compte! (levelling)
<b>Discourse markers</b>	<b><i>Yeah/yep</i></b> • Barney/Fred: “yeah” (S01E03: 7”00’/S05E01: 6”20’), “yep” (S04E01: 9”54) • Fred: “Yeah, yeah, yeah” (S02E14: 3”14’)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oui (standardization)</li> <li>• Taratata! (levelling)</li> </ul>
<b>Interjections</b>	<b><i>Well</i></b> Fred: “ <u>Well</u> , it’s simple” (S01E03: 6”50’)	Epoussette tes neurones! (levelling)
	<b><i>Now</i></b> Fred: “ <u>now</u> , what kind of crack are you” (S02E19: 7”35’)	Jeune homme je trouve cette plaisanterie idiote et de très mauvais goût (levelling)
	<b><i>Gee</i></b> • Barney: “ <u>Gee</u> I don’t know” (S02E19: 7”06’) • Betty: “ <u>Gee</u> you looked like a professional” (S04E05: 21”05’)	La couleur, ça m’est égal (Repetition of the subject + syntactical restructuration giving an oral feel ) •C’est bien simple on aurait cru que tu avais fait ça toute ta vie (levelling)
	<b><i>look</i></b> Robber: “ <u>look</u> boss” (S02E07: 16”38’)	<u>écoutez</u> patron (equivalence)
	Fred does not say anything (S01E03: 6”17’)	Minute!

	Fred: “Yabba-dabba-doo” (S02E19: 8”35’)	Yabba-dabba-doo, chabba-dabba-dou (S04E03: 5”43’, S05E09: 7”36’)
	<i>hiya</i> Fred: “ <u>hiya</u> Barney” (S02E30: 15”03’)	<u>Bonjour</u> Barney! (standardization)
	<b>Oh my gosh!</b> Server: “oh my gosh!” (S02E03: 15”52’)	Oh zut alors!
	Concert organizer: “ <u>say</u> ” (S05E01: 18”55’)	Dites donc
<b>Hesitations, pauses</b>	Fred: “bu...bu...but who’s that in the pool?” (S01E03: 22”33’)	Mais... mais...que...qui est dans la piscine?
	Fred: “It is...I, I, I mean...you...you were...oh boy!” (S02E19: 9”00’)	Oh c’est...c’était...tu...tu...tu veux dire que tu voulais m’acheter...oh c’est Dédé...oh mon dieu
	Fred: “yeah the ball” (S04E01: 5”06’)	Ha oui, la ba...la balle
<b>Short simple sentences</b>  <b>Explicitness method</b>	Barney: “Oh boy! Swim parties, barbecues, water polo!” (S01E03: 6”27’)	<b>Explicitness/explicitation technique</b>  Oh bon sang! J’ <u>imagine</u> toutes ces baignades, ces plongeurs, ces parties de water-polo! ”
	Barney: “What’s that supposed to be?” (S01E03: 7”28’)	Je peux savoir c’que ça r’présente?
	Wilma: “It’s sure taking Betty and Barney a long time to get here” (S04E03: 13”36’)	<u>Je n’en r’viens pas</u> que Betty et Barney mettent autant de temps pour venir
	King: “But first, let me tell you...” (S04E03: 6”00’)	Mais d’bord j’ <u>i le plaisir et la joie</u> de vous annoncer...

Table 9. Syntactic Level in *The Flintstones*.

Oral expression allows for ... a level leaning towards the popular register; syntactic errors are not rare; redundancies, incomplete, badly structured sentences, etc. (Soutet 15)<sup>96</sup>

The French version favours more complex and longer structures than the original version combined with “explicitness” (Chaume 1997: 233) or “explicitation” (Goris 182) method and a switch to a higher register especially with nominal

<sup>96</sup> “L’oral s’accommode ... d’un niveau tendant davantage vers le populaire; les licences syntaxiques n’y sont pas rares; redundances, phrases incomplètes, mal construites, etc.”

sentences (“swim parties, barbecue, water polos”) and interjections (“*oh bon sang, oh misère*”). This is what Goris observed whenever the dialogue was considered vague and dubbing would make it clear to the audience. Pavesi tackles the issue of formulaic language and especially the systematic use of preferred carriers of orality such as weak connectors (Pavesi 2008: 93) that tend to be standardized in the dubbing.

The recognition of *dubbese* is first and foremost prevalent on the syntactic level. Let us look at interjections first. Interjections, conveying a wide range of feelings, from surprise to disgust, are prevalent in the original version. On one hand, the French version finds equivalents for the most popular ones (“look”, “oh my gosh!”) and even offers an additional one (“*minute!*”), while on the other hand it leans towards systematically polishing its expressions: “*oui*” invariably translates the more casual *yeah*, a familiar “hiya” turns into a common and more appropriate “*bonjour*”. Moreover, the repetitive and systematic use of “*bon sang*” and “*oh misère!*” to translate “Oh boy!” seems once again to fit Pavesi’s formulaic assessment of the dubbing language.

This tendency towards a more polished language becomes even more pernicious when faced with markers of transition or pragmatic markers such as *now* or *well*, left out of the dubbed version. The French version combines different elements of speech in order to operate the switch to a significantly higher register: on the lexical level “*crack*” becomes a proper “*jeune homme*” while, through an explicitness method, Fred’s original crude reaction becomes a sophisticated “*je trouve cette plaisanterie idiote et de très mauvais goût*”. The

same trend is apparent in the translation, or rather ‘non translation’, of *gee* thoroughly glossed over and combined to the use of a more complex syntax and conjugation. Finally, it is worth noting that there is a progressive domestication of Fred’s iconic interjection “yabba-dabba-doo” which, starting S04E03 onwards, becomes a permanent ‘Frenchicized’ “chabba-dabba-dou” (see table 9).<sup>97</sup>

However, the French version does not keep away from hesitations, pauses and other carriers of orality unlike *dubbese* (Romero-Fresco 2009: 48). Occasional pauses and reformulations are present in the FV. These hesitations and repeats, reformulations and false starts are among the most common “*scories*” (Gadet 1992: 22) of spontaneous speech. Although film dialogue is never spontaneous since it has been written in advance, the characters’ speech in the FV tends to reproduce these oral features. Not only does it not shy away from them but it also provides additional ones in order to enhance cohesion within the plot. In S02E14, Fred feels sorry after losing a child’s ball and his stutter not only emphasizes his emotional reaction but also reinforces the cohesion between the visual—Fred’s long face—and the plot.

However, on almost all levels, the French version tends to offer a more ‘wooden’ and syntactically more complex language, that is akin to written French. Besides the occasional elision phenomena (see table 8), widely accepted in spoken French (Goris 174), most of the speech is more structured and complex in the French version than in the original version. The FV rarely reproduces the same grammatical colloquialism. As a result, *synchronian* does indeed seem to be

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<sup>97</sup> The “cha” sonority is more familiar to a French audience than “ya” and the interjection could even be reminiscent of the song “*un homme et une femme*” by Nicole Croisille and its iconic chorus “ba da ba da da da da da da.”

what the industry produces as the equivalent of standard French understood as: “...the French language representing the limit between what is oral and informal, and what is formal, more elevated and literary. In that sense, it translates a discursive, or even a stylistic, neutrality ... Standard French acts as a liminal discursive fact, a linguistic in-between that you can only conceive in abnegation terms” (Rebourcet 109).<sup>98</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Lexical and Semantic Level: Between Loss and Creativity

	OV	FV
<b>Change of register (from colloquial in OV to neutral or high in FV)</b>	Fred: “I’m beat” (S04E06: 4”08’)	Je suis épuisé
	Fred: “Thanks loads” (S02E10: 13”46’)	Merci beaucoup
	Fred: “sucks lady” (S02E10)	Chuis désolé madame
	Barney: “But I’m still not happy about taking a bath in front of an audience” (S04E03: 17”26’)	Ma pudeur naturelle va souffrir de prendre un bain devant tout l’monde
	Fred: “I have a hobby” (S01E01: 3”50’)	J’en ai un de violon d’Ingres
	Fred: “step on it” (S03E28: 20”20’)	Dépêche-toi
	Fred: “Beat it” (S04E03: 14”23’)	A bientôt
	Barney: “I want to <u>hit the sack</u> early” (S04E16: 12”10’)	Je veux me coucher tôt ce soir
	Barney: “I’ll have you out <u>in a jiffy</u> ” (S01E14: 14”35’)	Je ne sais pas comment te délivrer
	Fred: “buster” (S02E07: 13”15’):	Cher monsieur
	Roger/Ernest: “Say that’d be swell” (S04E08: 5”23’)	Ca s’rait même un honneur
Robber: “that’s more dough than I can scratch out” (S02E07: 6”58’)	C’est plus que c’que je pouvais gagner	

<sup>98</sup> “le français incarnant la limite entre ce qui est oral et informel, et ce qui est plus formel, plus soutenu et littéraire. C’est dans ce sens qu’il traduit une neutralité discursive, voire stylistique ... le français standard fonctionne comme un fait discursif liminal, un entredeux langagier qu’on ne peut concevoir que par abnégation.”

	Barney: “Too bad we’re not friends anymore” (S01E03: 6”34’)	C’est dommage que nous n’soyons plus des amis
<b>Colloquial expressions kept or added</b>	Barney: “You know, the works!” (S01E03: 6”30’)	La vie d’can’ton quoi!
	Kid playing baseball to Fred: “All right <u>fatso</u> ” (S04E08: 12”02’)	Alors gros lard
	Fred ( <i>inviting a lady</i> ): “Hiya <u>baby</u> . How about shaking a leg with old hot stuff Freddie?” (S02E10: 14”25’)	Alors ca va p’tite puce? Ca t’dirait d’aller faire trembler le tas d’billes avec le p’tit Freddie ?
	Wilma: “your big, strong muscles” (S04E03: 14”35’)	Vos biscottos

Table 10. Levelling of Lexis in *The Flintstones*.

The lexical level displays once again the dual approach of the French version, pulled between a desire to be creative and another to be normative. The FV changes register when translating colloquial expressions (“*je suis épuisé*” for “I’m beat”, “*merci beaucoup*” for “thanks loads”, “*chuis désolé madame*” for “sucks lady”) to such an extent in some cases that it switches to a formal register far from spontaneous spoken French (“*ma pudeur naturelle va souffrir de prendre un bain devant tout l’monde*”), which is once again one of dubbese’s characteristics (Romero-Fresco 2009:52). Rude expressions such as “beat it” become a significantly more cordial “*à bientôt*” in the FV. However, on some occasions the FV makes an effort at substituting the colloquial expressions with an equally colloquial French one (“*p’tite puce*” for “baby”, “*gros lard*” for “fatso”). The FV also adds popular expressions (“*biscottos*” for “muscles”). These two techniques are however very scarce and when faced with colloquial expressions, the FV usually switches to a higher register. The boundary between characters from the working and upper classes becomes accordingly blurred (Pavesi 2008: 81 and Goris 175). There is levelling and convergence towards a standard French norm

that has already been noted by Armstrong in *The Simpsons* (2006: 249). French Fred ceases to be the grumpy, working-class Bedrock citizen with a foul mouth he is in the original version, as evidenced for instance by the translation of “now what kind of crack are you?” (see table 10), and instead becomes a more cunning and refined character. The characters’ speech is more polished despite the occasional use of colloquialisms and elision phenomena. As a potential compensation technique, the dubbing actors resort to playing with their voice (see Chapter 4).

Finally, the translators showcase creativity in the everpresent insults, pet names and interjections. In the original version, insults and interjections are fairly standard for the 1960s ranging from “idiot” to “dimwit” and “holy smoke”. The French version takes this opportunity to anchor the TV show in its unrealistic and anachronistic prehistoric world. It repeatedly reminds the viewer of it taking place in the Stone Age through altered yet recognizable insults, idiomatic expressions and pet names. A common “my old friend” becomes “*Ha Barney mon vieux menhir*” (S01E04: 20’00’) or alternatively “*vieux dolmen*” (S02E03: 23’00’) while a banal “idiot” becomes “*cervelle de pierraille*” (S01E01: 11’20’, S05E09: 2’36’) or “you poor excuse of a neighbour” (S01E01: 5’37) a “*cervelle de lièvre*” and “*cervelle de courge*” (S02E09: 18’10’). Through the repetitive references to rocks, one can safely determine that the French translator is aiming at adding a layer of humour through wordplay. Another case of such creativity pervades the translation of interjections such as “holy smoke” becoming “*nom d’un silex*” (S02E07: 4’40’) and “holy mackerel” turns into a play on dinosaur and a popular

French expression “*nom d’un chienosaure*” (S02E18: 16”50’). The French version also features additional insults: “*bougre d’idiot*” (S02E07: 16”59’), “*ces deux empotés*” (“these two characters” S02E07: 5”25’), and “*pousse-toi d’là crétin*” (“out of the way you!” S06E21: 1”47’). The use of these expressions combined with Carel’s ability to imperceptibly modulate his voice causes a change in Fred Flintstone’s personality as he appears both cruder and more cunning in the French version than in the original version.

## 2.3 Do you Speak “*Synchronien*” in *The Simpsons*?

### 2.3.1 Phonetic and Prosodic Levels

	OV	FV
<b>Elisions or assimilation phenomena</b>	Homer: “We shouldn’t work together” (S04E07: 5”37’)	<b>Elision of the particle “ne” in the negation:</b> <i>On va pas bosser ensemble</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Milhouse: “And also, you should win things by watching” (S08E14: 4”23’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “That’s all I can do” (S05E12: 5”22’)</li> <li>• Homer: “I don’t believe I tried the fish roll” (S02E11: 4”35’)</li> </ul>	<b>Elision of /e/ resulting in schwa:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Et il faudrait aussi qu’on gagne des trucs en le r’gardant</li> <li>• C’est tout c’que j’peux faire</li> <li>• Je l’crois pas, des œufs de poissons volants, j’peux pas résister</li> </ul>
	Homer: “I want fugu!” (S02E11: 6”23’)	<b>Drop of the /l/ for personal pronoun:</b> <i>I vient mon Fugu?</i>
	Homer: “another city” (S22E17: 4”46’)	<b>Drop of endings of /re/, vocalic fusion:</b> <i>dans une aut’ ville</i>
	Snakes: “Apu, sometimes when I rob you, it’s like you’re not even there” (S18E14: 13”19’)	<b>Elision of consonant /l/+elision of /u/:</b> <i>Apu, que?que fois quand j’t vole, c’est comme ci t’étai même pas là</i>

Table 11. Phonetic and Prosodic Level in *The Simpsons*.

The frequent elisions in the original version (*shouldn’t, that’s, don’t*) tend to be reproduced in the FV (see table 11) through the elision of the /e/ and negation particle “ne”. As noted previously in *The Flintstones*, the elision of the negation is

a common feature or even a norm of the dubbing process along with the schwa. Besides the schwa phenomenon present in the French version, Homer also elides the [r] sound for “*autre*”. This “weakening and variable deletion [of the r] in certain linguistic contexts” (Armstrong 2001: 67) can be found in the dubbing of *The Simpsons* unlike *The Flintstones* and “... is a well-known feature of everyday spoken French” (68) along with the deletion of the liquid consonant /l/ in pronouns (75). The high frequency of elisions in *The Simpsons* shows a tendency towards a more spoken, ‘authentic’ rendition of spoken language in the dubbed work, especially with, for instance, the idiomatic expression “*i vient mon fugu?*” or again the elision of the [l] in “*quelquefois*” for Snakes. However, most of the pronunciation is still normative: there are no fake liaisons that are important markers of spontaneous spoken French (Blanche-Benveniste 37 and Gadet 1989: 54).

### 2.3.2 Morphological Level and Change of Register

	OV	FV
<b>Non-standard forms in the OV</b>	Homer: “I’m trying to get <u>me</u> drunk” (S20E05: 6”13)	<b>Equivalent</b> J’essaie <u>moi</u> d’me saouler
	<b>Gonna</b> Homer: “She’s <u>gonna</u> take him for a lot of money” (S20E05: 7”40’)	<b>Compensation with lexis+elision</b> Je sens qu’elle va lui soutirer <u>un paquet d’fric</u> celle-là
	Willie: “let me comb <u>me</u> hair” (S07E12: 16”35’)	<b>Loss</b> Laissez-moi au moins m’recoiffer.

	<p><b>Gotta/got</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “I <u>gotta</u> get his autograph” (S02E05: 3”38’)</li> <li>• Bart: “I <u>gotta</u> get out of here” (S05E12: 4”40’)</li> <li>• Sylvia: “Sylvia <u>got</u> everything you want” (S20E05: 11”15’)</li> <li>• Homer: “you still <u>got</u> the magic Marge” (S02E05: 4”18’)</li> <li>• Delivery man: “I <u>got</u> some washers in my truck” (S04E07: 14”42’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Compensation : omission of /il/</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Faut qu’</u>j’ai son autographe</li> <li>• <u>Faut que</u> j’me tire d’ici</li> </ul> <p><b>Compensation with elision</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sylvia a tout c’<u>que</u> tu veux</li> </ul> <p><b>Loss</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ça marche encore Marge</li> <li>• J’en ai dans mon camion</li> </ul>
	<p>Homer: “you <u>wanna</u> go grab a beer after work?” (S23E01: 2”25’)</p>	<p><b>Compensation: elision</b>  Vous v’<u>nez</u> prendre une bière après l’boulot?</p>
	<p>Lenny: “What are they <u>doin’</u> with these things?” (S04E12: 00”32’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b>  Qu’est-<u>qui</u> font d’ces machins ?</p>
	<p>Moe: “Not trying to be <u>no</u> hero” (S23E01: 5”43’)</p>	<p><b>Loss and possible compensation with elision of “ne” and schwa</b>  J’ai pas envie d’jouer les héros</p>
	<p>Bart: “Hey, this Roosevelt <u>guy</u> was sort of interesting” (S23E02: 7”21’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hey <u>le</u> Roosevelt c’est pas un <u>mec</u> inintéressant</li> </ul>
<p><b>Addition of non-standard forms in the FV</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “I could follow my dream: living in the woods, keeping a journal of my thoughts” (S04E07: 2”56’)</li> <li>• Homer: “What I mainly remember is the laughter” (S07E09: 1”35’)</li> <li>• Homer: “Within each man” (S07E09: 8”04’)</li> <li>• Homer: “we both came here to rekindle our precious memories of when we were young and in love” (S20E05: 12”55’)</li> <li>• Homer: “what’s the matter boy?”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J’pourrais écrire <u>qu’est-ce que</u> j’pense dans un journal  Standard form: “je pourrais écrire <u>ce que</u> je pense dans un journal”</li> <li>• Mais celui <u>que</u> j’me souviens surtout c’est l’rigolard  Standard form: “celui <u>dont</u> je me souviens surtout c’est le rigolard”</li> <li>• <u>Dedans</u> chaque homme  Standard form: “<u>Dans</u> chaque homme”</li> <li>• On est v’nu raviver nos précieux souvenirs <u>de quand qu’on</u> était jeunes et amoureux  Standard form: “On est venu raviver nos précieux souvenirs <u>de quand</u> on était jeunes et amoureux”</li> <li>• <u>Qu’y</u> a mon garçon?</li> </ul>

	(S02E05: 3"52')	Standard form: "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a mon garçon?"
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: "no matter who he says he is..." (S21E22: 6"08')</li> </ul>	Popular French with "fous": <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• je me fous de qui dit qu'il est...</li> </ul> Standard form: "Je me fous de ce qu'il dit être..."
<b>Homer's inability to pronounce words correctly</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "I have recurring flashforwards" (S23E01: 10"33')</li> <li>• "library" (S12E04:15"47')</li> <li>• "maybe" (S23E01: 10"15'/S12E09: 9"30')</li> <li>• "no pantomamine" (S02E15: 3"10')</li> <li>• "That's my metamabolism" (S02E12: 4"56')</li> <li>• "but I haven't finished my rituals yet" (S22E17: 2"10')</li> <li>• "Jack Nicholson himself could not make it" (S02E06: 9"17')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J'ai des flashba-backs</li> <li>• bilbiothèque</li> <li>• Pitêtre</li> <li>• Et pas de pantomamine non plus</li> <li>• C'est mon métabamolisme</li> <li>• pitits (S22E17: 2"06' and 6"00')</li> <li>• même Jack <u>Nichloson</u> y arriverait pas</li> </ul>

Table 12. Morphological Level in *The Simpsons*.

The move towards a more idiomatic language in the French dubbing is apparent on the morphosyntactical level, where *dubbese* elements are usually the most pregnant. The original version of *The Simpsons* features some non-standard forms already present in *The Flintstones* such as "gonna" and "gotta". While the French version does not provide equivalent grammatical non-standard forms (except for "me drunk") it does compensate with the now classical elision phenomena but also with the omission of the personal pronoun "il" in the impersonal expression: "il faut" and, more importantly an incomplete interrogative pronoun for Lenny (see table 12). The latter technique is arguably a novelty in the dubbing process and clearly mirrors a spoken language diverging from the standard form seen with *The Flintstones*. Even if the French version features occasional loss and levelling it also uses the definite article "le" in front of a proper name in Bart's speech in order to match the original "this" paired with the lexical vernacular "mec". More surprisingly, the FV does not shun away from additional non-standard

morphosyntax in numerous episodes. While the OV does display some voluntary non-standard forms, marks of the colloquial spoken quality of the exchange, the FV tends to compensate for the lack of equivalents with the use of non-standard forms that are nonexistent in the OV especially when it comes to Homer and, to a lesser extent, Bart. His speech features incorrect relative pronouns “*celui que j’mesouviens*” that has been observed by Gadet in popular spontaneous speech (2003:54) and Blanche-Benveniste (2004: 52) as a mark of colloquial spoken French since it is “*très classante*” (1989: 147); or again the use of an otherwise interrogative pronoun “*qu’est-ce que j’pense dans un journal*” functioning as a relative one. Besides this displacement in grammatical category, Homer’s speech also features the elision of “*qu’est-ce*” in the interrogative pronoun “*qu’est-ce que*” in conjunction with multiple elisions in order to confer an oral feel to his speech. Homer’s inability to form correctly structured sentences seems to have been passed down to Bart, a notorious dunce, as his speech also features defective syntax (see table 12).

The oral feel to both Homer’s and Bart’s dubbing is complete with Homer’s inability to pronounce some words, a specificity of the original version, that the French version heightens. This was a clear choice from the dubbing actors: “Homer has a problem with culture” (Philippe Peythieu *propagationduchaos.com*). The French version increases his speech handicap with “*bilbiothèque*”, “*pitêtre*” and “*pitit*”<sup>99</sup>, all of them trademarks of Homer’s speech in the FV. Beyond the humoristic effect, and the unique quality it confers to the

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<sup>99</sup> Interestingly enough, “*pitit*” is part of the *créole* lexis. See “Le créole de la Guadeloupe.” by Johanne Akpoussan-Confiac (n.d.)

FV, Homer’s characterization seems to slightly differ from the OV. He seems dumber in the FV than in the OV or even Québécois version as he is unable to pronounce simple words or form correct sentences. Bart seems to be reproducing his dad’s way of speaking, as opposed to Lisa’s way of speaking or even Marge’s. However, Homer’s mispronunciation of words also serves another purpose: he is able to effectively manipulate or twist the language. In that sense his dumbness is an “academic” one pointing at the non-fixity and unreliable nature of language.<sup>100</sup>

### 2.3.3 Syntactic Level

	OV	FV
<b>Connectors and weak connectors</b>	<i>Colloquial</i> Lisa: “Yeah” (S04E20: 11”56’)	<i>Colloquial</i> Moui
<b>Discourse markers (well, now, say, you, look)</b>	Homer: “Oh...what?” (S02E10: 10”15’)	Hein, quoi?
<b>Interjections (yeah!, woohoo, wow, Response form (yeah))</b>	<i>Woohoo</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “Oh ouh ouh” (S02E11: 4”25’)</li> <li>Homer: “Wouhou, wow!” (S02E10: 7”26’)</li> <li>Homer: “Oooh, these old folks...” (S07E21: 3”10’)</li> <li>Homer: “Woohoo” (S04E20: 8”00’)</li> <li>Homer: “Woo” (S09E04: 2”07’)</li> </ul>	<i>Equivalent</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Et hou, hou !</li> <li>Wooo, wow!</li> <li><u>Ouh</u> tu veux que j’te dise...</li> <li>Woohoo!</li> <li>Woo (<i>marveled at the bomb shelter</i>)</li> </ul>
	<i>You little...!</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “You little!” (S22E17: 12”28’)/ “Oh you little...” (S02E11: 7”48’/S12E02: 5”10’)</li> </ul>	<i>Equivalent : pitit!</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pitit.../Oh, ispèce de sale.../ipsèce de pitit</li> </ul>
	<i>Oh yeah!</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “Oh yeah” (S07E09:1”43’)</li> <li>Duffman: “oh yeah” (S13E05: 6”17’)</li> </ul>	<i>Equivalent</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ha ouais!</li> <li>Oh ouais!</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “It’s no trouble! ” (S02E09: 1”55’)</li> <li>Bart: “No problemo” (S04E20: 6”38’)</li> <li>Homer: “We get a bunch of</li> </ul>	<b>Equivalent: no problemo!</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No problemo!</li> <li>No problemo!</li> <li>On fera venir 2 ou 3 prêtres et no</li> </ul>

<sup>100</sup> This in turn echoes Derrida’s notion of *différance* in *Writing and Difference* (1978).

	priests in here... ” (S02E03: 3”45’)	problemo!
	Bart: “Ay Caramba!” (S02E12: 10”00’)	Ay Caramba
	<p><b>Flanders’ expressions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Okely-dokely-do” (S17E02: 1”20’/S07E05: 2”55’)</li> <li>• “Okey dokey” (S19E15: 15”00’)</li> <li>• “alrighty” (S07E05:2”48’)</li> <li>• “Hiyee oh” (S14E23: 2”52’)</li> <li>• “Well, sir, I hate to be <u>suspicious Aloysius on you...</u> ” (S09E03: 15”40’)</li> <li>• “No <u>siree-bob!</u>” (S09E05:15”16’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dacodac</li> <li>• Okey dokey!</li> <li>• Bravi, bravu, bravo!</li> <li>• Sali salut!</li> </ul> <p><b>Compensation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ben, <u>voili voila</u>, tu m’connais c’est pas mon genre d’être soupçonneux...</li> <li>• Tu l’as dit bouffi!</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Come on</b></p> <p>Bart: “<u>Come on</u> Lis” (S04E12: 3”00’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p>Allez Lisa</p>
	<p><b>Say</b></p> <p>Homer: “<u>Say</u>, Wayne!” (S23E01: 2”24’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p><u>Dites-moi</u> Wayne</p>
	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p>Selma: “<u>Nice!</u>” (S20E5: 10”00’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p>Super!</p>
	<p><b>There you go</b></p> <p>Marge: “<u>There you go</u> Bart” (S02E05: 4”05’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p>Et voilà Bart!</p>
	<p><b>Well</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “<u>Well</u>, I don’t know” (S02E10: 7”39’)</li> <li>• Homer: “<u>Well</u>, for one thing...” (S22E17: 8”44’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ben, euh, je sais pas</li> <li>• Ben, une chose...</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Hey!</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “Hey guys!” (S20E5: 20”34’)</li> <li>• Homer: “hey kids! Batman!” (S04E09: 4”20’)</li> <li>• Flash: “Hey there!” (S02E05: 4”00’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hey les enfants!</li> <li>• Hey regardez, c’est Batman!</li> <li>• Hey salut!</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Listen</b></p> <p>Bart: “listen... ” (S21E22: 6”08’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <p>Écoutez...</p>
	<p><b>Now</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moe: “Ok, <u>now</u>, we don’t want any trouble” (S23E01: 5”30’)</li> <li>• Abe: “<u>Now</u>, this girlfriend of yours...” (S02E12: 14”13’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Equivalent</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bon, <u>écoutez</u>, on n’veut pas d’ennuis</li> <li>• <u>Alors</u>, elle est comment ta p’tite copine?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Roy Snyder: “Hello Bart, <u>now</u>, you know the difference between telling the truth and telling a lie don’t you son?” (S02E10: 11”33’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bonjour Bart. <u>Bien</u>. <u>Heu</u>, tu sais la différence qu’il y a entre dire la vérité et dire un mensonge, n’est-ce pas?</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Oh dear!</b> Old man: “Oh dear!” (S04E07: 7”07’)</p>	<p><b>Equivalent</b> Oh flûte!</p>
	Homer ( <i>happy then disappointed</i> ): “ha...hoooo” (S04E07: 1”47’)	<p><b>Kept</b> Ha...hoooo</p>
	Burns: “Ok...” (S22E17: 00”30’)	Bon, alors...
	Burns: “Beatles, hey? Oh yes...” (S02E18: 14”20’)	Les Beatles, hein ? Ha oui...
	Homer: “D’Oh!” (S02E11: 1”11’/ S04E07: 2”09’/ S22E17: 12”15’)	T’Oh!
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “Jeez!” (S09E04: 4”20’)</li> <li>Homer: “Oh God!” (S06E07: 14”20’)</li> <li>Homer: “Man!” (S12E19: 6”22’)</li> <li>Homer: “Oh my God!” (S18E05: 11”50’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Pinaise</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pinaise!</li> <li>Oh pinaise!</li> <li>Pinaise!</li> <li>Ouh pinaise!</li> </ul>
	Barry White: “Oh baby!” (S04E20: 5”45’)	<p><b>Left in translation</b> Oh baby!</p>
	Homer: “Look Marge, we don’t need the money that bad” (S04E07: 5”49’)	<p><b>Loss</b> <u>Marge</u>, on n’a pas tant besoin d’argent qu’ça</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bart: “don’t worry” (S04E09: 1”20’)</li> <li>Homer: “Right on Bart!” (S6E08: 12”56’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Calmos (addition)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Calmos!</li> <li>Calmos Bart!</li> </ul>
	Marge: “Homer Simpson: <u>you</u> devil” (S20E05: 14”45’)	<p><b>Loss</b> Homer Simpson, vous êtes le diable</p>
	Sylvia: “There you are” (S10E05: 13”40’)	<p><b>Equivalent</b> Ha te voilà!</p>
<b>Word orders</b>	Jerry/Gérard: “Monday: left work early to see Derreck’s baseball game” (S22E17: 8”20’)	Lundi, j’ai quitté le travail tôt pour aller voir le match de baseball de Derreck
	Homer: “Bart, don’t you dare take off your eyes of that Gameboy”	Bart, je t’interdis de l’ver les yeux de cette Gameboy

	(S20E05: 3”50’)	
<b>Hesitations and pauses</b>	Unknown man: “But...um...I see” (S04E20: 12”25’)	Mais... oh, je vois...
	Homer: “oh...okay” (S23E01: 4”10’)	Oh...dacodac
	Dr. Xander: “Wait, ho...hold on a moment” (S22E17: 8”55’)	Attendez, a-a-attendez un moment... (S22E17: 8”34’)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “Hum... yes!” (S22E17: 9”00’)/ “anyway...” (S22E17: 9”10’)</li> <li>• Burns: “Ugh (<i>disgust</i>), I knew there would be sacrifices” (S02E03: 14”45’)</li> </ul>	<b>Addition of hesitation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• euh oui.../alors...euh</li> <li>• Eh bien, je... je... je savais qu’il faudrait faire des sacrifices.</li> </ul>

Table 13. Syntactic Level in *The Simpsons*.

People do not speak a ‘pure’ standard French in everyday conversations (Blanche-Benveniste, 1990; Gadet, 1992, 1999), but a mix of registers and dialects (*sociolects*, *technolects*, *regiolects*, etc.), standard French being based upon written forms. Moreover, French society is now less purist than it used to be: familiar and even colloquial linguistic forms are much more acceptable and more extensively used than before (Gadet, 1999: 627 qtd in Blanchet and Armstrong 262)

Homer’s stupidity is given more weight in the French version at the syntactic level. The FV provides additional hesitations (“*ben euh*”) and gives him two expressions that are trademarks of the French dubbing: “petit” pronounced “*pitit*” and “*espèce*” pronounced “*ispèce*” to translate “you little”. Homer’s inability to pronounce certain words is flagrant in his “*Ouh pinaise*”, another iconic expression invented by the FV, coming from the word “*punaise*”, itself being a toned down version of “*putain*” (Labate 49). Or again, “*calmos*”, a colloquial expression found in spoken French used by both Homer and Bart on multiple occasions. Homer also constantly says “*no problemo*”, an American colloquial expression the frequency of which is increased in the FV, pointing at Homer’s simple take on any situation. Homer’s original “*woo hoo*”, signalling his (presumed) triumph over a situation, is also kept in the FV. An overwhelming

majority of interjections, pauses, hesitations and connectors are reproduced in the FV which indicates a move from *synchronien* or a normative language towards a more idiomatic and spontaneous one. It is also worth noting that the FV adds its own touch with Homer's "T'Oh!" which, despite being a mistake on Peythieu's part (*propagationduchaos.net*) and possibly a domesticated version of the original, becomes the ultimate emblem of Homer's stupidity in the FV. As such French Homer's stupidity is heightened by the FV on the syntactical level.

Even Flanders' unique way of speaking by adding "iddly" or "doodly" to words in order to create often non-sensical or silly expressions such "okely-dokely-do" (see table 13) make him appear even more congenial than he already is. He also uses old-fashioned expressions such as "hiyee" and "siree". Those odd expressions can represent a challenge to the translators and could be easily left out. However, the FV coins new terms and finds creative ways to reproduce Ned Flanders' off speech patterns in French with equally absurd play on sonority "bravi, bravu, bravo", "salit, salut!" "dacodac" and even an English "okey dokey". As a result the original character's idiosyncrasies are successfully transferred.

### 2.3.4 Lexical and Semantic Level: Between Loss and Creativity

	OV	FV
<b>High register kept</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lisa: "Oh <u>what a bounty</u> it could be for our underfunded public schools" (S04E12: 2"30')</li> <li>• Snyder: "<u>In light of your unbelievable contempt</u> for human life..." (S04E12: 2"00')</li> <li>• Dr. Hibbert: "Mr. Simpson, your progress <u>astounds</u> me. I should leave you two alone" (S02E11: 8"00')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Quelle bénédiction</u> ce s'rait pour nos écoles tellement <u>démunies</u></li> <li>• <u>En raison de votre mépris incroyable</u> pour la vie humaine...</li> <li>• Chez vous <u>le mal évolue de manière fulgurante</u>. Il est préférable que je vous laisse seul</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sideshow Bob: “Oh, <u>must</u> you bray night and day at that <u>infernal</u> television?” (S07E09: 2”15’)</li> <li>• Sideshow Bob: “Oh how I loathe that box, that <u>omnidirectional sludge pump, droning and burping...</u>” (S07E09: 2”24’)</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel: “He has <u>thrust upon us</u> the Motley of Tom Foole” (S23E02: 4”00’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vas-tu continuer à braire jour et nuit sur cet écran <u>diabolique</u>?</li> <li>• Comme j’<u>exècre</u> cette boîte, cette <u>pompe à vidange omnidirectionnelle, bourdonnante et éructante...</u></li> <li>• Il a jeté sur nous l’<u>anathème</u> de la bouffonnerie</li> </ul>
<b>Levelling, change to higher register</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hoover: “<u>Put on</u> your virtual reality helmets” (S04E12: 2”40’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “Bart, we’ll do anything you want. <u>Just</u> call off your giant mechanical ants.” (S04E12: 3”10’)</li> <li>• Smithers: “<u>ring-a-ding-ding</u> sir” (S02E11: 17”10’)</li> <li>• Burns: “Who the <u>Sam Hill</u> was that?” (S02E11: 17”15’)</li> <li>• Burns: “I don’t want to hear your <u>whining</u>. I’m a bored and joyless old man. Give me a <u>larf</u>” (S12E05: 7”20’)</li> <li>• Burns: “Closer <u>damnit</u>” (S04E07: 11”10’)</li> <li>• Marge: “You <u>destroyed</u> our son’s self-esteem” (S22E17: 6”55’)</li> <li>• Marge: “Then, <u>you won’t mind me</u> enrolling you in fathering class?” (S22E17: 7”45’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Veillez</u> mettre vos reality casques</li> <li>• Bart, je ferai tout ce que tu veux, mais <u>de grâce</u> rappelle tes fourmis géantes</li> <li>• Ho, <u>de toute beauté</u> monsieur!</li> <li>• Dites-moi qui est ce <u>malotru</u>!</li> <li>• Pff, ce genre de <u>jérémiades mammifères</u>. Je suis un vieil homme triste qui s’ennuie à mourir. Faites-moi <u>m’esclaffer</u>.</li> <li>• Plus près <u>morbleu</u>!</li> <li>• Tu as <u>anéanti</u> l’amour propre de ton fils</li> <li>• Alors tu ne verras pas <u>d’inconvénients</u> à ce que je t’inscrive à un cours de paternité</li> </ul>
<b>Colloquial expressions kept</b>	<p><b>Bart</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eat my shorts! (S02E03: 14”45’/ S06E24: 19”18’)</li> <li>• Gross! (S02E11: 4”56’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Va te faire shampouiner!</li> <li>• Dégeu!</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baseball player: “hey Flash <u>check out the mature quail</u>” (S02E05: 3”58’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hey Flash, <u>vis</u> un peu le beau petit lot</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abe: “Cut that crap” (S02E12: 7”40’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arrête tes conneries!</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “<u>Shut up</u> boy!” (S04E11: 1”33’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>La ferme</u> toi!</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skinner: “Children we’ve just been <u>tipped off</u>” (S04E20: 00”35’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Les enfants, on vient de me <u>refiler un tuyau</u></li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ron Howard: “Hey can I <u>crash</u> here tonight?” (S10E5: 10”10’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J’peux rester <u>pieuter</u>?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Apu: “No offense, but we're putting that <u>bitch</u> on ice” (S04E21: 8”25’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vous vexez pas, mais on enverra cette <u>traînée</u> sous les verrous</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moe: “Listen you little <u>scum sucking pus-bucket!</u> ” (S02E11: 18”00’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ecoute-moi bien <u>sale crapule, petite ordure!</u></li> </ul>
<b>Added colloquial expressions</b>	<p><b>Homer</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TV (S04E07: 3”30’)</li> <li>• <u>Treacherous snake</u> woman (S02E10)</li> <li>• I think he thinks I’m an <u>idiot</u> (S02E10: 15”18’)</li> <li>• What are you getting at? (S02E11: 1”23’)</li> <li>• It’s <u>so hard</u> to choose (S02E11: 4”10’)</li> <li>• This fish is delish! (S0211: 6”10’)</li> <li>• Next we take some <u>toilet paper</u> (S02E11: 10”25’)</li> <li>• Bart, <u>take your butt down</u> here! (S2E11: 13”10’)</li> <li>• That <u>girl</u> sleeps with everybody (S12E02: 4”09’)</li> <li>• Come on, <u>pony up</u> Flanders! The kid is not turning tricks <u>for nothing</u> (S12E07: 5”00’)</li> <li>• Likely story (angry) (S02E18: 7”25’)</li> <li>• Bus discounts (S07E23: 2”50’)</li> <li>• What I'm cured of is the blind rage that has soured our otherwise <u>storybook</u> relationship (S22E17: 12”20’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• la <u>téloche</u></li> <li>• Sale vipère!</li> <li>• Je pense qu’il pense que je suis un <u>couillon</u></li> <li>• Qu’est-ce qui y’a qui t’<u>défrise</u>?</li> <li>• C’est <u>vachement</u> dur de choisir</li> <li>• C’est pas <u>dégueu</u> ces p’tites <u>saloperies</u></li> <li>• Ensuite tu prends une feuille de <u>PQ</u></li> <li>• Bart, <u>bouge toi l’cul</u>, téléphone!</li> <li>• Elle couche avec tout l’monde, c’t <u>pétasse</u></li> <li>• Aboule le pognon Flanders. Le gosse il fait pas ça <u>gratos</u></li> <li>• Ouais et ta sœur!</li> <li>• Tickets de bus <u>gratos!</u></li> <li>• Ce dont je suis guéri, c’est la rage aveugle qui a <u>pourri</u> les relations père/fils qu’on aurait pu avoir</li> </ul>
	<p><b>Bart</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• this money (S04E12: 2”55’)</li> <li>• Man! (S02E03: 6”56’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ce fric</li> <li>• putain! (swear word)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barney: “50 bucks? What’d you do? <u>Kill a judge?</u> ” (S02E11: 16”00’)</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel/Tahiti Mel: “the child has wetted his trousers” (S22E17: 6”00’)</li> <li>• Nelson: “Oh, <u>who</u> cares! Time to get me a mountain bike!” (S04E20: 1”17’)</li> <li>• Willie: “No but the PTA will tear you a <u>new arse!</u>” (S04E20: 00”50’)</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel: “He’s a <u>she</u>” (S15E17: 9”15’)</li> <li>• Handyman: “I’m afraid the whole west side of your house is <u>sinking</u>”</li> <li>• Martin: “Later Mrs. K” (S02E01: 20”12’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quoi? 50\$ ? Mais qu’est-ce que t’as fait, t’as <u>zigouillé un juge</u></li> <li>• le <u>gosse</u> a mouillé ses culottes</li> <li>• Oh on <u>s’en fout</u>, moi <u>c’qui m’branche</u> c’est mon VTT</li> <li>• Non mais les parents d’élèves vont vous faire un deuxième <u>trou d’balle!</u></li> <li>• Lui c’est une <u>lopette</u></li> <li>• Ouais c’est tout le côté ouest de vot’ maison qui <u>s’barre</u></li> <li>• Salut la <u>meuf!</u></li> </ul>

	• Apu: “Oh just shut up!” (S18E14: 12”50’)	• Oh toi ta gueule!
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Table 14. Lexical and Semantic Level in *The Simpsons*.

The oral feel of the French dubbing is manifest at the lexical level, especially with Homer and Bart’s speech but also with other members of the Springfield community. The French version also heightens the difference in register between Homer/Bart and Lisa/Marge but especially Mr. Burns who becomes even more refined in the FV than in the original version. In the FV, his lexis belongs to a higher register than the OV, especially with “damnit” becoming an old-fashioned and decidedly proper “*parbleu*” or again the use of “*malotru*” and “*jérémiades mammifères*” making his language as “*précieux*”.<sup>101</sup> In that respect Altarac’s interview with the French adapter, Juliette Vigouroux, are worth reproducing here:

There was a strong perception that Homer’s use of language in the original version dialogue was too subtle and intelligent, and that his character would not ring true for French audiences. The French version of Homer is based on the stereotypical beauf [abbreviation for beaufrère, or brother-in-law] who is a Frenchman —perceived as being somewhat vulgar, narrow-minded and chauvinistic (Harper Collins Robert French Unabridged Dictionary, 2005). Increased slang words and phrases have been introduced in the French adaptation of *The Simpsons*; these terms tend to be more colorful and are widely used in spoken French compared to English. The overall objective is to make the animated series humorous for the French public, while respecting the original text and wordplay (Vigouroux, personal communication, November 20, 2007).

The French version of *The Simpsons* is far more idiomatic than the *The Flintstones* and does indeed feature a cruder language than the original version but Homer’s characterization would rather be closer to that of a simpleton, or the archetype of the “*con bienheureux*” (happy idiot), rather than a narrow-minded or chauvinistic *beauf*; he is tolerant of homosexual characters on the show as well as other faiths, such as Apu’s Hinduism, going as far as being the best man at his

<sup>101</sup> This lexis goes in hand with his “accent du 16ème” as pointed by Armstrong (see chapter 4).

wedding.

However, his lexis not only presents him as stupid but also as a much cruder character than in the original version with the use of “*pétasse*”, “*saloperies*”, “*couillon*” or again “*bouge toi l’cul*”, all referring to sexuality or intimate body parts. Even Sideshow Mel, an otherwise refined character in both versions, occasionally displays a cruder side to his personality when he uses the homosexual slur “*lopette*”. Finally, Willie’s coarse appearance and lack of refinement is reinforced through the lexis with “*trou d’balle*”. The cruder side of the FV is also apparent in a scene in S02E10 when Homer is silently wondering about his feelings for his wife after she made him lose \$500.000. As his gaze travels up her body Homer silently ponders:



Fig.2. Homer’s internal dialogue

OV	QV	FV
It’s tough! Need refreshment!	Hey qu’cé dur! Ca va m’prendre un rafraîchissement!	Son ventre, ses seins, ouh j’ai soif là!

Table 15. The Cruder Side of the French Version.

While in both the original and Québécois versions, Homer does not mention Marge’s breasts, the French version instead exploits the visuals—Homer’s face is off-screen—in order to insert a sexual reference to her breasts. Not only is the FV cruder, but the verbal also matches the visuals since Homer’s gaze momentarily lingers on her breasts. In the FV, Homer seems to be less disturbed than aroused at the sight unlike the other two versions. Finally, in S09E02, inspector Chalmers exclaims “*Oh seigneur ce n’est pas un manche à balai que cet homme a dans les*

*fesses, c'est un baobab*" (1'06') after seeing Skinner move a garbage can a few centimeters off the wall in order to have an optimal use while in the OV he exclaims "Good Lord! The rod up that man's butt must have a rod up its butt!" Finally, a reference to "another fringe benefit" becomes a much cruder "*avantage en nature*" (S02E08).

There is a clear evolution in the language used in the French dubbing, which questions the nature of synchronian. As a consequence of its make-up, the language used in *The Simpsons* seems to depart from what scholars call *dubbese* previously used in *The Flintstones*. Not only does the main characters' speech feature an array of colloquial expressions but also an incorrect syntax belonging to a more spontaneous spoken language. This mix of registers is enhanced by the play on voice quality in the TV show, in which Homer's stupidity and Burns' refinement are both heightened (see Chapter 4).

### Chapter 3. The Dubbing Voice(s) in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*: 'Navigating' Social Classes in the Québécois Version

#### 3.1 French Symphony

Different varieties or levels of French pervade the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*: *joual*, *standard Québécois*, *international French*, *French from France* 'accented French'. My goal in this chapter will be not so much to offer an in-depth sociolinguistic analysis of the registers<sup>102</sup> of French used in *TF* and *TS*, but rather an overview of its heteroglossic quality. I will analyze to what extent multiple contact zones are manifested through the porous quality of the boundary between different varieties of French and to what extent the QV represents a rhizomatic entity connecting various languages and registers of the same language. Ultimately, both TV shows convey not only a strong "sense of community" (Von Flotow 2010: 41) through their linguistic choices that undermine the power relations at work and the hierarchies between languages, but also a political statement.

Although the following lists of characters are non-exhaustive, since I did not watch every episode in the series, I provide examples from different seasons in order to give a comprehensive view of the TV show. The asterisk means that the character speaks another variety of French besides the one he/she is assigned.<sup>103</sup>

The following analysis mainly draws upon Bigot's "*Le «point» sur la norme*

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<sup>102</sup> Most sociolinguists (Dargnat; Bigot; Ostiguy and Tousignant) equate *joual* with the popular/low register whereas *standard Québécois*, *standard French* and *international French* are high registers of the French language.

<sup>103</sup> Some characters who mainly speak *joual* also speak *standard Québécois* while some who mainly speak *international French* also occasionally switch to *joual*.

*grammaticale du français québécois oral*” (2008), Ostiguy and Tousignant’s *Les prononciations du français québécois* (2008), Dargnat’s “*L’oral comme fiction*” (2006) as well as *PHONO*, the phonetic database of the *CIRAL* (1998). I also use tables adapted from Mboudjeke’s “Translating Idiomatically into French: Caught in the Crossfire” for the sake of clarity.

### **3.1.1 *Joual*: A “Stripped-Down Language”<sup>104</sup> (Desbiens 17)?**

In the original version of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*, the main characters—the Flintstones, the Rubbles, and the Simpsons—are from Bedrock’s and Springfield’s working-class. Their language does not necessarily identify their social background since their pronunciation can be considered standard, with the exception of Fred. His voice, provided by actor Alan Reed, has a non-rhotic accent that is a characteristic of the working-class of New York (Labov 53). As seen in chapter 2, the characters use popular grammatical forms such as “gonna”, “ain’t” and resort to sporadic non-standard grammatical forms—“we was” for instance. In the Québécois version, the main characters are linguistically designed in such a way as to represent the working-class of Montréal. To that effect, they are all speaking to some extent, but not solely, *joual*, which is meant to reflect their social status (Plourde 2000a). In his thesis on *The Simpsons*, Plourde notes that stupid and uneducated characters tend to speak *joual* while the smartest ones and those belonging to the upper classes speak standard French, hence conveying

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<sup>104</sup> “une langue désossée.”

a sense of power relation and symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1992) at work in the dubbing process.<sup>105</sup>

	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fred and Wilma Flintstone*</li> <li>• Barney and Betty Rubble</li> <li>• Animals used as commodities</li> <li>• Joe Rockhead (S01E07)</li> <li>• The Bedrock police officers and robbers (S01E11, S02E07)</li> <li>• Mr.Slate* (S02E08, S03E17)</li> <li>• Pearl Slaghoope (S02E26, S03E24)</li> <li>• Hollyrock producer Denis Rocan (S05E25)</li> <li>• Mr.Boulder/Mr.Million (S01E4)</li> <li>• Sam Stone agency (S03E05)</li> <li>• Keen-teen producer (S01E15)</li> <li>• Judge (S04E04)</li> <li>• Robbers (S02E07)</li> <li>• Creepela and Weirdly Gruesomes (S05E09)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All the main characters speak joul</li> <li>• The Bedrock inhabitants speak joul especially specific work categories such as the cashier at the supermarket, delivery boys, police officers, etc.</li> <li>• Some, not all, of the Hollyrock producers</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	Mr.Slate/Mr.Boulder/Hollyrock producer: “chez <u>toi</u> ” [twe] (S02E08: 10”50’)/ (S01E04: 10”00’)/ (S05E25: 4”37’)	<b>[wa] ~ [we]</b> “toi” sounds like “toué” [twe] instead of “toi” [twa]
	Fred: “I [i(l)] faut croire” (S04E04: 23”24’)	<b>[wa] ~ [wɛ]</b> “croire” sounds like “crouère” instead of “crouar”
	Wilma: “on fout le <u>camp</u> ” (S06E05: 7”05’)	<b>[ã] ~ [ā]: nasalization of vowels</b>
	Barney: “y’a <u>pas</u> un chat” (S06E03: 12”38’)	<b>[a] ~ [ɔ:]</b> “pas” is pronounced [po] instead of [pa]
	Pearl: “t’as l’air <u>pâle</u> ” (S02E26: 4”03’)	<b>Processus of diphthongization of vowels</b> such as: [ɑ:] ~ [aU] (“paoule”)
	Barney: “qui vous renvoie”	<b>Diphthongization: [wa] ~ [wɛ]</b> (“renvouaye”) instead of [renvoua]

<sup>105</sup> Plourde does not refer to Bourdieu in his thesis and instead chooses Brisset’s sociocritic approach. Plourde also had access to a limited number of episodes which can explain the differences between our analyses.

	(S06E07: 11"32')	
	Keen-teen producer: "la TV, la r�gie canadienne, tout" (S01E15: 13"05')	<b>Pronunciation of the final consonant t [tYt]</b>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	Barney: "y'a une grosse plan�te" (S06E07: 12"30')	<b>Omission of the pronoun "il"</b> Standard form: "il y a"
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Betty: "� soir" (S06E07: 13"50')</li> <li>Mr.Boulder: "asteur" (S01E04: 10"05')</li> </ul>	<b>Omission of the demonstrative "ce" or assimilation</b> Standard forms: "� ce soir" and "� cette heure"
	Policeman: "Ca <u>peux-tu</u> s'gu�rir doc?" (S02E15: 8"40')	<b>Addition of the particle "-tu" to form tag-questions</b> Standard form: Ca peut se gu�rir doc?
	Mr.Boulder: "qu'est-ce que je <u>fais</u> ?" (S01E04: 10"30') [kesek�f�e] ("k�c� que j' fais")	<b>Assimilation of vowels and consonants.</b> Standard form: "qu'est-ce que je fais?"
	Judge: "C'est vot' <u>chien</u> " (S04E04: 18"23')	<b>Drop of /re/ ending, vocalic fusion +nasalization</b> Standard form: "C'est votre chien?"
	Fred: "comment <u>qui</u> va Saint-Exup�ry" (S01E01: 5"06')	<b>Elision phenomenon of the consonant [l] in subject pronouns</b> Standard form: "Comment qu'il va Saint-Exup�ry"
	Barney: "Qu'est-ce qui [keseki] t' <u>rest'rait</u> ?" (S06E03: 2"58') ("k�s�ki")	<b>Elision and vowel fusion and mute final /e/ or schwa</b> Standard form: "qu'est-ce qu'il te resterait?"
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pearl: "qu'est-ce que tu as [kesekta] � m'raconter" (S02E26: 13"15') ("k�s� k'tas")</li> <li>Police: "qu'est-ce <u>qui</u> [koseki] s'passe" (S01E11: 16"08') ("kos�ki")</li> </ul>	<b>Accumulation of fusion</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Standard form: "Qu'est-ce que tu as � me raconter?"</li> <li>Standard form: "qu'est-ce qui se passe?"</li> </ul>
	Barney: "y'a pas personne"	<b>Double negation</b> Standard form: "Il n'y a personne"

	(S06E07: 22"03')	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barney: “<u>tu sais</u>” [tse] (S06E01:16"08') (“tsé”)</li> <li>• Police officer: “<u>je suis</u> [fy] d'accord... <u>pis</u> là...” (S04E09: 16"51') (“chu”)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Fusion of personal pronouns and verbs</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Standard form: “tu sais”</li> <li>• Standard form: “je suis d'accord... puis là...”</li> </ul>
	Robber: “ <u>pis va</u> jouer la marche funèbre” (13"45')	<p><b>Incorrect verb/subject agreement</b>+omission of subject pronoun</p> <p>“aller” in first person singular becoming “va” instead of “vais”, omission of the subject “je”.</p> <p>Standard form: “je vais”</p>
	Fred/Police officer: “Pantoute” (S03E13: 2"34'/S04E09: 21"33')	<p><b>Assimilation of the negation.</b></p> <p>Standard form: “pas du tout”.</p>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Barney: “2 belles <u>sirloin</u> de dinosaures de coupe <u>NY</u>” (S01E03: 3"30').</li> <li>• Betty: “le <u>commercial</u>” (S04E10: 3"40')</li> </ul>	<p><b>Loan words</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “NY”, “sirloin” pronounced the English way such as [nwaj]</li> </ul>
	Wilma: “ <u>mosus</u> d'école” (S03E13: 14"12')	<b>Swearing+Anglicism</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Police chief: “sacrez vot'camp” (S02E07: 17"35')</li> <li>• Police: “Toi ferme-la bien dur gros gras.” (S04E09: 21"15')</li> </ul>	<b>Swearing</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wilma: “Beurre de <u>pinotte</u>” (S03E04:12"26')</li> <li>• Joe Rockhead: “un <u>parté</u>” (19"37') (S05E09:7"05', S3E05: 4"54')</li> </ul>	<p><b>Adapted English words</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “pinotte” (peanut) is the joul equivalent of “arachide”</li> <li>• “parté” (party) is the joul equivalent of “fête”</li> </ul>
	Mr. Million: “pognée” (10"18')	<b>Slang</b>

Table 16. *Joual* in *The Flintstones*.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Appendix F for some of the dialogue transcripts of secondary characters. The main characters' speech is spread out in their interactions with other characters. I will provide a phonetic transcription combined with a more impressionistic one found in Ostiguy and Tousignant

	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Simpsons family</li> <li>• Nelson, Dolph, Jimbo and Kearney (school bullies, S12E02, S17E05)</li> <li>• Willie* (S12E07, S17E11, S17E12 S21E6)</li> <li>• Miss Krappabel (S12E02, S21E02, S21E09)</li> <li>• Miss Hoover (S02E19)</li> <li>• Sideshow Mel* (S02E03, S15E08, S15E16)</li> <li>• Smithers (S02E05, S02E18, S09E08, S12E02)</li> <li>• Moe (S20E1, S06E05)</li> <li>• Ned Flanders (S02E11, S12E06, S15E10, S17E14, S23E01)</li> <li>• Police (Chief Wiggum, Eddie and Lou S04E21, S12E04, S12E07)</li> <li>• Krusty the clown (S12E03)</li> <li>• Duffman (S09E01)</li> <li>• Selma and Patty Bouvier (S20E15)</li> <li>• Agnes Skinner (S09E02)</li> <li>• Comic book guy (S02E21, S21E01)</li> <li>• Dr. Monroe (S02E09)</li> <li>• Snakes (S09E08)</li> <li>• Ma Bouvier (S02E07)</li> <li>• Capital city citizens (S02E05)</li> <li>• Football commentator Dan Hordo (S02E05)</li> <li>• Pilot (S15E18)</li> <li>• Librarian (S21E13)</li> <li>• Museum curator (S15E06)</li> <li>• Simon Cowell (S15E13)</li> <li>• Costington's salesman (S12E05, S12E06)</li> <li>• Texan man (S17E04)</li> <li>• Court bailiff (S15E12)</li> <li>• Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger (S10E05)</li> <li>• Hollywood trainer (S21E01)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All the main characters speak joul.</li> <li>• Most Springfield inhabitants speak joul</li> <li>• Some Hollywood stars</li> <li>• School teachers</li> <li>• Sports commentators</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moe “j’<u>crois</u> bien” (S20E01: 7”48’)</li> <li>• Willie: “pas <u>moi</u>” (S12E07: 21”00’)</li> </ul>	<b>[wa] ~[we] and assimilation</b> “cré” instead of “croua” and “moué” instead of “moua”

(1993) as well as Bigot (2008), Dargnat (2008), Armstrong (2001) and Gadet (2003). Due to the lack of an up-to-date slang dictionary, I used <http://www.dictionnaire-quebecois.com> along with the *Franqus*. I also underlined non-standard features in their speech that are not featured in the tables due to the scope of the chapter and for the sake of lisibility.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “yavouère” (S02E08: 13”54’)</li> <li>• Willie: “rien à voir” (S12E07: 18”12’)</li> </ul>	<b>Pronunciation of the “oi” [wa]</b> [wa] ~ [wɛ] “avoir” and “à voir” sounds like “avou-êre”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lisa: “camp” (S03E14: 13”45’)</li> <li>• Mr.Costington: “j’comprends” (S12E05: 17”39’)</li> <li>• Flanders: “quand” (S17E14: 7”28’)</li> <li>• Flanders: “les enfants” (S12E6: 13”50’)</li> <li>• Smithers: “dans votre genre” (S12E02: 17”56’)</li> </ul>	<b>[ã] ~ [ã̃]: nasalization of vowels</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “c’est pas pire” (S02E06: 13”07’)</li> <li>• Court bailiff: “dites-moi pas” (S15E12: 17”59’)</li> <li>• Simon Cowell/sports commentator: “pas” (S15E13: 3”15’)</li> <li>• Smithers: “en bas” (S02E18: 12”55’)</li> </ul>	<b>[a] ~ [ɔ:]</b> “pas” is pronounced [pɔ] instead of [pa]
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dr.Monroe: “pâle” (S02E09: 13”25’)</li> <li>• Lisa: “ca s’gâche” (S12E06:0”40’)</li> <li>• Marge: “qu’est-ce qui s’passe?” (S20E15: 9”23’)</li> </ul>	<b>Processus of diphthongization of vowels such as</b> [a:] ~ [aU] (“pa-oule”, “ga-ouche”, “pa-ousse”)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “envoye” (S02E06: 10”58’)</li> </ul>	<b>Diphthongization of the “oi” [wa]</b> [wa]~ [wɛ] (“envouaye”)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “pourquoi t’as fait-ça?” (S05E08: 19”41’)</li> <li>• Librarian: “fait” (S21E13: 16”21’)</li> </ul>	<b>Pronunciation of the final consonant [t]</b> [fɛt]
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	Homer: “i va gagner” (S02E06: 9”50’)	<b>Elision of the [l] in subject pronouns</b>  Standard form: “il va gagner”
	Lisa: “j’va m’plaindre” (S09E08: 3”15’)	<b>Incorrect subject-verb agreement</b>  Standard form: “je vais me plaindre”
	Homer: “à cause qu’y ont trouvé des os” (S09E08: 3”20’)	<b>Incorrect use of causative and assimilation of pronoun “ils”</b>  Standard form: “Parce qu’ils y ont trouvé des os”
	Wiggum: “ouais correc” (S12E04:	<b>Drop of the final consonant /t/</b>  Standard form: “Ouais correct”

	7"58')	
	Homer: "d'icitte" (S12E06: 0"15')	<b>Addition of final consonant /t/</b> Standard form: "d'ici"
	Ned: "ch'peux pus attendre" (S15E10: 16"35')	<b>Multiplication of phenomena</b> Consonant fusions ("pu" instead of plus), drop of the caduc [ə] or "schwa" causing a fusion [ʃp(ə)] instead of [zəp(ə)] Standard form: "je ne peux plus attendre"
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer/Sideshow Mel: "coudonc" (S02E03: 4"07'/S21E3: 2"17')</li> <li>• Homer: "ben cest ça qu'y est ça?" (S02E10: 19"36')</li> <li>• Duffman: "y'en a ti qui veulent une Duff?" (S09E01: 2"11')</li> <li>• Ms. Krappabel: "qu'est-ce que c'est ça?" [kesesa] (S12E02: 18"06') ("kécéça")</li> <li>• Comic book guy: "qu'est-ce que [kesek] tu veux?" (S02E21: 14"44') ("qu'est-ce que")</li> <li>• Dolph: "asteur" (S12E02: 10"25')</li> </ul>	<b>Accumulation of fusion and elisions</b> Standard forms: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Ecoute donc"</li> <li>• "et bien c'est ça qui est ça?"</li> <li>• "il y en a qui veulent une Duff?"</li> <li>• "qu'est-ce que c'est que ça?"</li> <li>• "Qu'est-ce que tu veux?"</li> <li>• "A cette heure"</li> </ul>
	Homer: "je suis [ʃy] encore su l' gros nerf" (S02E06: 4"22') ("chu")	<b>Fusion of personal pronouns and verb</b> [ʃy] instead of [ʒesyi]+drop of the /r/ Standard form: "je suis encore sur le gros nerf"
	Museum curator/ Sideshow Mel/Capitol city citizen: "pantoute" (S15E06: 6"47'/S15E16: 4"25'/S02E05: 20"40')	<b>Assimilation of the negation</b> Standard form: "pas du tout"
	Krusty: "rien pantoute" (S12E03: 12"36')	<b>Double negation</b> Standard form: "rien du tout"
	Smithers: "à maison" (S02E05: 16"50')	<b>Assimilation, Omission of "la"</b> Standard form: "à la maison"

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homer: “C’est-<u>tu</u> prêt?” [prɛt] (S02E11: 1”00’)</li> <li>• Homer: “je l’sais-<u>tu</u> moi” (S02E15: 15”26’)</li> <li>• Marge: “t’es-<u>tu</u> obligé d’parler d’<u>même</u>” (S12E01: 4”16’)</li> <li>• Ralph: “j’pourrais-<u>tu</u>...” (S17E05: 6”53’)</li> <li>• Ned: “Tu veux-<u>tu</u> savoir...?” (S23E01: 8”00’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Addition of the particle "-tu" to form tag-questions</b> Standard forms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• C’est prêt?</li> <li>• Est-ce que je le sais moi?</li> <li>• Es-tu obligé de parler comme ça?</li> <li>• Je pourrais...?</li> <li>• Veux tu savoir...?</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bart: “mosus” (S09E04: 17”50’)</li> <li>• Homer: “tabarnouche” (S02E07: 8”17’)</li> <li>• Moe/Homer: “oh <u>verrat</u>” (S06E05: 6”03/ S09E07: 9”16’, S12E02:6”04’)</li> <li>• Mrs. Skinner: “peux-tu bien fermer ta gueule!” (S09E01: 19”20’)</li> <li>• Smithers: “oh pis d’la <u>marde</u>” (S09E08: 19”24’)</li> <li>• <i>Honest John</i>’s salesman/comic book guy: “têteu” (S12E06: 2”39’/S21E01: 7”05’)</li> <li>• Texan man: “fifi” (S17E04: 8”46’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Swearing</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Tabarnouche” is a toned down version of “tabernacle” (urbandictionary.com)</li> <li>• “verrat” is a “pig” (franqus) and an insult</li> <li>• “fermer sa gueule” is the equivalent of “shut the fuck up”</li> <li>• “marde” is the québécois equivalent of colloquial “merde” (dictionnaire francais.com) or “shit”</li> <li>• “un têteux” is a brown-noser (franqus)</li> <li>• “fifi” is a derogatory term for a homosexual person (wiktionnaire.fr)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marge: “ça pourrait être le <u>fun</u>” (S02E11: 1”40’)</li> <li>• Marge: “Une autre <u>chop</u> de porc” (S15E01: 6”39’)</li> <li>• Krappabel: “y’est pas questions que je r’mette la main dans c’te <u>can-là</u>” (S21E09: 6”05’)</li> <li>• Wiggum: “des <u>boys</u>” (S12E07: 15”50’)</li> <li>• Pilot: “un <u>gang</u> de malades” (S15E18: 7”10’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Loan words</b> Pronounced the English way</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flanders: “ça va être tout un <u>parté</u>” (S02E11: 12”35’)</li> <li>• Bart: “faire du <u>trouble</u>” (S12E01: 17”23’)</li> <li>• Homer: “<u>cancellerons</u> jamais” (S15E1: 2”38’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Adapted English words</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>parté</u> (party) is the joul equivalent of “fête”</li> <li>• <u>cancellerons</u> is the equivalent of “annulerons”</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Snakes: “le <u>smatte</u>” (S09E08: 1”47’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>smatte (franqus) comes from “smart” and is the equivalent of “monsieur je sais tout”</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Homer: “Le <u>fras chier d’prétentieux de p’tit <u>joke connaissant</u></u>” (S02E06: 4”22’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Swearing+Anglicism</b></p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Krappabel: “bébelle” (S21E02: 3”04’)</li> <li>Ma Bouvier “<u>achale-moi pas</u>” (S02E07:8”27’)</li> <li>Bart: “mange d’la <u>shnoute</u>” (S02E03: 19”26’)</li> <li>Homer: “grouille-toi l’<u>derrière</u>” (S02E11: 13”15’)</li> <li>Bart: “<u>envoie donc crime</u>” (S02E16: 20”21’)</li> <li>Homer: “Tu peux <u>t’garrocher</u>” (S02E18: 8”53’)</li> <li>Homer: “quand la vague de froid a tué tous les <u>quêteux</u>” (S12E05: 4”12’)</li> <li>Homer/Abe: “le moment où on s’<u>fait pogner</u>” (S15E10: 13”45’/ S15E18: 16”06’)</li> <li>Lisa: “La cassette <u>pognée</u>” (S12E03: 2”43’)</li> <li>Hollywood trainer: “c’est une vraie <u>moumoune</u>” (S21E01: 10”47’)</li> <li>Bart: “<u>capoter</u>” (S21E01:1”15’)</li> <li>Homer: “Marge va être en beau <u>joualvert</u>” (S15E07: 13”21’)</li> <li>Marge: “j’<u>trouve ça bien d’valeur</u>” (S02E07: 10”45’)</li> <li>Bart: “j’<u>pitonne</u>” (S09E03: 2”20’)</li> <li>Sideshow Mel: “on est <u>tanné</u>” (S15E08: 9”56’)</li> <li>Marge “tu vois Lisa pourquoi on dit des fois que <u>c’est pas d’avance d’être top intelligente?</u>” (S02E03: 15”04’)</li> <li>Alec Baldwin: “<u>débarquez d’ssus moi</u>” (S10E05: 6”27’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Slang</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“bébelle”: “small things, toys” (franqus)</li> <li>“achaler”: “to bother, nag somebody” (franqus)</li> <li>“la shnoute” is slang for “poop” (dictionnairefrançais.com)</li> <li>“se grouiller le derrière” is slang for “to get a move on”</li> <li>“crime” is an interjection (republiquelibre.org)</li> <li>“se garrocher”: “to hurry” (franqus)</li> <li>“les quêteux”: “homeless people” (franqus)</li> <li>“se faire pogner”: “get caught” (franqus)</li> <li>“une moumoune” is synonym for a “spineless person or homosexual (wiktionnaire.fr)</li> <li>“capoter”: “lose one’s cool or get excited” (franqus)</li> <li>“être en beau joualvert” means “to be furious” (franqus)</li> <li>“bien de valeur” means “to be regrettable, a shame” (franqus)</li> <li>“pitonner”: “to flip a switch” (franqus)</li> <li>“être tanné”: “to be fed up” (franqus)</li> <li>“être pas d’avance”: “it does not get you anywhere”</li> <li>“débarque de”: “to get off” (franqus)</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wiggum: “deux <u>beignes à l’érable</u>” (S04E21: 9”21’)</li> <li>Homer: “<u>melon d’eau</u>” (S12E03:</li> </ul>	<p><b>Québécois</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“une beige”: “a donut” (franqus)</li> <li>“un melon d’eau”: “a watermelon”</li> </ul>

	0'27')	(franqus)
	• Willie: “bobettes” (S17E12: 4'56')	• “une bobette”: “a sock” (franqus)

Table 17. *Joual* in *The Simpsons*<sup>107</sup>

*Joual* is a vernacular variation of the standard French spoken in Québec that directly features the contact zone between English and French languages throughout Québec’s history. This popular variety of the Québécois language, which Dargnat baptizes “OPQ”<sup>108</sup> (2006), is described as a make-up of “French language”, “contact with English” and “popular register” (40).<sup>109</sup> Although, Dargnat applies the concept to theatre in order to study the written oral features of Michel Tremblay’s plays, I also find it pertinent to the dubbing process and product. The oral component—the dialogue—primarily stems from a written script—the work of a translator and an adaptor.<sup>110</sup>

In the 1970s, the *Office de la langue française au Québec*’s goal was to enforce the norm of the French spoken in Québec, which “... should be, as much as possible, in line with international French” (Bigot 139)<sup>111</sup>. The *Office* adds that “variation should be inexistent at the morphological and syntactic levels” while, even at the phonetic level “the range of variation should be rather insignificant” (Bigot 139). According to Bigot, the grammar used in Québec cannot and should not depart from the *international French* grammar set by the Québécois government (155) based on *Le Bon Usage* by Grevisse, a grammar used in

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix G for the dialogue transcripts of secondary characters.

<sup>108</sup> OPQ stands for “Oralité populaire québécoise” translated as “Québécois popular oral features”

<sup>109</sup> “langue française”, “contact avec l’anglais” and “registre populaire”.

<sup>110</sup> As seen in Chapter 1.

<sup>111</sup> Hence stating that *standard Québécois* is not *international French*. This will be further argued in this chapter.

France. Specificities of the Québécois language should only be present at the pronunciation and lexical levels and even then some aspects are not considered as the norm.<sup>112</sup> *Joual*<sup>113</sup>, as shown in tables 16 and 17, does not follow the norms set by the *Office* on all levels. Its oral and morphosyntactic features denote what anti-joual proponents would call “laziness” from the speakers or *relâchement*.<sup>114</sup>

The word *joual* has always held negative connotations since it refers to a language ‘crippled by defective phenomena’ (see tables 16 and 17), departing from the norms set by the *Office de la langue française au Québec*. It becomes a variety or, more specifically, a register of the French language that tends to be depreciated if not stigmatized from its pronunciation to its morphosyntactic features and vocabulary.<sup>115</sup> There are countless instances of ‘defective’ structures and pronunciation in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*. Among the criticized phenomena present in *joual*, one of the most depreciated features at the pronunciation level is the vowel [a] becoming [ɔ] (“o”) (see tables 16 and 17). According to Dargnat, Ostiguy and Tousignant, this feature is a case of bad pronunciation and should be avoided (Ostiguy and Tousignant 80). The main

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<sup>112</sup> See the list of phenomena in Davy Bigot (177-8) and Mathilde Dargnat (71-3).

<sup>113</sup> I will call it *joual* in order to maintain the political link between the language and the political and social situation in Québec in the 1960s and 1970s when the dubbing was made.

<sup>114</sup> See Desbiens and Lussier “...une langue infecte, désarticulée, franglaisée, au vocabulaire bâtard et à la syntaxe boiteuse; un sabir incompréhensible par d’autres que des indigènes sous-cultivés qui prennent leur sacres et leur grossièreté de langue pour affirmation d’une valeur nationale?” (Lussier 1974: 4 qtd in Laurendeau 435). (“... an infect, disarticulated, anglicized language with a bastardized vocabulary and a crippled syntax; a mumbo-jumbo that nobody can understand besides uncultured natives who see their profanities and coarse language as an affirmation of a national value?”)

<sup>115</sup> See Desbiens who calls “joual” a language that would have been spoken by a “cheval” (horse) if the latter could speak.

characters' pronunciation—the Flintstones, the Rubbles and the Simpsons—bears this defect especially when using “pas”, pronounced [pɑ].

Another pronunciation defect is the diphthongization phenomenon featured in the speech of Barney, Pearl Slaghoople, Lisa, Ned and Marge, to name a few, which once again, evokes their working-class background: “speakers who have a job that does not require an important education—workers, manual labourers etc.—diphthongize long vowels to a greater extent than speakers with a substantial education. The diphthongization of vowels has long been explicitly stigmatised by part of the population and pointed out at in schools”<sup>116</sup> (Ostiguy and Tousignant 98-9).

Beyond the pronunciation level, their morphosyntax is also faulty. In the episodes I watched, I found examples for most of the structures listed by Bigot and Dargnat<sup>117</sup>: the elision of word endings and the assimilation of personal pronouns and verbs are probably the most recurring instances since they appear at least once in every episode I watched for *The Flintstones* as well as an accumulation of different elements for *The Simpsons*. Another example of defective morphosyntax commonly used is “pantoute” which Dargnat calls a “negative concordance”<sup>118</sup> (327), a conglomerate or fusion of the negation “pas

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<sup>116</sup> “C’est ainsi que ceux occupant un emploi n’exigeant pas nécessairement une scolarité importante (ouvriers, manoeuvres, etc) diphtonguent plus souvent les voyelles longues que ne le font les locuteurs ayant une plus grande scolarité...La diphtongaison des voyelles fait, depuis longtemps, l’objet d’une condamnation explicite de la part d’une partie de la population.”

<sup>117</sup> See the list of phenomena in Davy Bigot (177-8) and Mathilde Dargnat (71-3).

<sup>118</sup> “concordance négative.”

*du tout*”<sup>119</sup> and the use of the double negation present in Krusty’s speech for instance.

This “decomposition” of the language and the alienation expressed through it<sup>120</sup> are also present at the lexical level. Surprisingly enough, *joual* vocabulary has not garnered much academic attention.<sup>121</sup> However, in the Québécois version of both shows, especially *The Simpsons*, this would certainly be the most salient feature of popular Québécois. *Joual* vocabulary features the use of swear words, slang as well as lexical borrowings from the English language (Laurendeau 435) that can be classified in two distinct categories: (1) lexical borrowings from English who have not been graphically and phonetically adapted to the Québécois language such as “*deux belles sirloins de dinosaures de coupe NY*” or “*ça pourrait être le fun*” and (2) ‘hybrid’ words mixing a French pronunciation of an English word such as “*beurre de pinotte*”, “*mosus*”<sup>122</sup>, “*cancellerons*”, the latter becoming a verb that you can conjugate according to French grammar (see table 17).

However, *The Simpsons* shows a move towards a cruder language reflecting contemporary spoken Québécois, especially its slang. Considering the abundance of youth lingo used, it is possible that it might not only be targeted at

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<sup>119</sup> Dargnat also calls it a “little word” (“*les petits mots*”) (Dargnat 327).

<sup>120</sup> “Le joual c’est la langue de notre aliénation...” (Lussier 1974:4 qtd in Laurendeau) (“Joual is the language of our alienation...”). To Lussier, the use of *joual* is linked to the loss of the Québécois’ French identity. Since *joual* features anglicisms and swear words, its use alienates the speaker of such a bastardized language.

<sup>121</sup> Even though Dargnat’s doctoral thesis focuses on the popular Québécois spoken in Michel Tremblay’s works, she has the following disclaimer: “the lexical question is not really studied in this thesis” (“la question lexicale n’est pas vraiment étudiée dans cette thèse”) (75).

<sup>122</sup> The Québécois swear word “mosus” comes from the English “Moses”. Wilma’s expression “mosus d’école” could be translated by “damned school.”

children (Plourde 2000a), but all the more so at both teenagers and adults, contrary to what Altarac has suggested: “Regions including Australia, the UK, and Quebec represent television markets that deem children targets of The Simpsons, and may edit violent scenes or crude language” (85). First, *TS* uses an array of swear words proper to French Québécois ranging from a mild “*tabernouche*” to an unpleasant “*verrat*”, a crude “*marde*” and a downright rude “*fermer ta gueule*”. Homer excels in the art of mixing Québécois swearing “*fras chier*” with English insults “*prétentieux de p’tit joke*”. The Québécois version even resorts to homosexual slurs such as “*moumoune*” or even “*fifi*” and some québécisms that are also a feature of *standard Québécois* (see section 2.1.2).

It is worth mentioning here that both Willie and Sideshow Mel feature a unique speech. Besides speaking vernacular Québécois, Willie is also Scottish and performs apical [ɹ] in the QV. He also inexplicably conjugates every verb in the first person plural of the *imparfait* regardless of the grammatical subject: “*le monde avions changé*” (S21E06: 7’32’), “*comment ça s’passions*” (S17E11: 5’06’), “*j’avions soif*” (S12E07: 19’36’). Chief Wiggum mocks his speech in the QV:

Character	OV	QV
Willie	But I did not do it?	J’avions rien fait
Wiggum	Sure you did not, now let’s get you to Attica	C’est sûr que t’avions, mais là c’est en prison que t’allions

Table 18. Willie’s Speech.

This is a unique feature of the Québécois version that adds an extra humoristic layer and possibly highlights Willie’s lack of education as shown on multiple occasions. However, this is potentially challenged in S20E9 when the viewer

learns that the character holds a PhD and that his real title is Dr. William McDougal. Alternatively, the use of the first person plural could be a reference to Acadian French reminiscent of *La Sagouine* by Antonine Maillet.<sup>123</sup> In Maillet's novel, the main character uses the *-ions* ending instead of the *-ais* in *imparfait* tense.

Sideshow Mel's speech is equally unique. In the original version he speaks in a theatrical/ British way despite being a graduate from Cornell University in the US and is shown to be quite intelligent. The character's intonation rises in the middle of sentences as if he is on stage. His speech in the Québécois version is a hybrid and features the same theatricality with a twist. Sideshow Mel's lexis and pronunciation are vernacularly paired with an odd morphosyntax as he is trying to create unnecessarily complex yet absurd sentences: "*Coudonc y'en a pas d'épouse tremblante pantoute ou-t-encore de soupirants, y'en a pas de mariage d'icitte*" and "*votre honneur nous ne pouvons trouver le coupable de quel que délit que ce fusse, malgré la qualité des assiettes anglaises de la salle des jurés et le Quality Inn qui a fait plus que-t-honneur à son nom ... elle vous la remplissait-tu votre tasse ...*" (S15E02: 10"40'). His speech features both a lexis belonging to

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<sup>123</sup> In Maillet's iconic play taking place in New Brunswick, the main character constantly uses it, such as on page 33: "mais j'avions le droit de rester deboute." *Le Devoir* regularly tackles the issue of the Acadian language. In his recent article for *Le Devoir* entitled "Radio Radio" (2012) Rioux criticizes the language used by Acadian band *Radio Radio*: "Radio Radio se complait dans la sous-langue d'êtres handicapés en voie d'assimilation" ("Radio Radio basks in the sub-language used by handicapped human beings that are on the verge of assimilation."). The discourse on Acadia and the Acadian language denote the politicians and intellectuals' obsession for language. According to Léger, in a response to Rioux's article: "Inutile de rappeler la série de déclarations incendiaires faites en regard des francophones hors Québec au cours du dernier demi-siècle. Il va sans dire que, sur la base de ces déclarations, tous les Acadiens ainsi que tous les autres francophones à l'ouest de la rivière de l'Outaouais seraient morts, enterrés et déjà oubliés" ("Needless to remind you about the blistering critics towards Francophones outside Québec over the last 50 years. If we look at these declararions, all the Acadians as well as Francophones west of the Ottawa River are dead, buried and already forgotten").

a higher register (“*soupirant*”, “*quel que délit que ce fuisse*”) but also vernacular morphosyntax (“*elle la remplissait-tu*”, “*coudonc*”, “*icitte*”) and fake liaisons (“*t’honneur*” and “*t’encore*”)<sup>124</sup> effectively placing him in a liminal Third space blurring fixed and definite social identities.

All these features combined draw a negative portrayal of Bedrock and Springfield’s population since, along with the main families, almost every Bedrock and Springfield citizen shares the most socially negative features of the language: from the delivery boy, to Joe Rockhead and the police in *The Flintstones*, from teachers to doctors in *The Simpsons*. These observations would question Plourde’s premise that the use of *joual* is meant to confine characters to the lower classes and acts as the sociolect for this uneducated working class.

### **3.1.2 Standard Québécois in *The Flintstones***

This category is not definite since the characters’s speech does not fall in the *joual* or strictly *standard Québécois* category defined by Ostiguy and Tousignant in *Les Prononciations du français québécois* or Bigot’s “*Le «point» sur la norme grammaticale du français québécois oral*”. However, sociolinguists evoke the idea of variations within a language—between *joual* and *Québécois*—or the notion of a continuum (Chantefort 93; Armstrong and Blanchet 2006a: 253; Dargnat 156) existing between the low and high varieties of the same language. This continuum makes it impossible to say that “... one utterance is entirely in A or in B but that it is more or less close to A or B” (Chantefort 93)<sup>125</sup>. This means

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<sup>124</sup> Dargnat notes their presence in Tremblay’s plays (195).

<sup>125</sup> “on ne pourra... pas dire d’un énoncé qu’il est entièrement en A ou entièrement en B mais qu’il est plus ou moins proche de A ou de B.”

that a speaker will never entirely speak in *standard Québécois* or in *joual* but will either switch from one to the other or mix them at some point in his/her speech. A continuum between *international French*, which I will define in the next section, and *joual* exists. Moreover, there is a broad spectrum within this category and variation is primordial to its understanding. As a consequence, the *standard Québécois* in *The Flintstones* remains a spoken variety with elements of popular Québécois. It also features a variation within its own category since some characters are closer to the *international* norms at the pronunciation level—such as the psychologist and Stoney Curtis for *The Flintstones*, Dr. Hibbert and Kent Brockman for *The Simpsons*—and others at the morphosyntactical level—the boxing match commentator and a doctor (see table 16) for *TF*, Reverend Lovejoy and Judge Snyder for *TS*. These characters’ variety of French differs from *international French* and *joual* hence positing itself as *standard Québécois*. The standard spoken in *TF* is a blend of correct morphosyntax and both a pronunciation and lexis that are Québécois. Some characters—i.e. Stoney Curtis or Roy Snyder—speak a French that is more normative than the characters from the *joual* category but is not *international French* for several reasons: (1) their pronunciation; (2) their grammar; (3) their vocabulary,<sup>126</sup> for both *TF* and *TS*, and (4) their visual idiosyncrasies for *TF*.

	Standard Québécois	Comments
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Race commentator (S01E08)</li> <li>• Dagmar the peroxide Kid/Dagmar la blonde incendiaire (S02E07)</li> <li>• Doctors (S02E15, S03E20,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mostly Bedrock citizens</li> <li>• In the immediate vicinity of characters</li> <li>• Most doctors</li> </ul>

<sup>126</sup> Although closer to *standard Québécois* than *joual* their lexis is not considered part of the international norm.

	<p>S03E12, S04E01)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychologist (S02E16)</li> <li>• Miss Greta Gravel (S02E18)*</li> <li>• Gilles Martelin (S02E25)*</li> <li>• Jean-Pierre Fou-à-lier (S02E29)</li> <li>• Boxing match commentator (S03E25)</li> <li>• Ann Margrock (S04E01)</li> <li>• Scout leader Pierre (S04E20)*</li> <li>• Dr.Louis Frankenstone/Frankenpierre (S05E02)*</li> <li>• Real estate agent (S05E09)</li> <li>• Stoney Curtis (S06E03)*</li> <li>• Samantha (S06E06)</li> </ul>	
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scout: “ha mais c’est <u>rien</u>” (10”04’)</li> <li>• Dr.Frankenstone: “pas d’<u>problème</u>” (11”00’)</li> <li>• Dr. Granrock: “le <u>temps</u>” (S02E15: 8”43’)</li> <li>• Doctor: “c’est quand l’ouverture officielle?” (S04E01: 3”35’)</li> <li>• Greta: “j’ai <u>envie</u> d’commander” (17”19’)</li> </ul>	<p>See Ostiguy/Tousignant and Bigot for exhaustive list (141)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>No diphthongization</b></li> <li>• <b>Slight nasalization</b> [ɛ̃] instead of Parisian [ɛ̃] for “rien”. More closed, closer to “é” than “ai”.</li> </ul> <p>[ã]~[ã̃]: articulated, closer to front of mouth than Parisian one, closer to [a] (“patte” than [ɑ] in “pâte”)</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dr.Frankenstone: “Une p’<u>ti</u>te fortune” (11”17’)</li> <li>• Gilles: “Je <u>m</u> demande si vous pouvez être mes témoins” (3”54’)</li> <li>• Race commentator: “Voici <u>maint</u>nant la photo” (20”15’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Occasional assimilation</b> (Gadet 2003: 72) such as the assimilation of the vowel [ə] or schwa</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Boxing match commentator: “Il tourne, <u>tourne</u>” (S03E25: 17”45’)</li> <li>• Race commentator: “Granite rouge. <u>Estrade</u>” (S01E08: 17”50’)</li> <li>• Scout leader Pierre: “Il va y avoir des <u>trou</u>pes de plusieurs coins du pays et même de plusieurs pays d’outre-mer. Tâchez d’bien vous amuser” (10”05)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Apical [ʁ]</b></p>
	<p>Real estate agent: “le <u>style</u>” (1”07’)</p>	<p><b>Lax vowels /i [ɪ] and /u (pronounced “ou”) becoming [ʊ].</b> More open</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Psychologist: “Vous êtes le <u>type</u> de gageur” (3”22’)</li> <li>Race commentator: “nous <u>attirons</u>” (20”10’)</li> </ul>	<b>Affrication of “t” and “d” [ts] and [dz]</b>
	Dagmar: “j’vous d’ <u>mande ça</u> c’est que vous devez être disponible en tout temps” (4”10’)	<b>Vowel [a]~ [a:]</b> More open, longer. Sound is produced at the front of the mouth
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Psychologist: “Et quel effet cela vous faisait-il plus tard d’entendre le mot gagure” (4”30’)</li> <li>Dr. Granrock: “Oh oui en effet si l’patient s’tient éveillé et actif pendant 72 heures” (9”00’)</li> <li>Scout: “Il faudrait que nos tentes soient prêtes” (9”50’)</li> <li>Real estate agent: “qu’est-ce que vous diriez d’un manoir qui tombe en ruines?” (00”15’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Standard morphosyntax</b> (see Bigot): occasional elisions permissible (Gadet 2003: 72) akin to international norm</li> <li>Standard conjugation</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	Doctor: “Excusez-moi, je <u>reviens de ce pas</u> ” (S03E12: 10”40’)	<b>High register of vocabulary</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Doctor: “dans une <u>couple</u> de seconde” (S03E12: 11”43’)</li> <li>Psychologist “vous êtes un <u>gageur</u> compulsif” (S02E16: 4”40’)</li> </ul>	<b>Québécoisms</b>
	Sports commentator: “botté”, “une prise” (S02E15: 13”20’)	<b>Technical terms: no lexical borrowings</b>

Table 19. *Standard Québécois* in *The Flintstones*<sup>127</sup>

	<b>Standard Québécois</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Principal Skinner* (S02E08, S12E02, S15E03, S15E16, S15E17)</li> <li>Mr. Burns* (S02E01, S02E04, S02E05, S02E10, S02E18, S02E22, S12E02, S12E05, S15E02, S15E22, S17E04)</li> <li>Dr. Hibbert* (S15E06, S15E21, S17E07, S21E07)</li> <li>Reverend Lovejoy (S09E07)</li> <li>Kent Brockman* (S12E02, S15E15, S15E16, S15E22)</li> <li>Mayor Quimby* (S02E21, S04E20, S12E02, S15E21, S20E01)</li> <li>Judge Roy Snyder (S15E02,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Secondary characters from Springfield</li> <li>Educated and/or high IQ for Martin</li> <li>Brockman: “Burns” and “simpson” pronounced English way</li> </ul>

<sup>127</sup> See Appendix H for dialogue scripts.

	<p>S15E16) and female judge (S21E07)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Martin Prince (S02E21, S12E03)</li> <li>• Lawyer (S15E02)</li> <li>• Celebrities (Olsen sisters S15E10, Clark Gable S21E09, Stephen King S12E03, Bill Clinton S08E01)</li> <li>• Voice-over narrator (S21E14)</li> <li>• Etiquette professor (S15E20)</li> </ul>	
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burns: “<u>excellent</u>” (S17E04: 1”11), “<u>vivant</u>” (S15E22: 3”16’)</li> <li>• Quimby: “j’<u>me sens</u>” (S04E20: 2”56’), “<u>évidemment</u>” (S04E20: 2”58’)</li> <li>• Judge: “<u>étonnement</u>” (S21E07: 16”00’)</li> <li>• Stephen King: “ces <u>temps-ci</u>” (S12E03: 4”14’)</li> <li>• Ashley Olsen: “dans l’<u>temps</u>” (S15E10: 16”52’)</li> <li>• Burns: “j’aime <u>bien</u>” (S02E05: 8”29’), “je rongerai mon <u>frein</u>” (S02E10: 9”52’)</li> <li>• Martin: “quelqu’<u>un</u>” (S02E21: 3”04’)</li> </ul>	<p>See Ostiguy/Tousignant and Bigot for exhaustive list (141)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>No diphthongization</b></li> <li>• <b>Nasalization.</b> [ã]~[ã̃]: articulated closer to front of mouth than Parisian one, closer to [a] (“patte” than [a] in “pâte”)</li> <li>• Slight nasalization of “bien”. [ɛ̃] instead of Parisian [ɛ̃]. More closed, closer to “é” than “ai”.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burns: “<u>usine</u>” (S02E04: 3”30’)</li> <li>• Clark Gable: “<u>histoire</u>” (S21E09: 8”28’)</li> <li>• Narrator: “<u>sardines</u>” (S21E14: 00”50’)</li> <li>• Etiquette prof: “d’ici la fin de l’été je vous promets que vous marcherez <u>toutes</u> comme des dames” (S15E20: 7”45’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “de <u>premier cycle</u>” (S15E03: 16”26’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Lax vowels [ɪ] and [u]. Désonorisation (PHONO)</b></p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lovejoy: “les <u>orgasmes</u> de Marie Madeleine” (S12E03: 3”54’):</li> <li>• Narrator: “<u>fera-t-il</u>” (S21E14: 00”30’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Apical [ʁ]</b></p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skinner: “notre oiseau est meilleur que l’<u>vôtre</u>” (S12E02: 9”36’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Assimilation of the vowel [ə] or schwa</b></p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burns: “<u>artiste</u>” (S02E18: 21”23’)</li> <li>• Quimby: “<u>amertume</u>” (S12E02:</li> </ul>	<p><b>Affrication of “t” and “d” [ts] and [dz]</b></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9"25')</li> <li>• Martin: "vendredi" (S02E21: 16"58')</li> <li>• Bill Clinton: "midi" (15"23')</li> <li>• Lawyer: "gentille" (S15E02: 9"05')</li> </ul>	
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Skinner: "Et qu'est-ce que vot' petite bande de minables peut faire pour changer ça?" (S12E02: 8"10')</li> <li>• Skinner: "à cause de ce fiasco, il va falloir démissionner en tant que président" (S15E03: 3"00')</li> <li>• Skinner: "si c'est ça, <u>je suis</u> [ʃyi] fait" (S15E03: 15"57')</li> <li>• Martin: "<u>je suis</u> [ʃyi] plus un homme public. J'ai l'droit de boire c'que j'veux" (S12E03: 3"12')</li> <li>• Rev. Lovejoy: "est-ce que quelqu'un voudrait soumettre une raison pour laquelle ça ne devrait pas avoir lieu?" (S09E07: 8"48')</li> <li>• Snyder: "il est de mon devoir de vous condamner à 6 mois de prison ferme" (S15E16: 5"45')</li> <li>• Brockman: "pour nos auditeurs qui n'auraient pas connu les années 60..." (S15E15: 8"00')</li> <li>• Snyder: "<u>je t'accorde</u> [ʃtakɔrd] une torsion d'bras" (S15E02 : 9"28')</li> <li>• Narrator: "N'y-a-t-il donc aucune moyen de se rendre au travail en tout confort..." (S21E14: 00"52')</li> <li>• Etiquette prof: "d'ici la fin de l'été je vous promets que vous marcherez toutes comme des dames" (S15E20: 7"45')</li> <li>• Quimby: "Votre jeunesse d'esprit communique tout son éclat au vieux de la veille qui vous parle" (S02E21: 2"40')</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Correct morphosyntax</b> (see Bigot): occasional elisions permissible (Gadet 2003: 72) akin to International norm</li> <li>• Correct conjugation</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burns: "petit sacripan" (S02E01: 19"27')</li> <li>• Skinner "préparez-vous à une escarmouche" (S15E17: 18"41')</li> <li>• Burns: "désopilant" (S12E05: 10"20')</li> <li>• Dr. Hibbert: "si je suis ici c'est à</li> </ul>	<b>High register of vocabulary</b>

	<p>cause de votre <u>Don Juan de quadrupède</u>” (S15E06: 2”17’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dr. Hibbert: “Dieu du ciel” (S21E07: 15”16’)</li> <li>• Brockman: “leur économie vacillante est le reflet de leur piètre attitude et de leur produits frelatés” (S12E02: 11”35’)</li> <li>• Burns: “Je n’ai donc personne” (S15E22: 5”00’)</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clark Gable: “j’ai l’goût” (8”28’)</li> <li>• Stephen King: “j’ai pas l’goût” (4”15’)</li> <li>• Dr.Hibbert/Quimby: “suçon” (S15E21: 6”57’/S15E21: 6”57’)</li> <li>• Dr.Hibbert: “c’est pas mal la même affaire” (S17E07: 3”34’)</li> <li>• Burns: “ils commençaient vraiment à <u>ambitionner</u>” (S15E22: 17”24’)</li> <li>• Etiquette prof: “une jument laitière aux pattes <u>croches</u>” (S15E20: 8”06’)</li> <li>• Burns: “des faux docteurs? <u>Allô!</u>” (S02E10: 15”50’)</li> <li>• Burns: “me revoilà sur le <u>piton</u>” (S02E22: 7”38’)</li> <li>• Burns: “j’ai l’air d’un <u>quétaïne</u>” (S12E02: 17”50’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “obligez-moi pas à <u>pitonner</u> les lumières” (S02E08: 4”43’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “pour les enfants doués et <u>achalants</u>” (S15E03: 19”28’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “barrer la porte” (S15E03: 11”25’)</li> <li>• Skinner: “les mopettes” (S15E16: 2”39’)</li> <li>• Kent Brockman: “les <u>têteux</u> sont sortis” (S15E15: 0”30’)</li> <li>• Brockman: “le vieux monsieur sera bientôt plus qu’une <u>place</u> où les ados vont pour senvoyer en l’air” (S15E22: 00”15’)</li> <li>• Quimby: “bande de <u>caves</u>” (S04E20: 21”02’)</li> <li>• Quimby: “ainsi qu’vos <u>blondes</u>”</li> </ul>	<p><b>Québécoisms and popular Québécois expressions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• avoir le goût: to want to do something (franqus)</li> <li>• un suçon: a lollipop (franqus)</li> <li>• être la même affaire: to be the same thing (franqus)</li> <li>• ambitionner: to go too far (franqus)</li> <li>• croches:bent (franqus)</li> <li>• allô:hello! (franqus)</li> <li>• être sur le piton: to be back on one's feet (franqus)</li> <li>• un quétaïne: old-fashioned, kitsch (franqus)</li> <li>• pitonner: to switch a light on (franqus)</li> <li>• achalant: annoying (franqus)</li> <li>• barre: to lock (franqus)</li> <li>• une mopette: a rag (dictionnaire-quebecois.com)</li> <li>• un têteux: a brown-noser (franqus)</li> <li>• une place:a place (franqus)</li> <li>• caves: idiots (franqus)</li> <li>• blonde: girlfriend (franqus)</li> </ul>

	(S20E01: 00'50')	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burns: “Jetez-moi cette <u>merde</u>” (S02E18: 12'14')</li> <li>• Burns: “Foutez-le à la porte Smithers” (S2E10: 6'32')</li> <li>• Burns: “damnation, ces <u>mauviettes...</u>” (S15E02: 8'08')</li> <li>• Quimby: “personne <u>se fout d'la gueule</u> du maire Diamond” (S02E21: 3'00')</li> </ul>	<b>French from France insults</b>

Table 20. *Standard Québécois* in *The Simpsons*.<sup>128</sup>

Characters from this category share an articulate speech that is not stigmatized—no diphthongization—unlike *joual*. However, they still feature a pronunciation that is uniquely Québécois, unlike the characters in the *international* French category whose pronunciation is neutralized. Their pronunciation presents traits that are not systematically linked to a social class, unlike *joual*, and their morphosyntax is closer to *standard French* with some permissible oral phenomena (Gadet 1992: 72), complex structures and most importantly a lexis belonging to Québec.

Although *standard Québécois* does not have a definite and clear definition (Bigot 125), some elements allow us to acknowledge it as the norm of the French spoken in Québec recognized and valued by the *Office Québécois de la langue française* and by the upcoming online dictionary *Le Franqus*.<sup>129</sup> The *Ministère des affaires culturelles du Québec* gives the following description of standard Québécois:

<sup>128</sup> See Appendix I for transcripts.

<sup>129</sup> The *Franqus* is an online dictionary focusing on *Français Québécois: Usage Standard* by the Université de Sherbrooke that should be released in the immediate future. Pierre Martel, one of the founders, states that: “Ce sera le premier dictionnaire à recenser des définitions entièrement conçues à partir du français standard en usage au Québec.” In the *FRANQUS*, *international French* from Robert and Larousse dictionaries is completely put aside: “Tous les mots que l’on y retrouve sont décrits selon des repères linguistiques du Québec” (Martel). Visit <http://franqus.ca/projet/usage.php> for more information.

The Office considers that, in order to resist the tremendous pressure the North-American environment and its English language put on the French in Québec, it is vital to rely on the francophone world: this means that the use must be in line with international French, while making room for the expression of realities that are specifically North-American. A norm conceived in such a manner must touch upon all aspects of any given language: morphology, syntax, phonetics, lexis; but variation must be inexistent for the first two since they are structural elements. Indeed, morphology and syntax are the backbone of the language. (Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec, 1965, p. 6. qtd.in Bigot 118; my emphasis)<sup>130</sup>

To which Bigot adds: “In the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution, [the previous definition] will be replaced in 1977 by the one from the Québec Association of French professors (now the AQPF) whose definition is based on a French language that is much more ‘Québécois’” (1).<sup>131</sup> According to the AQPF and the *Office de la langue française au Québec*, as well as the Québécois population in a census led by Jacques Maurais<sup>132</sup>, *Québécois French* is distinct from *international French*.<sup>133</sup> Such an assumption is further strengthened by the different idiosyncrasies of the characters in the *international* and *Québécois* categories as embodied in the non-verbal dimension.

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<sup>130</sup>“L’Office estime que, pour résister aux pressions énormes qu’exerce sur le français du Québec le milieu nord-américain de langue anglaise, il est indispensable de s’appuyer sur le monde francophone: cela veut dire que l’usage doit s’aligner sur le français international, tout en faisant sa place à l’expression des réalités spécifiquement nord-américaines. La norme ainsi conçue doit s’étendre à tous les aspects de la langue: morphologie, syntaxe, phonétique, lexicque; mais pour ce qui est des deux premiers, qui sont d’ordre structural, la variation doit être inexistante. En effet, la morphologie et la syntaxe constituent l’armature de la langue.”

<sup>131</sup> “Suite à la Révolution tranquille, [cette définition] sera rapidement remplacée en 1977 par celle de l’Association québécoise des professeurs de français (désormais AQPF) dont la définition se base sur un français beaucoup plus ‘québécois’”

<sup>132</sup> In “Les Québécois et la norme. L’évaluation par les Québécois de leurs usages linguistiques” a poll led by Maurais shows that the vast majority of interviewees considers *Québec French* as unique and as prestigious as *international French*. From the comments gathered about the language used in dubbing “plus on est scolarisé et moins on croit qu’il faut doubler les films québécois en ‘français international’” (50) (“the more education you have the less you think that Québécois films should be dubbed in ‘International French’”)

<sup>133</sup> The latter does not have a clear definition either.

Ostiguy, Tousignant and Bigot provide an exhaustive list of the different elements that make up *standard Québécois* and, despite its tendency towards being in line with *international French*, it presents some differences at every level—pronunciation, morpho-syntactical and lexical—with particular emphasis on the latter. Although the pronunciation and morpho-syntax of the characters of these TV shows are, for the most part, correct they do present some ‘defective’ phenomena pertaining to any spoken language.<sup>134</sup>

According to Ostiguy and Tousignant, *standard Québécois* is different from *international French* on the lexical and pronunciation levels such as the affrication of the consonants /t/ and /d/ in front of the vowels /i/ and /u/ (133) by the majority of Québécois, mirrored in the characters’ speech (see tables 19 and 20). Since the phenomenon is widespread in Québec, it “can not be considered as a social branding...” (Ostiguy and Tousignant 136).<sup>135</sup> The characters’ speech also presents occasional nasalizations (see tables 19 and 20), a feature that is not depreciated and is instead regarded as a common characteristic of spoken *Québécois*: “it does not seem that the Québécois see the Québécois pronunciation of nasal vowels as an indicator of a truly incorrect language. The majority of Québécois, including the most educated ones, use it” (123).<sup>136</sup> Still at the pronunciation level, the characters also perform apical [ɣ], especially sports commentators in *The Flintstones*, a phenomenon highly looked upon until the mid

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<sup>134</sup> The frequency of these ‘defects’ is less significant than in *joual* (tables 16 and 17).

<sup>135</sup> “... ne peut être considérée comme un marqueur social...”

<sup>136</sup> “il semble que les Québécois ne tiennent pas la plupart des prononciations québécoises des voyelles nasales comme étant révélatrices d’une langue franchement incorrecte. Elles sont entendues dans la bouche d’une majorité de Québécois, y compris celles des plus cultivés.”

50s and slowly replaced by the uvular [R] from France (Ostiguy and Tousignant 136). This phenomenon mostly concerns *TF*, a show that is older than *The Simpsons* and may explain the choice: it reflects the society at the time. Another pronunciation that Ostiguy and Tousignant have noted also recurs in *TF* and *TS*: [ã] becomes [ã̃] for Dr. Granrock and [ɛ̃] becomes [ɛ̃] for Burns. The use of lax vowels is also not socially marked since it is perceived as “a pronunciation phenomenon shared by most Québécois speakers: both ‘cultured’ speakers and less cultured ones use these variants, be it in formal situations or spontaneous speech” (67).<sup>137</sup>

The morphosyntax of the characters’ speech is mostly in line with the norms of *standard Québécois* except for a few permissible elision cases noted by Gadet in *Le français ordinaire*: “its [the elision] frequency and power do not make it a good indicator of social class since it [the elision] is almost systematic”<sup>138</sup> (1997: 72). These assimilations are common in the spoken language and their frequency in *standard Québécois* is inconsequential. Moreover, if the characters tend to elide the vowels, their speech does not accumulate defective pronunciations and syntax unlike the characters speaking *joual*. One can also note that variations exist within this category between the different characters since some of speak more closely to *international French* norms. Both the psychologist and Stoney Curtis in *The Flintstones* resort to a high register of French with

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<sup>137</sup> “un fait de prononciation généralisé chez la plupart des locuteurs québécois: ces variants peuvent s’entendre tant chez les locuteurs “cultivés” que chez ceux le moins, et ce, en situation formelle comme en discours spontané.”

<sup>138</sup> “sa fréquence et sa force la rendent peu classante, parcequ’elle [l’élision] est presque systématique.” Gadet talks about the assimilation of a vowel followed by a “deaf consonant” such as “je pense” pronounced [ʃpsã̃s].

complex word structures but the former uses the québécoism “*gageure*”<sup>139</sup> while the latter’s speech features a nasal pronunciation for some words. In *The Simpsons*, principal Skinner and Kent Brockman use complex word structure as well as the voice-over narrator with an interro-negative question “*n’y-a-t-il pas...?*”. However, both Skinner and Brockman use a Québécois and even a *joual* lexis—“*mopettes*” and “*pitonner*” for Skinner, “*têteux*” for Brockman—while the narrator’s pronunciation is Québécois. Based on these different speech phenomena, they do not belong to the *international French* category.

Finally, besides the minor variations at both the pronunciation level acknowledged by the *Office* and outlined by Ostiguy and Tousignant, and the morphosyntactical level, close to *international French*, the level of variation that is the most permissible and marking *Québécois* in its own right would be the lexical one (see tables 19 and 20). The characters’ speech occasionally features specific québécoisms (Bigot 118)—“*une couple*”, “*gageur*”, “*suçon*”, “*avoir le goût*”—unlike those in the *international* category for *The Flintstones*. Their speech is also bare of any anglicisms unlike *joual* in *TF*. Instead, the characters use correct technical terms for sports such as “*botté*” in lieu of “kick”, the latter used by main *joual* characters. *The Simpsons* has a different approach to the lexical level and not only features québécoisms, but also popular Québécois expressions and swearing shared with the *joual* characters such as “*maudits*”, “*quétaine*” and “*allô*”. In Burns’ and Quimby’s speech, the Québécois version of

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<sup>139</sup> *Grand dictionnaire terminologique*: “*Gager et gageurs étaient jusque vers la fin du siècle dernier des synonymes parfaits de parier et pari. Les Canadiens continuent d’employer couramment gager et gageure, de préférence même à parier et pari.*” (“until the end of the last century *gager* and *gageur* were synonyms of *parier* and *pari*. Canadians still frequently use *gager* and *gageure*, they even prefer it to *parier* and *pari*”)

*TS* also features popular insults from France with “*mauviette*” and “*foutez-le à la porte*” completely absent in *TF*.

In *The Flintstones*, most of the characters belonging to this category are upper-classmen or authority figures—a scout leader, most doctors, a sports commentator and a TV host. Unlike characters from the next category, they are not visually portrayed as haughty and their Québécois pronunciation is not stigmatized as noted by Forget: “the traditional Québécois elite of priests, doctors, lawyers and notaries has never been the target, to my knowledge, of constant demands at purging its language despite the obvious dialectal, regional quality of their speech” (156-7).<sup>140</sup> These characters cannot speak *international French* (a.k.a ‘neutral’ French) since they are part of the TV series folklore. There is not a single season without the main characters going to the hospital or the doctor: they become familiar to both the Bedrock community and the audience as we will see in section 3.3.

*The Simpsons*’ approach to characterization through the language slightly diverges from *The Flintstones*’. According to Plourde (2000a), Principal Skinner, Reverend Lovejoy, Sideshow Bob and Mr. Burns all speak *standard French* that he equates to French from France. Plourde does not clearly explain the reason behind this choice for those specific characters and does not clarify what *français standard* and *français Québécois* are. To Plourde, *français Québécois* is *joual* whereas *standard French* is *French from France*. However, a potential explanation could be that Skinner is an elementary school principal who is

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<sup>140</sup> “... l’élite traditionnelle québécoise des prêtres, médecins, avocats, notaires n’a jamais, il me semble, été visée par les demandes répétées d’épuration de la langue malgré l’aspect dialectal, régional évident de son parler.”

passionate about the quality of education, Lovejoy is a pastor who attended Texas Christian University (S20E15), Sideshow Bob is a graduate of Yale University and possesses a vast cultural knowledge (S08E16) and, finally, Mr. Burns is also a Yale university graduate. However, I would contend that these characters, with the exception of Sideshow Bob, actually speak *standard Québécois* based on their pronunciation and lexis. According to Plourde the affrication phenomenon of /t/ and /d/ belongs to vernacular Québécois (2000a: 102) which is contradicted by Ostig, Tousignant and Bigot since it can be heard in the mouth of the elite and is considered a trademark of *French Québécois* (see tables 19 and 20).

Let us look at Mr. Burns first. His speech not only clearly features affrication and nasalisation phenomena but also typical popular Québécois expressions such as “*quétaïne*” and “*ambitionner*” along with French from France insults. Based on this evidence, Mr. Burns does not fall into the *international* or *French from France* category. Then comes Reverend Lovejoy who “works for the common good and expresses himself in a language that is not too different from his followers” (Plourde 2000a: 111). However, in the Québécois dubbing, there is a levelling and a change in language register: “... he does not have the accent of the popular social class, his followers, and does not use the same vocabulary as the Simpsons family” (111).<sup>141</sup> Hence, Lovejoy falls into the *standard* category. However, despite featuring a *standard/international* morphosyntax, Lovejoy distinctively performs apical [ʁ]. This is a clear reference to the clergy or, broadly

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<sup>141</sup> “il veut le bien du peuple et il s’exprime dans un langage qui ne se veut pas trop éloigné de ses fidèles. Cependant dans le doublage québécois, le niveau de langue change et se voit réhaussé ... il n’a même pas l’accent des couches populaires qui sont ses fidèles et n’utilise pas le même vocabulaire que la famille Simpson.”

speaking, religious figures in Québec<sup>142</sup> since this phenomenon was considered “... until the 1950s, and for at least a century, a characteristic of Montreal speech. Members of the clergy regarded it highly—they were in charge of the education system in Québec at the time” (Ostiguy and Tousignant 163).<sup>143</sup> Lovejoy becomes the symbol of the clergy and a past era in Québec and once again does not fall in the *international French* category.

Principal Skinner’s speech does not fully make him qualify for the *standard French* category either. Not only does his pronunciation show occasional Québécois features—silent final consonant /t/ is pronounced—but he also uses québécisms (see tables 19 and 20) and even popular Québécois expressions such as “*achalants*” or “*barrer la porte*.” Despite this lexis pertaining to popular Québécois, his morphosyntax is correct and denotes a higher register of French.

Finally, Kent Brockman would arguably be the closest to *standard French* or *international French* in terms of both morphosyntax and pronunciation: they are bare of Québécois phenomena. However, his lexis is not *standard* when he uses “*têteux*” and “*place*”. Moreover, according to Plourde the pronunciation of words “*à l’anglaise*” is a trademark of the vernacular. Seymour, Burns, Lovejoy and Brockman all pronounce the names of other characters and places according to English rules instead of French rules. In *The Simpsons*, characters speaking

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<sup>142</sup> Although Lovejoy is a Protestant minister while Québec is catholic, the character stands as a religious figure and a spiritual guide in *The Simpsons*.

<sup>143</sup> “... jusqu’aux années cinquante, et ce depuis au moins un siècle, comme caractéristique du parler montréalais. Particulièrement prônée par les membres du clergé—qui tenaient alors les rênes de l’enseignement au Québec...”

*standard Québécois* resort to a morphosyntax similar to the one in *The Flintstones* but they also do not hesitate to use familiar expressions pertaining to the Québécois, which sets them apart from the characters speaking *international French*.

### 3.1.3 From *International French* as a Supra-Authority in *The Flintstones* to its Near-Disappearance in *The Simpsons*

The characters' speech from the *international* category is 'neutral' which means their pronunciation does not feature any affrication or nasalization of the vowels: characters are not geographically rooted since they virtually do not have any accent and some of them are literally aliens.

	<b>International French</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most TV hosts<sup>144</sup> (S01E10, S04E09, S04E10)</li> <li>• Voice-over narrator (S01E22).</li> <li>• Hollyrock actors/Child actor Jacquot* (S03E01)</li> <li>• Flight attendant (S03E10)</li> <li>• Miss Diamond/Mlle. Diamand and high school principal (S03E13)</li> <li>• Hollyrock actors (S03E21)</li> <li>• Efficiency report agent, Mr.Rockhead/Mr.Rocdur (S03E13)</li> <li>• Unidentified alien (S04E16)</li> <li>• The Great Gazoo (S06E07)</li> <li>• Adoption agent (S04E03)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secondary characters</li> <li>• Alien characters</li> <li>• TV hosts</li> <li>• Flight attendant</li> <li>• Administration officials</li> <li>• Education officials</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<p>Child actor Jacquot: “Regarde. C’est Sassie. Tu n’échapp’ras pas le message hein Sassie? Tu nous amèneras du secours hein Sassie? Tu es brave hein Sassie? Intrépide et courageuse, hein Sassie? Va chercher du secours Sassie” (6’’05’)</p>	<p>See Gadet (1997 and 2003)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Neutral pronunciation:</b> unable to identify geographical origins unlike other accents</li> <li>• <b>Prosody similar to <i>standard Québécois</i> with permissible omissions.</b></li> <li>• <b>No affrication</b></li> <li>• The [a] is not pronounced other than [a]</li> </ul>

<sup>144</sup> This is a case of the Québécois dubbing actor neutralizing his accent except for one word: “avoir” pronounced [wɛr] (avouère).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No apical [ʁ]</li> </ul>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flight attendant: “veuillez-vous adresser à moi” (12”39’)</li> <li>• Voice-over narrator: “La plupart ont des activités très normales sauf notre ami Fred Caillou qui a vécu une journée assez mouvementée et dont le pire est encore à venir” (2”22’)</li> <li>• TV host: “C’est un fait incontrovertible chers amis que nous, qui vivons la vie trépidante d’aujourd’hui, devons forcément aux heures de loisir jadis consacrées aux acquisitions de la culture...” (4”00’)</li> <li>• Miss Diamond: “Je veux que vous vous sentiez chez vous” (9”22’)</li> </ul>	<p><i>Le bon usage</i> by Grevisse (Bigot 155)</p> <p>Convoluted speech, complex word order</p>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Efficiency report agent: “Chaque employé doit être muni de son diplôme” (3”35’)</li> <li>• Flight attendant: “certinement” (12”39’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Follows guidelines for International French: technical and sports vocabulary should be devoid of anglicisms</li> <li>• No loan words</li> <li>• No Québec specific vocabulary</li> <li>• High register of language</li> </ul>

Table 21. *International French in The Flintstones*.<sup>145</sup>

	<b>International French</b>	<b>Comments</b>
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sideshow Bob* (S17E08)</li> <li>• The aliens Kang and Kodos (S02E03, S08E01, S10E04)</li> <li>• Golf commentator (S02E06)</li> <li>• Roger Myers (owner of The Itchy and Scratchy show) (S02E09)</li> <li>• Documentary voice-over narrator (S09E03, S10E07)</li> <li>• Island owner (S12E06)</li> <li>• Professor Frink (S15E01)*</li> <li>• Soap opera actors (S02E16)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educated characters or higher-end positions</li> <li>• Non-recurring characters except for Sideshow Bob and Professor Frink</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kodos: “c’la n’aura pas lieu” (S02E03: 16”05’)</li> <li>• Kang: “qu’insinuez-vous?” (S10E04: 19”00’)</li> <li>• Frink: “il s’en allait étudier” (8”10’)</li> </ul>	<p>See Gadet (1997 and 2003)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Neutral pronunciation:</b> unable to identify geographical origins unlike other accents</li> <li>• <b>Prosody similar to <i>Standard Québécois</i> with permissible omissions.</b></li> <li>• <b>No affrication</b></li> </ul>

<sup>145</sup> See Appendix J for transcripts.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The [a] is not pronounced other than [a]</li> <li>• No nasalisation</li> </ul>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kang: “enchanté terriens je m'appelle Franck. N'avez pas peur, je ne vous veux aucun mal” (S02E03: 10”16’)</li> <li>• Myers: “en ce qui a trait au commentaire spécifique” (6”35’)</li> <li>• Owner: “pourquoi avez-vous cru qu’avec un ballon vous les empêcheriez?” (20”14’)</li> <li>• Narrator: “l’océan est rempli de créatures qui inspirent la terreur mais aucune n’attaque sa proie avec autant d’fureur que le féroce requin des algues” (5”16’)</li> <li>• Frink: “c’était pas une grande année” (S15E01: 7”25’)</li> <li>• Sideshow Bob: “veuillez vous assurer que je suis au moins aussi désolé de vous voir que vous” (S17E08: 6”49’)</li> <li>• Kang: “que ceux qui appartiennent à une espèce ayant maîtrisé les voyages intergalactiques lèvent la main” (S02E03: 12”20’)</li> </ul>	<p><b><i>Le bon usage by Grevisse (Bigot 155)</i></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complex structures</li> <li>• <i>Concordance des temps</i></li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kang: “notre programme de croisement génétique” (S10E04: 18”23’)</li> <li>• Kodos: “un emploi <u>lucratif</u>” (S10E4: 19”33’)</li> <li>• Golf: “ils approchent du trou final à l’ombre du grand libérateur d’esclaves inextricablement égaux...” (19”48’)</li> <li>• Island owner: “je vous en prie” (S12E06: 17”47’)</li> <li>• Frink: “notre relation n’était pas des plus chaleureuses” (7”30’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>High register</b></li> <li>• <b>Technical terms</b></li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Myers: “tout ça n’est que d’la foutaise” (12”30’)/ “emmerdeuse” (6”45’)</li> <li>• Island: “tout foutre en l’air” (18”26’)</li> <li>• Soap opera actress: “tu m’traites comme une traînée” (12”20’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>Standard French insults, not Québécois</b></p>

Table 22. *International French in The Simpsons*<sup>146</sup>

At the opposite end of the linguistic spectrum stands *international French*, the most socially valued and normative variety of the French language in the eyes of the *Office de la langue française au Québec*.

On the pronunciation level, these characters' speech is 'neutral', or in other words their pronunciation does not feature any affrication or nasalization of vowels phenomena. As such, their speech is even and monotonous. On the morphosyntactical level, "... international French grammar is commonly featured in *Le bon usage* by Grevisse" (Bigot 155),<sup>147</sup> which means that it abides by strict rules for conjugating verbs and denotes a high register of French that does not make room for variation. Finally, on the lexical level, there is no instance of Québec specific lexis and characters resort to a high register of vocabulary.

In *The Flintstones*, *international French* is the variety of French spoken by government and education officials (see table 21) who do mechanical tasks: the flight attendant's job is to merely state the regulations of the plane while the efficiency report matter-of-factly tells Fred Flintstone that he will get fired since he does not have a high-school diploma. Finally, the adoption agent acts as a foe standing between the Rubbles and Bam-Bam, the child they want to adopt. This language is also featured in "the authorial speech" (Bakhtin 263) of the voice-over narrator and becomes a language of omniscience far removed from the Bedrock inhabitants. The narration assumes the role of a god-like presence prosaically

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<sup>146</sup> See Appendix K for transcripts.

<sup>147</sup> "... la grammaire du français international est communément représentée par *Le bon usage*, de Grevisse."

describing life in Bedrock, which is reinforced by the discrepancy between his variety of French and Fred’s first few words—swear words. These characters are the conveyors or representatives of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1992: 167) through a “... standard language, at once impersonal and anonymous like the official uses it has to serve” (48). They stand for the authority of an *international* or standard French language, which is to ensure the legitimacy and durability of the official language of the nation in the mouths of officials and institutions. Most TV hosts in *TF* do not speak *standard Québécois* but *international French*, which goes against the common conception of Radio-Canada as the standard for the Québécois language<sup>148</sup>: “Due to a combination of circumstances and its concern for quality, Radio-Canada has long been the model for the language spoken in French Canada” (Dubuc 127 qtd. in Bigot 130)<sup>149</sup> or again Martel and Cajolet-Laganière:

For decades, thanks to communication networks of the radio and then television, a new model for pronunciation came into being, midway between ancient Canadian and French from France. The language of main announcers has been called excellent and has become a model for pronunciation in Québec. This model is not French, especially not Parisian, since the Québécois reject such pronunciation “à la française”, that they judge too “nigglings”. This is what we called the «radio-canadien» model of the French language spoken in Québec. (*my emphasis* Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 18)<sup>150</sup>

A consensus seems to derive from these descriptions: *standard québécois* is specific to Québec and departs from *international French*—neutral French

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<sup>148</sup> See Maurais 2008: 77.

<sup>149</sup> “Par concours de circonstances et aussi par un souci de qualité qui l'honore, Radio-Canada a longtemps fait figure de modèle de langue au Canada français.”

<sup>150</sup> “Depuis quelques décennies, grâce aux réseaux de communication de la radio puis de la télévision, un nouveau modèle de prononciation a pris forme entre l'ancien usage canadien et l'usage français de France. La langue des principaux annonceurs et annonceuses a été jugée excellente et est ainsi devenue le modèle de prononciation au Québec. Ce modèle n'est pas français; il n'est surtout pas parisien, car le peuple québécois rejette cette prononciation «à la française», qu'il juge trop «pointue». C'est ce qu'on a appelé le modèle «radiocanadien» du français parlé au Québec.”

without any geographical links—or French from France—deemed foreign and snobby in Québec. As such, the pronunciation on Radio-Canada is the standard in Québec. Indeed, in *The Flintstones* most TV hosts do not showcase any Québécois pronunciation features from the list of Ostiguy and Tousignant such as the affrication of consonants /t/ and /d/:

On the other hand, the absence of affrication of the consonants [t] and [d] makes the viewer/listener suspicious and could be negatively judged in Québec. Such a pronunciation would probably be a hypercorrection phenomenon, or the inappropriate imitation of the French model, perceived as increasingly foreign. Inappropriate, since even the cultural elite, often taken as a linguistic model when we want to correct our language, cannot help but affricate, even in the most formal situations. (*my emphasis* Ostiguy and Tousignant 136)<sup>151</sup>

The TV hosts who speak such neutral French do not come into contact with the main characters unlike, for instance, Jean-Pierre Fou-à-lier, a direct reference to Québec's beloved TV/radio host Jean Coallier, and hence do not integrate the Bedrock community.<sup>152</sup>

*International French* is also spoken by aliens in both TV shows (see tables 21 and 22) which tends to equate it to a 'spoken by no one' alien language or "this language from nowhere" (Von Flotow 2009: 85)<sup>153</sup> featuring no accent and no specific vocabulary, hence no geographical ties. The Great Gazoo is an alien who appears in the middle of season 6 of the series and uses standard insults—

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<sup>151</sup> "En revanche, c'est l'absence d'affrication des consonnes [t] et [d] qui éveille l'attention de l'auditeur et qui pourrait faire l'objet de jugements négatifs au Québec. Une telle prononciation relèverait sans doute d'un phénomène d'hypercorrection, soit l'imitation inappropriée du modèle français, perçu comme de plus en plus étranger. Inappropriée, puisque l'élite culturelle elle-même, que l'on prend souvent comme modèle linguistique lorsqu'on cherche à se corriger, ne s'empêche pas d'affriquer, même dans les situations les plus formelles..."

<sup>152</sup> This is further strengthened by the fact that the redubbing of these TV hosts contains affrications. In the DVD I have, some scenes, mostly cuts between different scenes, that have been redubbed with new voices probably due to the facts that the original voices have been lost. The new dubbing actors affricate the /t/ and /d/ and have overall a distinct Québécois accent unlike the older version. See Appendix L for the new dubbing.

<sup>153</sup> "langue de nulle part" in the original text.

*nigaud*—and a high register—“*certaines gestes de politesse sont de rigueur*” or “*quelle ère sommes-nous*”. In assigning *international French* to the Great Gazoo, a dislikeable alien that represents an ultimate authority with god-like power, the dubbing literally equates *international French* with a supra-authority that does not exist and has true powers over the main characters. This is oddly reminiscent of what Bigot observes about an old TV program on Radio-Canada:

We will remember a program called *Les Oraliens* targeted at children. The show that aired in the 1960s until the beginning of the 1980s on Radio-Canada, was about two aliens and was primarily designed to teach good pronunciation (while I was listening to it, it seemed to me that it was a French pronunciation. For instance the affrication of /t/ and /d/ is not realized by the main characters except the *Furotte*, the nemesis of the *Oraliens* whose principal characteristics was his incomprehensible stammer) (97-8)<sup>154</sup>.

In *The Simpsons*, *international French* is mostly spoken by either foes of the main characters or outcasts and misunderstood characters. Both aliens, Kang and Kodos, appear in every special Halloween episode—the Treehouse Horror episodes—and are constantly designing extravagant and bound-to-fail plans to take over the Earth, especially Springfield. Both Roger Myers and the owner of the mysterious island are enemies of the Simpsons family: in an attempt to eradicate violence in *The Itchy and Scratchy Show*, Marge stands up to an infuriated Roger Myers while Homer tries to escape the island owned by a mad scientist. As for Sideshow Bob, he is both Bart’s mortal enemy and a social outcast who has been imprisoned multiple times. In spite of being a criminal, Sideshow Bob speaks *international French* unlike Krusty. As his sidekick,

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<sup>154</sup> “On se souviendra notamment du programme intitulé *Les Oraliens* destiné aux enfants. Diffusé dans les années 1960 jusqu’au début des années 1980 sur Radio-Canada, ce programme mettant en scène deux extraterrestres visait avant toute chose l’apprentissage d’une bonne prononciation (à l’écoute de certains passages, cette prononciation était, il nous semble, une prononciation française. Par exemple, l’affrication du /t/ et du /d/ devant /i/ et /y/ n’était pas réalisée par les personnages principaux, sauf par le *Furotte*, ennemi des *Oraliens* dont la caractéristique principale était de marmonner de façon incohérente).”

Sideshow Bob highlights the correct way to speak French according to Plourde. Although Plourde does not mention that detail, Sideshow Bob is a graduate from Yale University.<sup>155</sup> Professor Frink is also perceived as a social outcast. Not only is he socially inept but he is also typecast as the ‘mad scientist’ stereotype when he tries to turn his father into the Frankenstein monster (S15E01) while devising useless and dangerous inventions.

Finally, this variety of language is also reserved for non-recurrent characters such as the mini-golf commentator and the soap opera actors. The mini-golf commentator is a refined man passionate about the sport while the soap opera actors speak *French from France*, which could be taken as a mirror of the dubbing situation in Québec where most TV shows are dubbed in France (see Chapter 1).<sup>156</sup>

### **3.1.4 Sociolect of the Parisian Haute-Bourgeoisie<sup>157</sup>**

Most dislikeable characters in *The Flintstones* speak the *sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie*. Bigot equates Parisian French to hexagonal French a.k.a. *international French*:

We think that this ‘standard’ French, often renamed ‘international’ French, and which assumes a convergence (lexical, grammatical and phonetical) of all the geographic varieties of French towards the same normative model, is just a politically correct way to refer to hexagonal French (the latter being an implicit reference to the Parisian variety spoken by the superior social classes). (Bigot 28; my emphasis)<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Once again, this can be explained by the fact that Plourde had access to less information.

<sup>156</sup> We will see that this *international French* is indeed close to French from France or more specifically the “synchronien” used in the FV although, in some respect, slightly different.

<sup>157</sup> Mettas, Odette. *La prononciation parisienne: aspects phoniques d'un sociolecte parisien*. Paris: Sela, 1979.

<sup>158</sup> “Nous pensons que ce français «standard», souvent renommé français «international», et qui suppose une convergence (à la fois lexicale, grammaticale et phonique) de l'ensemble des variétés géographiques du français vers un même modèle normatif, n'est qu'une appellation politiquement

However, my decision to separate *international French* from the *sociolect of the Parisian haute-bourgeoisie* mainly stems from both the visual idiosyncrasies of the characters, the fact that the latter are visually identified as haughty and/or French, and from their pronunciation.

	Parisian bourgeoisie	Comments
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emma Tasdroche (S02E10)* <i>TF</i></li> <li>• André the hairdresser (S02E26) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Waiter at French restaurant (S06E07)* <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Aimée Brilliantine/Eppy Brilliantstone (S06E01) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Butler (S06E08) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Unknown bourgeois lady (S09E01, S12E04, S12E05) <i>TS</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Characters clearly identified as being from France in the OV</li> <li>• Snobby characters</li> <li>• Butler has a 'snobby' accent in the OV</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emma Tasdroche: “<u>Mais</u>, c’est ça chère” (6”10’)</li> <li>• Emma: “Je le disais encore ce matin à mon riche <u>mari</u>” (6”12’)</li> <li>• André: “Vous pouvez <u>baisser</u>” (14”40’)</li> <li>• The waiter: “<u>Mesdames</u> si vous voulez bien me suivre. Veuillez prendre place mesdames” (14”45’)</li> <li>• Eppy Brilliantstone: “Ça ne vous gêne <u>pas</u>?” (8”21’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Affected pronunciation</b> such as [mɛ:], [ma:ri], [be:se], [me:dam], [pa:]</li> <li>• Lengthening of vowels</li> </ul>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emma: “Je suis chargée de voir à ce que seule l’élite de St. Granit y ait accès” (6”25’)</li> <li>• Waiter: “Suivez-moi s’il vous plait...” (16”42’)/ “Avez-vous perdu quelque chose monsieur?” (20”04’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• See International category</li> </ul>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• André: “Si vous voulez bien me suivre... Veuillez prendre place mesdames” (14”40’)</li> <li>• Butler: “Oh horreur! Encore un de ces amis incultes du maître.” (16”35’)</li> <li>• Bourgeois lady: “quel malotru”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• See International category</li> </ul>

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correcte pour désigner le français hexagonal (lui-même faisant référence de façon implicite à la variété parisienne parlée par les classes sociales supérieures).”

	(S12E04: 4'40'), "Dieu du ciel! " (S12E05: 11'43')	
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Table 23. *Sociolect of Parisian Haute Bourgeoisie*.<sup>159</sup>

A few characters in *The Flintstones* are identified as being French in the original version (André) and, in the Québécois version they speak the *sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie*, an affected way of speaking mostly featuring the lengthening of the vowels “e” and “a” (Mettas, Fant and Stalhammar 3).<sup>160</sup> The sociolect of the French bourgeoisie characterizes secondary characters from the upper class—Wilma’s friends. Besides being from the bourgeoisie, these characters are visually portrayed as snobby or haughty (see Appendix F), hence this variety of French is mostly assigned to dislikable characters. Their way of speaking stereotypes them as unlikeable, affected or effeminate and they come across as overbearing and conceited. Their affected pronunciation and overall behaviour are mocked by the main characters who tend to be puzzled by their attitude. When running into their former friends, Wilma and Betty start imitating the now wealthy ladies’ pronunciation and body language (see Appendix M) while Fred stammers an awkward “*Ha, euh, bonsoir, oui une table pour quatre Mr. euh...Antoine n’est-ce pas?*” (S06E07: 16’42’) in response to the very emphatic “*Haaa Bonsoir!*” from a waiter who does not even look at him until the bill incident (see Appendix M). In *The Simpsons*, only one character, acting as a stock-character, speaks this sociolect: the unknown bourgeois lady. She rarely

<sup>159</sup> See Appendix M for transcripts.

<sup>160</sup> The list of phenomena can also be found in Odette Mettas “La prononciation parisienne: aspects phoniques d’un sociolecte parisien.” *Société d’études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France*. Paris: SELAF, 1979.

makes an appearance and her only purpose or *raison d'être* in the show is to be shocked by Homer's actions or appearance.

### 3.1.5. Accented French: Pseudo Language

Finally, some of the characters are identified as foreigners<sup>161</sup> and their speech is stereotyped in both the original and Québécois versions. Characters in this category speak *standard Québécois* or *international French* with exaggerated or stereotyped accent.

	Accented French	Comments
<b>Characters</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Professor Rockimoto (S01E14) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Alvin Brickrock (Aflred Hitchcock S02E04) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Russian ballet professor (S03E04) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Gina Lollobrickida (S03E17) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Professor Freudstone (S06E01) <i>TF</i></li> <li>• Apu (S05E13, S05E19, S09E02, S17E12) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• The Who: Roger Daltrey, John Entwistle, Keith Moon and Pete Townshend (S12E02) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Nobel prize president (S15E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Ukrainian mafia boss (S23E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Kim Jong Il (S23E01) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Luigi Risotto (S05E19, S05E21) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Carl (S12E02, S15E17, S21E05) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Bumblebee Man* (S05E12, S07E21) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Rainier Wolfcastle/McBain (S06E18) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Ringo Starr (S02E18) <i>TS</i></li> <li>• Fergie (S10E06) <i>TS</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identified as foreigners in the OV</li> <li>• Stereotyped for Gina Lollobrickida and Prof. Rockimoto and all of <i>The Simpsons'</i> characters</li> </ul>
<b>Pronunciation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rockimoto: “Ça c’est celtain” (S’02’), “comme ça vous êtes toutes plêtes poull leçon numélo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>[r] pronounced [l]</b><sup>162</sup></li> <li>• <b>‘Choppy’ rhythm</b></li> </ul>

<sup>161</sup> French characters are excluded from this section since they belong to the previous category.

<sup>162</sup> Arrivé writes: “...un Japonais ne fait pas la différence en français entre [ʁ] et [l], qui correspondent dans sa langue à un seul phonème.” (509) (“...a Japanese does not make a difference between the [ʁ] and [l] when speaking French because they both correspond to the same phoneme in their language”)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>un” (5”30’)</li> <li>Nick: “Troy, aime/riez/-vous/ un/ bon/ jus/ d’orange?” (1”10’)</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rainier: “Mon/nou/feau/film/est un mé/lange d’action et de co/médie” (5”20’)</li> <li>Rainier: “dollars” (5”24’)</li> <li>Nobel: “Mozi<u>e</u>ur j’ai le bonheur de vous informer que vous avez remporté le prix Nobel de physique [ə]” (6”10’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>‘Choppy’ rhythm</b></li> <li>• <b>Guttural [r]</b></li> <li>• [s] becomes [z]</li> <li>• [ə] pronounced [əl]</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Alvin: “Me p<u>r</u>endre” [w] (5”45’), je me sou<u>i</u>s coupé en m’wrasant” (5”55’)</li> <li>Ringo: “Chère Sally, en r<u>e</u>ponse [w]” (16”00’)</li> <li>Pete Townshend: “nous, on a p<u>r</u>omis [w] à la réceptionniste qu’on s’r<u>a</u>it [w] <u>f</u>in” (16”44’)</li> <li>Fergie: “Viens <u>p</u>lus [plys] proche!” (17”53’)</li> <li>Luigi: “je <u>s</u>uis” [swi] (S05E19: 15”07’)</li> <li>Apu: “vous <u>t</u>ouer” [tue] (S15E19: 2”20’)</li> <li>Apu: “é<u>r</u>abouillé” [w] (5”10’)</li> <li>Rainier “c’était ça la <u>l</u>ague” [p] (6”06’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>English, Italian and Indian accent</b></li> <li>• [r] softened to [w]</li> <li>• [y] pronounced [u]</li> <li>• [b] pronounced [p]</li> <li>• Final silent [s] pronounced for Fergie</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Carl: “c’est assez <u>c</u>ommode” [kumɔd] (S12E02: 4”25’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Carl speaks “petit neg” (Plourde 2000: 63)</b></li> <li>• [o] pronounced [u]</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ballet professor “il veut r<u>e</u>trouver...” (13”25’), “je vous le p<u>r</u>omets” (13”33’)</li> <li>Gina: “c’est t<u>e</u>rrible” (10”50’)</li> <li>Luigi: “Hey Seymour, vous p<u>r</u>enez toujours la même table?” (11”30’)</li> <li>Ukrainian: “je l’ai r<u>e</u>trou<u>v</u>é”, “d’ab<u>o</u>rd” (17”14’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rolling of [ɤ] for Russian and Italian accent</li> <li>• Closed [o]</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gina: “je [j]e <u>n</u>e [ne] p<u>e</u>ux [pe] souffrir” (10”21’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• vowel [ə] ~ [e]</li> <li>• vowel [ø] ~ [e]</li> <li>• consonant [ʒ] ~ [j]</li> </ul>
<b>Morphosyntax</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rockimoto: “Confucius dit ça c’est très [l] bon pour famille app<u>r</u>endre [l] le judo ensemble. Lui dis ben</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Stereotyped non-standard grammatical forms</b></li> <li>• Omission of article in front of “famille”</li> </ul>

	<p>bon poul éviter chicane” (13”29’)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kim Jong Il: “pouvez-vous me dire où palais se trouve?” (19”54’)</li> <li>• Roger Daltrey: “<u>la</u> maire de <u>la</u> Nouveau Springfield?” (16”40’) and “<u>la</u> air” (17”40’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incorrect syntax and structure: omission of “le” in front of “palais”</li> <li>• Incorrect gender</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carl: “<u>qu</u>’est-ce que tu [<u>kese</u>ky] vas faire quand t’auras plus à superviser <u>notre gang de tapons</u>?” (S21E05: 1”34’)</li> <li>• Apu: “un kilo <u>ça</u> va t’y?” (S05E13: 2”32’)</li> </ul>	<b>Joual morphosyntax</b> (+lexis)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alvin: “j’ai bien peur que ce ne soit pas possible” (6”35’)</li> <li>• Apu: “ton cornet gargantuesque fait de notre politique de libre-service un sujet de moqueries” (S05E19: 10”40’)</li> </ul>	<b>High register</b> Correct conjugation and <i>concordance des temps</i>
	Ballet professor: “Comme c’est gracieux comme pose, n’est-ce pas?” (13”54’)	<b>Standard morphosyntax</b>
	Prof. Freudstone: “Maintenant <u>allons-vite les expériences commencer</u> ” and “je crois que premièrement <u>allons-nous les réflexes tester</u> ” (12”45’)	<b>Occasionally unusual sentence structures</b>
<b>Lexis</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prof. Rockimoto: “chicane” (13”29’)</li> <li>• Carl: “asteur” (6”35’)</li> <li>• Gina: “je [je] <u>ferme la télé</u>” (10”30’)</li> <li>• Ballet professor: “les quilles” (13”15’) (<i>jouer aux quilles</i>)</li> <li>• Nobel: “ça parle <u>au maudit!</u>” (6”47’)</li> </ul>	<p><b>From Québécois to International French with a few words from their native language</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Québécois lexis for Rockimoto</li> <li>• Occasional <i>joual</i> expressions for Apu, Carl and Rockimoto</li> <li>• High register for Alvin and Apu</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alvin: “néammoins” (6”01’)</li> <li>• Apu: “je suis venu pour <u>faire amende honorable</u>” (8”00’)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Russian words and ‘russianisation’ of Fred’s name</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Russian ballet prof: “Frederovich” (13”17’) and “boblshka” (13”23’)</li> <li>• Luigi: “une vrai histoire <u>d’amore</u>” (S05E21: 17”20’)</li> <li>• Ukrainian mafia boss: “<u>niet</u>”</li> </ul>	

	(13"23')	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gina: "Oh grazie" (10"21'), "mamma mia" (10"24'), "signora" (10"30')</li> </ul>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Apu: "j'peux-tu t'arroser avec mon boyau...?" (S17E12: 1"58')</li> <li>Apu: "j'men tabernouche" (S09E02: 11"11')</li> <li>Carl: "beau en masse" (S15E17: 5"23')</li> </ul>	
	Professor Freudstone: "pouvez-vous relaxer le genou petit bonhomme?" (13"25')	<b>No québécois</b> for educated characters in <i>TF</i> : standard lexis
	Bumblebeeman: "¡Que día miserable a trabajo! Primero, el ataque del wopeckero. Luego, un desastro de electricidad..." (S07E21: 16"24')	<b>Pseudo Spanish</b> (incorrect lexis for woddpeckero and disastro which is actually Italian along with "un"). No French

Table 24. Accented French in the QV.<sup>163</sup>

As showcased in table 24, the Québécois version tends to exaggerate the most salient features of the characters' pronunciation and hence provides a stereotypical accent that often matches their visual idiosyncrasies (see Appendix C) to such an extent that Carl "becomes the 'neg' stereotype..." (Plourde 2000a: 63)<sup>164</sup> in *The Simpsons*. As soon as these characters appear on screen, the viewer will associate them to a variety of accented French since they will recognize them as non-native speakers. For instance, Professor Rockimoto's choppy Québécois not only matches the prosody of the Japanese language but also his rigid and structured movements as he is a karate instructor and Alvin Brickrock's refined speech matches his sophisticated appearance and social class.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See Appendices B and C for transcripts.

<sup>164</sup> "devient le stéréotype du 'neg'..."

<sup>165</sup> Alfred Hitchcock had a cockney, working-class, accent at odds with his character's accent in the dubbing.

On the one hand, their speech is stereotyped at the pronunciation level, and on the other hand, variations exist at the morphosyntactical level among these characters depending on their social class but also their education, especially in *The Flintstones*. The grammatical and structural non standard-forms they use in the original version, due to the fact that they are non-native speakers, tend to be standardized in the Québécois version although to a much lesser extent than the French version<sup>166</sup> of *The Flintstones*. The majority of these characters, with the exception of Professor Rockimoto and Gina Lollobrickida, appear to be speaking a more polished and higher French language since they either belong to the upper-class and/or are well-educated: Alvin Brickrock is none other than Alfred Hitchcock, Mrs. Cobblehov is a Russian ballet professor who teaches a type of dance often associated to the upper-classes, and Professor Freudstone is Professor Sigmund Freud.

In *The Simpsons*, *The Who* band members mistake genders for “*maire*” and “*air*” which does not necessarily indicate class but instead mirrors one of the most common mistakes learners of French make regardless of their social background. Moreover, Kim Jong Il’s speech also features a non-standard syntax while Apu mostly expresses himself in a high or standardized morphosyntax, once again not fitting with his social class since he is the manager of a Kwik-e-Mart. However, Apu’s accent is closer to “...Haitian Creole or Caribbean spoken *à la québécoise*”<sup>167</sup> (Plourde 2000a: 63), rather than Indian. The expression “*à la québécoise*” is key in Plourde’s observation since at the lexical level the

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<sup>166</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>167</sup> “...le créole haitien ou antillais parlé à la québécoise”

characters in *TS* lean towards two tendencies: Québec-specific vocabulary and *standard/international* lexis.

At the lexical level, some characters' vocabulary points to a high level of education or refinement as is the case for Alvin Brickrock, or to a *standard French* as exemplified by Professor Freudstone. Others like Rockimoto and the Russian ballet professor resort to the Québécois expressions “*chicane*” and “*les quilles*”. In *The Simpsons*, both Apu and Carl resort to *joual* expressions while the former also uses a higher variety of the language.

Finally, it is also worth noting that the Québécois version features more foreign words than the original version (see Appendix B) and even tends to correct the mistakes the original version is prone to making when using a foreign language such as “*grazie*” instead of “*grazia*” in the OV of *The Flintstones*. It also leaves Bumblebee Man's entire speech in pseudo-Spanish unlike the French version (chapter 2).

### **3.2. Social Navigation and a Sense of Community in *The Flintstones***

Québécois French used in the dubbing made in Québec mostly assigns dialect to a social class (Plourde 2003: 1)<sup>168</sup>

In his thesis on *The Simpsons* (2000a), Plourde observes that uneducated and/or stupid characters speak *Québécois* in dubbed TV shows.<sup>169</sup> However, when studying *The Flintstones* one has to acknowledge the ‘social mobility’ of the characters as well as the make-up of what Plourde generically calls *Québécois*.

The notion of linguistic variation is crucial to the understanding of the discursive

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<sup>168</sup> “Au Québec, le français québécois dans le doublage sert principalement à cantonner le dialecte dans une seule couche sociale.”

<sup>169</sup> Plourde has not studied *The Flintstones*.

identities in the dubbed version. Characters who speak *joual* are not necessarily from the working-class or uneducated (see tables 16 and 17) and they are not restricted to their social class. Gadet and Dargnat evoke this stratification of language in terms of linguistic variation rather than in terms of fixed categories. Two tendencies pervade the Québécois version: one leaning towards the use of a political *joual*, conveying a strong sense of identity and hence embedded in the social identities of the characters, and another leaning towards an “affect” quality or “affectiolect” (Dargnat 61). Both tendencies are far from being incompatible and can even complement each other.

Bakhtin defines the novel “... as a diversity of social speech types ... and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized” (262). Unlike the original version, the Québécois version plays on these speech types and creates a sense of community and belonging that was absent from the original version. It generates a world peopled by characters sharing a linguistic as well as an ‘attitude’ “repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1990: 5). Characters from both the upper and working class have a “wide-ranging repertoire depending on the situation he/she is in, the protagonists, the sphere of activity and the purposes of the exchange...”<sup>170</sup> (Gadet 2003: 16). The existence of such repertoire indicates a continuum between the different levels of French, which echoes the notion of sociolinguistic variation in Dargnat and Gadet’s works. What comes out from the analysis of the different varieties pervading the QV is that characters are not socially branded. Since they

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<sup>170</sup> “... repertoire diversifié selon la situation où il se trouve, les protagonistes, la sphère d’activité et les objectifs de l’échange...”

have a broad linguistic repertoire available to them, they easily ‘navigate’ between different classes and registers.

*Joual* is not only spoken by the working-class but also by members of what could be considered the elite: a judge, a Hollywood producer, Mr. Million, who is a millionaire, Mr. Slate, who is an executive, to name a few. Most *joual*-speaking secondary characters are present throughout the episode, and hence become familiar to the audience: Mr. Slate is a recurrent character and Mr. Million is one of Fred’s friends. This is the first clue towards the notion that *joual* in the series is not always socially relevant but instead points at a language able to convey both negative and positive emotions towards the characters. At times, it can indicate some of the characters’ flaws—the robbers—and will have negative connotations, while, at other times, it will be used by likeable and familiar characters—Mr. Slate and Fred Flintstone. *Joual* can be called an “affectiolect” (Dargnat 61) and not a stigma on Québécois consciousness since in *The Flintstones* it confers a “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) and “proximity” (39) to the show and its characters.<sup>171</sup> By assigning *joual* to some of the Hollyrock characters and secondary characters, the Québécois version brings them back to a level of familiarity or “proximity” (39) unlike *standard Québécois* and especially *international French*. In that regard I would tend to endorse Von Flotow’s statement that vernacular Québécois

... establish[es] and maintain[s] community, a sense of belonging, a certain clanishness in a hostile world ... one speaks the local version of French in order to belong to the community, and to express one’s sense of belonging to include some—and exclude

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<sup>171</sup> This is further strengthened by the fact that Fred Flintstone often breaks the fourth wall by directly addressing the audience when he wants to share his feelings towards a specific situation he finds himself in.

others .... the fact of using it expresses and affirms solidarity, closeness, togetherness...  
(41-2)

However, this assessment could be pushed further. The sense of community turns into a rhizomatic community, a community combining heterogeneous elements: different characters, accents, varieties and social classes. *Joual* is no longer an idiom of social exclusion but rather is now a community language.

Even characters belonging to higher social classes or those who do not speak *joual* are part of this continuum between the different levels of French. For the most part these wealthy characters do not speak *international French* (a.k.a. a neutral French) because they are part of the TV series folklore. There is not a single season without the characters ending up in a hospital or at least visiting a doctor: they become familiar to the audience and the Bedrock's population. *Standard Québécois* is not necessarily related to class as some of the characters switch to *joual* when they are seen as a part of the plot. Their speech presents a correct morphosyntax and features a *Québécois* accent but most of them slip back into *joual*. Doctor Frankenstein starts using popular expressions when talking to his wife and even swears (see table 18), the scout leader switches to *joual* when he gets scared and Gilles Martelin immediately switches registers when Fred tells him he can stay at his place and calls him "*mon ami*" (my friend). His whole appearance changes as the visuals embody such a transformation in the character: both visual and verbal dimensions work together in order to convey a significant shift within the character. The same process applies to Stoney Curtis' character, who is a classical Hollywood heartthrob with blue eyes and blond hair, a physique that clashes with that of Bedrock's inhabitants'. Stoney Curtis is featured

throughout the episode and when he apologizes to Fred towards the end of the episode he switches to *joual* in terms of pronunciation and lexis—“*magane*”—in order to express emotions. He reveals that he used to be part of the working-class of Bedrock, which points to the affective load in the exchange. He becomes friends with Fred and hence part of Bedrock’s larger circle. Dagmar, an apparently sophisticated woman smoking cigarettes with a *quellazaire*, speaks *standard Québécois* but betrays her true identity—a con artist—when she says “*un ben gros job*”. The same holds true for Wilma’s rich friends who are unbearably haughty but appear visibly bored at their own pompous party. Their demeanour and physical appearance, along with their language, change as they switch registers when following Betty and Wilma’s to a firefighter’s ball (see Appendix M), which makes them instantly likable: they join *The Flintstones’* community. Even foreign characters such as Gina Lollobrickida and Profesor Rockimoto use Québécois lexis unlike Alin Brickrock. While it could point to their social class—Rockimoto is a karate instructor and Gina is a maid while Alvin Brickrock is wealthy—it seems more likely that once again this relaxed use of language refers to their belonging to the community. Not only did Alvin Brickrock recently move to Bedrock and has hence had little exposure to the Bedrock community and its speech but it is also implied that he killed his wife when he swiftly moves out of town, mere days after moving in. As for professor Freudstone, he only has a few minutes of airtime unlike Rockimoto and Lollobrickida who both are featured prominently in their respective episodes. Moreover, both Rockimoto and Gina have lived in Bedrock for possibly a long

time, which explains their Québécois lexis. This becomes even more relevant for Apu in *The Simpsons*; the latter is an important recurring character who not only befriends the Simpsons family over the years but, in his quality of cornerstore employee, he interacts daily with his customers from Springfield most of whom speak popular Québécois. They are all part of the Bedrock and Springfield communities.

Besides positive feelings, switching to *joual* can also convey negative emotions while being a source of laughter such as is the case with the French waiter in *The Flintstones*. His overall demeanour matches a convoluted or affected accent in the QV. As soon as Fred tells him he cannot afford the meal, the waiter immediately switches to *joual* and uses popular terms and expressions to the dismay of a puzzled Wilma who asks him “*où est passé votre accent?*”. The same observation can be made for Jacquot, the child actor, who speaks *international French*. As soon as he is done shooting, he switches to *joual* when talking to the director and staff. When using *joual*, Jacquot shows his true face: a spoiled child star who is condescending to his entourage. Jacquot stands for the two-facedness of the entertainment industry since whenever he is on set, he puts on the mask of a good son who cares for his dog Sassie, speaking a more polished French. As a result, of these various switches, emotions can only be translated through *joual* unlike *international French* or any other variety of the French language.

Most of the characters are socially layered individuals and have a linguistic repertoire available to them in order to adapt to the situations and

convey their identity differently. When in their official jobs, putting on a cool and detached façade, they speak a more formal and higher register of *standard Québécois*, which would mirror Bigot's conclusion that "standard Québécois is the language register the elite resorts to in formal situations" (319). However, as soon as the characters become familiar when they interact with somebody emotionally close to them or when they want to convey their inner feelings they switch to a more popular register.

If Bedrock's citizens easily navigate between different classes and registers, Fred is its most hybrid inhabitant. At times Fred is referred to as a "bronto-crane operator" and other times as an engineer, which is emblematic of this 'navigation' between different social classes. Fred Flintstone is a hybrid character who parodies 'precious' language and foreign accents—from Spanish to Italian including Japanese. He can take on different accents and identities in the series and parodies the bourgeois gentleman or the Italian Casanova. As Bakhtin states, "parody is an international hybrid" (76) in which "... two languages are crossed with each other, as well as two styles, two linguistic points of view, and in the final analysis two speaking subjects" (76). Not only does Fred hybridize languages on multiple occasions in the original version but he also adopts a bourgeois diction in order to appear more refined.<sup>172</sup> The Québécois version adds another layer with Fred switching from *joual* to the *standard French* variety and even a bourgeois Parisian accent. On at least three occasions, Fred resorts to a polished variety of French. After being knocked out, Fred changes personality and

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<sup>172</sup> The QV even adds more Italian words to Fred's vocabulary range in comparison with the OV. See Appendix N for examples.

becomes a refined and caring husband to a delighted Wilma. As he wakes up, his speech features characteristics of the standard variety, devoid of any *joual* features and he also uses the formal “vous” instead of the “tu” when addressing his best friend Barney, which reinforces a certain sophistication as well as detachment from the community of Bedrock. The visuals (see Appendix J) match Fred’s personality switch. However, Fred increasingly antagonizes his friends, his community and Wilma herself who comes to realize that she fell in love with the personality of the original Fred. They finally decide to knock him out in order to return him to normalcy.

In S05E06, Fred willingly chooses to transform into an upper-class gentleman in order to attend a ball thrown by rich acquaintances. In this episode, Fred proves he is able to speak the *sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie* and manages to change his physical appearance once again. When speaking Fred performs apical [ʁ] and resorts to affected vocabulary (*mon cher*). However, in the process of becoming a gentleman, Fred does not condone the bourgeois attitude and instead clearly mocks them when assuming the new identity of Mr “bleblebleble”, an indistinct name pronounced with his hand on his mouth. Eventually, Fred decides to give up the act to enjoy the rest of the evening as his old self.

On other occasions, Fred speaks a mixture of Italian and French, or Spanish and French (see Appendix N). When speaking Italian, the Québécois Fred even corrects the mistakes done in the original version (*bellissima* instead of *bellissimo* when referring to Betty) and opts for common Italian expressions (*la*

*dolce vita* instead of *funiculi, funicula*). In that episode Fred also hybridizes pseudo-Italian with a higher variety of French going as far as using the past simple tense “*fut*”. However, Fred becomes once again wary of putting on a charming and sophisticated façade and decides to embrace his true persona. Fred, along with other characters in the series, is able to speak other varieties of the same language but willingly embraces *joual* in order to assert its belonging to the friendly neighbourhood of Bedrock.

### **3.3 Vernacular as a Sense of Community for the Global Village in *The Simpsons***

The approach towards the use of *joual* in *The Simpsons* departs slightly from the one in *The Flintstones* in that most of the characters use a mixture of the high and low variety of French. According to Plourde: “for characters who speak French Québécois, outside the main family members circle, we mainly have characters with specific professions (a plumber) a technique (Chief Wiggum, Lenny) or who are illiterate (Krusty)” (2000a: 63).<sup>173</sup> What Plourde means is that *joual* symbolizes 1. a social class; 2. a certain level of intelligence/education or a combination of both. Plourde’s observations are partially applicable since *joual* is the language of the police, blue collar workers—Homer works in a nuclear plant, Marge’s sisters work at the post office, Apu works at a Kwik-E-Mart, Willie is the school’s groundskeeper and countless secondary characters with similar positions—or Krusty, a deeply flawed individual who chainsmokes and is illiterate. However, characters belonging to the upper classes, such as Hollywood

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<sup>173</sup> “pour les personnages qui parlent le français québécois, au-delà du noyau familial, nous avons surtout des personnages qui ont un métier (le plombier), une technique (Chief Wiggum, Lenny) ou encore qui sont analphabètes (Krusty).”

celebrities (see tables 16 and 17) also speak *joual* along with the Capitol city's inhabitants. Capitol city, as the name indicates, is the capital of Springfield's state and hence should be the upholder of the linguistic norm. According to Gadet, the capital upholds the norms that the rest of the country must implicitly follow (2003: 35). However, its inhabitants speak *joual* and not *standard French* or even *standard Québécois*. In Springfield, even the tenants of the "good language", the representants of education, speak *joual*, to the exception of Principal Skinner: Mrs. Hoover and Krappabel teach their class in popular Québécois despite their credentials. Schoolteachers would be expected to use *standard Québécois*, as posited by Ostiguy and Tousignant whose work is targeted to education officials and teachers (12-3).<sup>174</sup> *Joual* does not confine characters to a specific class or even a specific geographical border let alone a level of intelligence.

Indeed, Lisa might be speaking *joual* but she is highly intelligent and a gifted saxophone player passionate about arts and different good causes, while Springfield librarians speak *joual* despite their education. Both Apu and the Comic book guy respectively hold a PhD in computer sciences (S07E23: 15'40') and an M.A. in folklore and pop culture (S02E21: 14'47'). Finally, some characters in this category have also attended university: Sideshow Mel is an alumnus of Cornell University (S16E02) and Carl is an alumnus of the Springfield A&M University (*Simpsonwiki*). While they are all highly educated, they are also friends with the main characters and are part of the Springfield community.

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<sup>174</sup> The authors state: "Ce volume est aussi ... destiné aux actuels et futurs enseignants de français... Cette attention particulière se traduit par des propositions concrètes en regard de ce qui pourrait être enseigné" ("this volume is also ... targeted at current and future French language teachers... This particular focus is translated into concrete suggestions about what could be taught").



Fig.3. Willie as a sophisticated gentleman.

I would also like to focus on a linguistically complex character: Willie, the uneducated, prone to rage, school groundskeeper. In S17E12, in which he becomes a waiter at an upscale restaurant, both his appearance (see fig. 2) and speech undergo drastic changes. Not only is he able to sustain an intellectual conversation about Robert Lepage (11”14’) but he uses a high language register: “*ce s’rait pour moi un honneur que de dîner avec vous*” (13”45’) or “*mais alors je suis pris au dépourvu chère dame*” (16”10’). He is also taught proper etiquette and French by Lisa who speaks *joual* herself. Both Lisa and Willie can easily navigate between different varieties of French depending on the situation. They both willingly choose *joual* as their everyday language and Willie eventually goes back to his old job and dilapidated “rotten cabin” (19”24’) as he feels more at home there.



Fig.4. The 939 area code side of town.



Fig.5. The 636 area code side of town.

As stated earlier (3.1.2), Mr. Burns, Skinner, Dr. Hibbert and Reverend Lovejoy speak *standard Québécois* rather than *standard/international French* which, in *The Simpsons*, denotes a high level of education and/or a belonging to the upper class. We would assume that they are separate from the uneducated/stupid mass of Springfield and the assumption is tackled in S12E02, an episode that supports the “sense of community” thesis. In that episode, Springfield is divided into two area codes: 636, the old one, and 939, the new one. Homer accuses the East part of town, the rich side in the original version, of conveniently keeping the old area code pointing an accusing finger at a part of the crowd that is seemingly the higher social class of Springfield (see fig.4) while calling them “*bande de snobs*”. On the other side of town stand the Simpsons, Ned Flanders, Bumblebee man, Dr. Nick Riviera and Willie who all speak *joual*. Later on in the episode Kent Brockman talks about the other part of town: “... *au lieu de parler comme nous, de façon distinguée, ils utilisent des expressions populaires comme ‘ayoye’ et ‘viens ici une minute’*”<sup>175</sup> (11”45’). The “us” Brockman refers to are mainly rich characters or the tenants of the proper way of speaking, a.k.a *standard Québécois*, such as himself, mayor Quimby, the unknown bourgeois lady, Skinner, Dr. Hibbert, professor Frink and Mr. Burns. However, that part of town also includes the “illiterate” (Plourde 2000a: 63), yet wealthy, Krusty the clown, blue-collar but educated Apu, educated but *joual*-speaking Sideshow Mel, *joual*-speaking teachers Mrs Hoover and Krappabel, *joual*-speaking and uneducated police officer Chief Wiggum. This mismatched

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<sup>175</sup> “Instead of talking like us in a refined manner, they use popular expressions such as “ayoye” and “come here a minute’.”

assembly disperses Brokman's claim of their being the tenants of "distinguished" language. Finally, the situation quickly returns to normal when both sides discover their common passion for *The Who* performing in their town. The wall separating both sides of town is destroyed during the concert, pointing again at the sense of community in Québécois Springfield.

This is further substantiated by the fact that characters speaking *standard Québécois* also resort to joul. While Burns' morphosyntax is correct, he often uses expressions belonging to vernacular *Québécois* such as "roi des morons" (S21E05: 3"05'), "me revoilà sur le piton" (S02E22: 7"38'), "asteur" (S21E03: 13"36') and the anglicism "popsicle" (S17E03: 4"03'). On one occasion, when angry at Smithers for not having the up-to-date file on the Simpsons' family card, he resorts to a complete vernacular structure "ben qu'est-ce [kese] qu'vous attendez?" (S02E05: 3"28'). The use of *joul* in that specific instance is similar to the one found in *The Flintstones*: it is an affectiolect that can convey his emotions, in this specific case, his annoyance. The same observation holds true for Skinner in S09E02, a pivotal episode for the character's development. In this episode, it is revealed that Skinner's real name is Armin Tasmarian and that he stole the real Skinner's identity during the Vietnam War as the real Skinner was presumed dead. About to announce Skinner's death to his mother, Agnes Skinner, Armin finds himself unable to break the terrible news to her and introduces himself as her son. Years later, in this episode, the real Skinner makes his appearance to the dismay of Armin who is promptly laid off. The viewer learns about Skinner/Armin's past as an orphan in Capitol city and his teenage life as a

low-life punk biker committing petty theft. As he is leaving the city with his old bike, Skinner/Armin shouts in *joual* “*allez vous faire voir bande de p’tits mox*” (19”20’) to Bart and his friends. His speech also switches to vernacular when drunk and depressed: “*tsé*” (4”45’), “*Edna m’a picassé*” (5”28’) and “*à vous-autres*” (5”40’). Dr. Hibbert who barely has any accent switches to *joual* in order to express emotions. Hibbert sees Marge sporting a t-shirt he wants (S15E02) and bluntly asks her to give it to him. When she refuses despite his promise of a free cancer treatment, he insists by saying “*Envoyez donc!*” (1”43’), which is a *joual* expression. Even characters from the international category resort to occasional Québécois lexis such as professor Frink with “*c’est tellement ennuyeux et achalant*” (S15E01: 7”15’).

The most telling character of this ‘navigation’ is Sideshow Bob who speaks *international French* and acts as a counterpart to Krusty’s unrefined language: “he does not use the same vocabulary as Krusty ... ready to teach *savoir-vivre* to children...” (Plourde 2000a: 119). The character is the flag-carrier of “the *bon parler français*” as opposed to *joual* (120). In one episode though, S01E12, when Homer steps on his foot, Sideshow Bob exclaims “*Ayoye mon pied, espèce de moron de twit de p’tit imbécile toé!*” (120). Plourde interprets it as a betrayal of Sideshow Bob’s true identity: that of a criminal who framed Krusty for a crime he did not commit. Plourde also sees it as a betrayal to “the *bon parler français*” since in that instance he is “identified with the Québécois side, implying that his intelligence and civilized character were just an illusion” (120). However, this should be slightly nuanced as Sideshow Bob appears several

times over the course of the series and always expresses himself in *international French*. Moreover, the use of *joual* in that specific instance does not point at his lack of intelligence considering he is a graduate from Yale University (S06E05) and has a passion for opera (S17E08). We could contend that instead his temper tantrum only points to the affective load in that scene. Once again, *international French* is inadequate for conveying such intense negative emotions. Sideshow Bob, while speaking *international French*, also occasionally uses the popular expression: “*le réalisateur est un colon*” (S20E15: 15”45”).

Consequently, all *The Simpsons*’ characters have a widely mixed repertoire and even the most educated ones resort to specific Québécois morphosyntax and lexis to express different emotions. The existence of this repertoire is embodied by the peripheral character of Bumblebee man, the star of a Latin American comedy show the Simpsons usually watch. Dressed as a bee, even outside the studio, the TV series features him in awkward situations based on slapstick humour. While he strictly speaks pseudo-Spanish (see table 24), in S05E12, after first appearing in his regular character screaming “*¡No me gusta!*” he interrupts himself and talks to the director in *joual* “*j’m’excuse [lax u] mais ça m’inquiète un peu Etienne...c’est que...c’est toujours la même [maem] chose*” (6”50”). We would assume then that his ‘true’ French variety to be *joual*, however, this is contradicted again when he substitutes for Kent Brockman and announces that “*un énorme raz de marée à Kuala Lumpur a tué 120 personnes ce matin-même*” (9”01’) in a voice clearly emulating Kent Brockman’s *standard Québécois*. In this episode, Bumblebee man comes to encompass the different

varieties of French from *accented French* to *standard Québécois* and *joual*. While Bumblebee man is a native Spanish-speaker in the original version, he is neither a native Spanish speaker, nor a *joual* nor a standard French speaker in the Québécois version of *The Simpsons*. This episode blurs any possible linguistic identification. What comes out of the QV for both TV shows is that characters "... claim the use of [their] own language, [their] own norm, [their] own models and [they] reject the international French as the only model" (Martel and Cajolet-Laganière 1996: 17).<sup>176</sup>

The Québécois version stresses the interconnections of the different varieties of French besides emphasizing the discrepancy between the verbal and the non-verbal dimension and featuring *joual*, *standard Québécois*, *international French*, *the sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie* and *accented French*. The language becomes a political statement as well as an advocacy for the geographical and social 'mobility' of its characters, which goes against Plourde's assessment and instead goes in Von Flotow's direction. More importantly, the QV becomes a rhizomatic entity discarding hierarchies and placing the bastardized *joual* at the core of the Québécois identity. Characters navigate within a rhizome that ultimately frees them from social classes. "In that sense we could talk about a universality coming from the lower classes"<sup>177</sup> (Rao 123), a universality coming from the margins: *joual*, a marginalized language, becomes one of the many

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<sup>176</sup> "...[ils] revendiquent le droit d'avoir [leur] propre langue, [leur] propre norme, [leurs] propres modèles et [ils] [rejetent] le français international comme seul modèle."

<sup>177</sup> "à cet 'egard on pourrait parler d'universalité 'par le bas'."

varieties of the French spoken in Québec. The QV becomes a visible translation through the use of *joual* as the idiom of most characters. In choosing *joual* as the norm for the dubbing, the Québécois adaptation becomes a political statement about language policies. This is reinforced through the play with the visual dimension of both TV shows in which the QV emphasizes discrepancies to become a visible translation. In becoming visible, the translation becomes political (see Chapter 4).

#### Chapter 4. The Different Dimensions<sup>178</sup> in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*: Third Space

The cohesion of polysemiotic texts relies on multiple codes and semiotic channels (Chaume 2004b: 15). In its interplay with the visual dimension, the verbal one undergoes several mutations in the contact zones of dubbing. In order to compensate for lack of idiomaticity the French dubbing actors of *The Flintstones* play with their voice. *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* are rich “polysemiotic” (Gottlieb 2005:15) texts whose complex humor relies on intertextuality, situation comedy as well as anachronisms for *TF* targeted at both children and adults.<sup>179</sup> As a dubbed product, the audiovisual text combines the American non-verbal dimension and the French/Québécois verbal one. The dubbing process represents a “multidimensional translation” (Gottlieb 2005; Geryzmisch-Arbogast 2005), which lies in the interdependence of different semiotic signals that must be reckoned with in the development of theories adapted to new translational phenomena. The multidimensional quality of the work complicates the task of the translator since the verbal channel can be translated by the non-verbal and vice-versa.<sup>180</sup>

The nature of the dubbed show questions the common conception of dubbing as a homogenizing process and homogeneous product. On the contrary, as a consequence of its make-up, various “contact zones” (Pratt 1991: 34) emerge

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<sup>178</sup> Namely, the verbal and non-verbal dimensions.

<sup>179</sup> It aired in prime-time and was watched by the entire family (Stabile and Harrison 9) a time slot generally allotted to sitcom comedies and live-action show

<sup>180</sup> Geryzmisch-Arbogast provides an exhaustive list of the different possible transfers in “Introducing Multidimensional Translation.” *MuTra 2005-Challenges of Multidimensional Translation: Conference Proceedings* (2005)

from the dubbing process, a term defined by Pratt in *Arts of the Contact Zone* as “... social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power...” (Pratt 1991: 34). Through translation, perceived as a site of power struggle, interconnections occur between the Québécois/French voices and the American visuals. They give birth to “discrepancies” (Appadurai 47) and “disjunctures” (47) granting an absurd quality to the Québécois version in *The Flintstones* and displaying significant creativity in *The Simpsons*. The dubbed product reinscribes the characters’ identity within a new framework that is in sharp contrast with the “domesticating” (Venuti 1995: 20) tendency the French version adopts towards the visual “remainder” (Venuti 1998: 186)—the visuals of the original version.

In section 4.1 I will study the play on voice quality and to what extent the French version generates a cartoonish fantasyland. In section 4.2, I will move on to the nonverbal visual with the study of signs and body language. I will determine to what extent the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* grants an absurd quality while the FV acts as the voice of reason in *TF* and subordinates the visual to the verbal in *The Simpsons*. I consider the different dimensions of both versions as a product of the Third Space, and analyze to what extent they clash and converge in order to confer a distinctive flavour to the dubbed show: a sense of absurdity to the QV and a ‘tamed’ flavour to the FV. The analysis will be conducted with the use of tables featuring the salient aspects of the three versions.

## **4.1 Voice Quality**

### **4.1.1 A Theoretical Background**

For Gadet “standard French is characterized by a flat and monotonous intonation: the accent is always placed on the last syllable of a breath-group and the even rhythm features syllables of the same length” (Gadet 1992: 30).<sup>181</sup> Baños-Pinero evokes the “use of intonation as a cohesive marker” (4) in his list of phonetic and prosodic levels for *dubbese*. This could be equated to voice quality (Armstrong 2004: 104) in the French version of both TV shows, which creates a cohesive whole by conjuring a symphony of cartoonish voices.<sup>182</sup> The FV shows a clear tendency at compensating the levelling of its language (see chapter 2) with a play on voice quality. The way voices are dubbed, and their synchronization with the characters’ movements and gestures, provides the audience with various clues about aspects such as the age of the characters, the role they play and especially certain nuances that the director wants to convey and maintain in the dubbed versions. Voice quality can then be considered as a sub-category of paralanguage. Zabalbeascoa (1997) evokes the lack of studies, and hence the dire need for systematic criteria for the study of paralanguage understood as:

...the nonverbal voice qualities, voice modifiers and independent utterances produced or conditioned in the areas covered by the supraglottal cavities (from the lips and the nares to the pharynx), the laryngeal cavity and the infraglottal cavities (lungs and esophagus), down to the abdominal muscles, as well as the intervening momentary silences, which we use consciously or unconsciously supporting or contradicting the verbal, kinesic, chemical, dermal and thermal or proxemic messages, either simultaneously or alternating with them, in both interaction and noninteraction. (Poyatos 1993: 6)

Based on this description, paralanguage is not precisely language itself, which is the reason why it is studied as part of the nonverbal dimension. It falls into the

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<sup>181</sup> “le français standard est caractérisé par une intonation plate et monotone, une accentuation frappant la dernière syllabe du groupe de souffle, et un rythme régulier mettant en jeu des syllabe de longueur comparable.”

<sup>182</sup> What is meant by “cartoonish” voices is exaggerated voice characteristics. The term is suggestive and will be explained in this section.

non-verbal audio channel unlike dialogues belonging to the verbal audio channel. Paralanguage such as onomatopoeias and intonations, often work concomitantly with kinesics or, in other words, the nonverbal visual channel. Instead of strictly studying words per se, paralanguage requires the study of ‘how’ these sounds are uttered and the information they carry, which can clash with the actual words that are heard. For instance, in *The Flintstones* (S02E07: 4”30’) Fred tells Barney “*Oh<sup>3</sup> mais<sup>2</sup> oui<sup>3</sup> tu as<sup>1</sup> raison<sup>3</sup>!*”<sup>183</sup> Based on the intonation pattern, Fred’s reply can be taken as a sarcastic comment signifying he does not agree with Barney. This is further substantiated with Fred’s facial expression of disdain.

My goal here is not to provide an extensive study of all the features that make up paralanguage as this would go far beyond the scope of this chapter. While the taxonomy for paralanguage is intuitive and dependent on the researcher’s perception, which can be an arguable caveat, it can also accommodate scientific study with a focus on specific qualities of the voice. And while the nature of paralanguage does not allow for an easy analysis as it can be “an intuitive one for non-linguists...” (Armstrong 2004: 116), which may explain the lack of research in the field, it still needs to be delineated. I will rely on a simplified taxonomy found in Poyatos’ *Paralanguage: A Linguistic and Interdisciplinary Approach to Interactive Speech and Sound* (1993) for the sake of clarity, and focus on the most salient features in both TV shows in order to determine to what extent voice quality is crucial to the identity of the dubbed cartoons. More specifically, I will study how paralanguage contributes to the

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<sup>183</sup> Numbers indicate the stressed syllables or intonation, 1 being the highest and 3 the lowest. Adapted from Poyatos (1997: 181).

creation of a cohesive cartoonish fantasyland in the French version of *The Flintstones* and alters the characterization of the main cast in the French version of *The Simpsons*. While paralinguage plays an important part in the characterization of the cast in *TF*, it becomes crucial in *TS* where we see a clear emphasis on voice quality in both Québécois and French version, tending to stereotype the characters, especially in *TS*. I will study the most important characters of both TV shows as well as some secondary ones focusing on primary qualities of speech (Poyatos 1993: 7) and will determine to what extent the play on voice quality in the French version compensates for its lack of orality in *The Flintstones* and becomes a companion to the concrete and more authentic language in *The Simpsons* (see chapter 2). These primary qualities of the voice are “tempo, pitch (including pitch level, range, registers and intervals), intonation range, syllabic duration, and rhythm” (175).

First, basic definitions are in order to grasp the different characteristics of paralinguage. Poyatos defines **1. Timbre** as “... the organically-determined permanent voice register or pitch that ...sets an individual apart from the others” (177) using a scale of “very low—low—medium-high—very high” (176). Timbre is what allows us to discriminate between sounds with the same pitch. This innate quality of an individual voice will differentiate it from other voices. Another quality is **2. Resonance**, “... a long-term individuating voice feature, it can be pharyngeal, oral or nasal, as it depends on where the vibrations from the vocal bands find their greatest resonator according to the size and shape of the pharyngeal cavity, oral cavity or nasal cavity. We speak, in general, with either

oral or nasal dominant resonance...” (178) “with three resonance scales: thin—oral—very oral (orotund, resonant), oral—pharyngeal—very pharyngeal (throaty), and oral—nasal—very nasal” (178). Follows **3. Tempo** as “...the relative speed or slowness in the sequential delivery of words, sentences and the whole of a person’s speech, including, of course, paralinguistic alternants and pauses and silent breaks. It can be recognized immediately as part of a person’s basic style and voice set ... it can be sudden (*accelerando*) or gradual (*rallentando*)” (182) with “a five-degree scale: very slow (*lentissimo*)—slow (*lento*)—medium—fast (*allegro*)—very fast (*allegro*)” (183). **4. Pitch** defined as “... the acuteness (highness) or gravity (lowness) of tone caused by the faster or slower frequency of vocal band vibrations” (184) and “... attached ... to all segmental and nonsegmental paralinguistic features other than primary qualities (e.g., creaky voice with low or high pitch, high or low-pitched laughter, high- or low-pitched moaning, throat-clearing, hissing ...), and correlates with facial and other bodily expressions” (184). Pitch is the most versatile feature of voice and depends on level (high, low), range, register and intervals. **5. Intonation** ranges as “within the speaker’s permanent (or at least habitual) voice set, as ‘intonation range’, that is, between melodious and monotonous, based on the overall impression of that combination of pitches, stresses and junctures” (189). **6. Syllabic duration** “Besides the speech characteristics that depend mainly on pitch and volume we consciously or unconsciously control the speed or tempo of each of the syllables that make up our speech...” (192). Finally, the sum of all: **7. Rhythm** as “the combination of different patterns of pitches, loudness,

syllabic duration and speech tempo produce as we speak variations in the rhythm of that verbal-nonverbal flow (apart, that is, from the norm of any given language), ‘as when a sentence is spoken with a more marked metrical beat than normal to suggest irritation’” (Crystal 1975:172 qtd. in Poyatos 194) with “four-point scale: very smooth—smooth—jerky—very jerky” (195).

#### **4.1.2 *The Flintstones* in the Québécois and French Versions: Political Imaginary and Cartoonish Fantasyland**

The Québécois version of *The Flintstones* does not display a significant play on voice quality—be it pitch, prosody or tempo. The dubbing cast offers instead a realistic rendition of spoken Québécois, which is coherent with the oral feel of the translation/dubbing process as discussed in Chapter 3. Even dinosaurs used as commodities are dubbed in a personified manner with no vocal play. This ‘realistic’ feel is enhanced by the main cast (see Appendix A): it is more diversified than the original version’s. This reinforces the viewing contract between the viewer and the show as he/she will not hear two characters with the same voice.

Conversely, the French version of *The Flintstones* seems to compensate for its lack of idiomatic language, as observed on multiple occasions in Chapter 2, with a play on voice quality. Most of the main cast also voices secondary characters, especially Carel, considered a dubbing legend in France.<sup>184</sup> Famous for his recognizable timbre and his ability to alter almost all the primary qualities

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<sup>184</sup> For more information on Roger Carel’s career and contribution to the dubbing industry, visit <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wK8PcyWBAM0> a video posted by Allodoublage TV.

of his voice<sup>185</sup>, Carel has been the voice of Winnie the Pooh, the Cheshire cat and Astérix, among many other cartoon characters. In *The Flintstones*, not only does Carel dub Fred Flintstone but he is also the voice of countless secondary characters in every episode, from the Grand Poobah, for whom he uses a *provençal* accent as seen in chapter 2, to dinosaurs used as commodities. He also voices several foreign characters, such as the German doctor in S05E02, for whom he emphasizes the most salient features of the accent (see Chapter 2). Prosody or tempo (182), a component of voice quality, are part of the characterization of the characters, especially in cartoons. Carel's malleable voice correlates with the physical appearance of every character he is voicing. His voice has a distinct oral resonance and he tends to lengthen vowels and words in general when Fred is composed and knowledgeable. With Fred Flintstone, Carel's pitch is low as Fred is slightly overweight and he lends him what I would refer to as a debonair quality. This stems from the singsong tempo of this voice, especially when in a good mood and when expressing his feelings to his wife Wilma. However, his voice can reach a higher pitch and a staccato rhythm that is far from the flat and monotonous standard French rhythm (Gadet 1992: 30). Carel plays on pitch as well depending on the facial expression of the character such as when he is stubborn: “Hors<sup>3</sup> de<sup>2</sup> question<sup>2</sup>, les<sup>1</sup> prom<sup>1</sup> nades<sup>1</sup> en<sup>1</sup> landeaux<sup>1</sup> c'est<sup>1</sup> un<sup>2</sup> truc<sup>1</sup> de<sup>1</sup> femmes<sup>1</sup>” (S04E13: 2’30’). The emphasis on the first word “*hors*” and the subsequent “*de question*” and “*un*” combined with syllabic duration<sup>186</sup> and a staccato rhythm conveys a feeling of slight frustration. Conversely, when Fred is

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<sup>185</sup> According to Poytaos timbre is impossible to completely alter (1997: 178).

<sup>186</sup> The underscore signifies a syllabic duration.

excited such as in “*les pa/pas<sup>1</sup> anonymes que<sup>1</sup> bonheur<sup>3</sup> pour<sup>1</sup> nous-<sup>1</sup>autres<sup>1</sup> travailleurs<sup>1</sup> forcenés<sup>1</sup>*” (S04E13: 10”30’), the prosody features a marked tempo with the distinct detachment of “pa/pas”, the intonation on the exclamation “*quel*” combined with a facial expression of contentment.

Carel’s play on voice quality changes the perception of Fred Flintstone in the French version. In both the original and Québécois versions, Fred is foul-tempered; hence his pronunciation tends to be less clear and his vocabulary cruder. Whereas in the FV, the voicing makes him appear less ‘rough around the edges’ and shrewder or even good-natured.



Fig.6. Barney’s boss.

Carel also plays on the visual appearance of a specific character in order to enforce the viewer’s opinion based on the visual perception. Mr. Granite (S01E07, fig.6) is Barney’s tyrannical boss who lays him off for being two minutes late while berating him. In neither the original and Québécois versions, does his voicing present significant voice quality whereas in the French version his gravelly or raspy voice and his high pitch match his unpleasant physical appearance. Carel also brings some colour to the dubbing through the portrayal of the dim robber (S02E07) whom he voices with a distinct stutter, unlike the original and Québécois versions. Through his work on the voice, Carel enforces the stupidity and meekness of the robber who blindly obeys his boss as he is unable to come up with a good robbery plan. Finally, when voicing dinosaurs

used as commodities he also gives their voices a distinct quality, ranging from nasal to high-pitched in order to correlate their physical appearance.

G rard Hernandez, another cartoon dubbing legend, voices Barney Laroche along with secondary characters such as Elmo Cromagnon (S04E13: 15"10'): "*tiens mais c'est ce gros balourd de Fred qui est encore de corv e d'bois*". For Elmo, Hernandez relies on pharyngeal resonance and syllabic duration on "*tiens*" and "*encore*" while for Barney, Hernandez voices him with a mid-range pitch and a slightly nasal resonance which portrays him as meeker than Fred and, possibly, less sharp: "*Salut Fred! J'ai eu droit au grand jeu. Tu sais, le tendre accueil, le diner succulent, la grande nouvelle pour la garde du b b  alors j'ai explos . On a discut , j'ai eu mauvais conscience et me voici mon vieux*" (S05E13: 10"01'). The rhythm is smooth while the tempo is slow. When voicing Boulder (S01E04) Hernandez plays heavily on a twangy voice quality and a jerky rhythm in order to match his lifestyle as a dynamic businessman: "*Bon^/jour^2 mon^2/cher^2 Pierr^/afeu*" (7"32'). Finally, as the pelican washing machine (S01E06: 3"51') Hernandez voices the animal as if, in extremely impressionistic terms, his mouth were full; this is combined with a nasal quality fitting the visuals (see fig. 7) of the pelican's wide beak holding water and clothes.



Fig.7. Pelican washing machine



Fig.8. The vacuum cleaner.



Fig. 9. Dagmar.

Evelyne Grandjean voices Wilma without any significant play on voice quality, which could be pointing to the fact that she is considered the voice of reason as

opposed to Fred and his failed schemes at getting rich. Grandjean’s ability to modulate her voice is evidenced when it comes to dinosaurs used as commodities. She is the voice of a few dinosaurs such as the vacuum cleaner. The resonance is nasal and the pitch lower than Wilma’s voice since the dinosaur has a trunk: “elle ne pouvait pas, c’est vraiment une formation sur le tard” (S01E07: 6”50’).<sup>187</sup> She also plays a bird used as a horn (S01E07: 8”15’) (“vous parlez d’une vie”) with a high pitch once again matching the function of the horn. Finally, she lends her voice to Dagmar who is perceived as a *femme fatale* who seduces Fred and Barney into executing a con job. Her *femme fatale* status is emphasized by the FV who nicknames her “*Dagmar la blonde incendiaire*”, instead of Dagmar the peroxide kid in the OV, hence emphasizing her sex appeal. Her voice features a breathy quality and a low resonance fitting the visuals and her *femme fatale* nature: “Breathiness itself is associated, first of all, with uncontrollable nonverbal expression of sexual arousal, thus obscene telephone callers ... the stereotyped film sex symbols and anyone trying to seduce someone else display breathy voice” (Poyatos 1993: 207).



Fig. 10. The dishwasher.



Fig.11. The Prinstone student.



Fig. 12. Lispering student.

Finally, Laurence Crouzet voices Betty and lends her a high pitch combined with a melodious intonation, a young timbre and a tempo faster than the rest of the main cast. Her voice in the French version matches her physical appearance as she

<sup>187</sup> The underscore points to the nasalized syllables.

appears younger than the others and is an eternal optimist with an upbeat personality in spite of being a self-effaced individual. Crouzet also dubs most of the birds used as commodities such as the washing machine (S04E13: 2'08'): “Bon<sup>2</sup> sang<sup>1</sup>, dans<sup>1</sup> quelques<sup>1</sup> minutes<sup>1</sup> j’serai<sup>1</sup> complètement<sup>1</sup> lessivé<sup>2</sup>”. Her voice is creaky with a high pitch fitting the bird’s physiognomy. She also dubs the Prinstone sophomore student (S02E08: 9'11’) and adds a colourful lisp to his speech (“moi monsieur je suis un verre de sable monsieur” 9'10’).<sup>188</sup> The FV willingly makes fun of the character who, despite all of his brilliance, has a lisp which lessens his perception of self-entitlement perception and his superior air. It reinforces, instead, a negative portrayal as Fred’s foe in that episode when he belittles the main character, who is taking classes at Prinstone, by calling him a worm. As a consequence of these different choices, through the play on voice quality the French version of *The Flintstones* gives the impression of a more homogeneous cartoonish whole, a less real world with more colourful characters than in both the original and Québécois versions.

#### **4.1.3 *The Simpsons*: Cartoonish Symphony in the Québécois and French Versions**

*TS* features an extensive cast of characters, especially compared to *The Flintstones*. We would assume that this larger community of characters would ask for a more versatile voicing cast. However this is not the case as the main characters’ voice actors—Dan Castellaneta, Julie Kavner, Nancy Cartwright and

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<sup>188</sup> The underscore indicates the lisp.

Harry Shearer—provide voices for most secondary characters.<sup>189</sup> This could create a problem in the characters' identification especially when in the same scene—Harry Shearer voices both Mr. Burns and Smithers who are two characters constantly interacting. Cartoon voice actors can modulate their voices and stereotype the characters even more than with real-life actors especially in *The Simpsons* in which action and plot along with body gestures are often exaggerated.

While the original version of *The Flintstones* does not feature much play with voice quality, a different approach is adopted in *The Simpsons*. The original dubbing of *TS* features unique voices that are immediately recognizable by the audience and are considered iconic.<sup>190</sup> Although the majority of the characters are dubbed by the main cast (see Appendix A), each character has a distinct voice. These voices are a distinct part of the show's success and both the Québécois and French versions reproduce the same distinct play on voice. In terms of the cast, the FV adopts a similar approach to the OV. Despite the number of changes in voice actors it had to go through, the same French voice actors dub several characters, with the exception of Joelle Guigui.<sup>191</sup> The QV displays a more

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<sup>189</sup> Through the years *TS* has had many guest stars for the dubbing of famous cameos. Kim Basinger, William Shatner and even Michael Jackson either voiced themselves or a character largely inspired from their real life counterpart.

<sup>190</sup> We can think of Homer's "d'oh" or Bart's "ay caramba!" along with their unique voices.

<sup>191</sup> The FV has been plagued by the deaths of some its dubbing actors: both Michel Modo and Gérard Rinaldi died of cancer, the former in 2008 and the latter in 2012 and Patrick Guillemain succumbed to a heart attack in 2011. Martine Meiragh left after season 6 and Roland Timsit after season 4, while Joelle Guigui unexpectedly left the dubbing cast for season 20 and came back for season 22 before leaving definitely for season 23. Conversely, the QV has not known many changes. Both Marc Labrèche and Benoît Marleau left in 2007 and Jean -Louis Millette died in 1999. I will focus on the voice actors who provided their voices for the longest time.

diverse cast compared to the other two versions, which allows for a greater symphony of voices.

I will analyze the voicing of the most important characters and the ones who have, in impressionistic terms, a cartoonish voice in which salient features of primary voice qualifiers mentioned earlier are prominent. According to Armstrong, in the original version, Homer's

voice kept dropping 'down into the throat' and was preferable because in that way it could express both positive and negative emotion, and also because it sounded 'dopier'. In articulatory terms, Homer's voice quality often seems slightly 'pharyngeal', the 'dopey' effect is achieved by constricting the pharynx, the part of the throat cavity behind the back of the tongue. Pharyngeal voice tends to convey a comic effect in English (2004: 107).

Homer's voice typifies him as a stupid character prone to multiple accidents, unable to process his surroundings, which is proven countless times in the show. Homer's cluelessness is arguably one of the most important sources of humour in the show. In the QV, he is voiced by Hubert Gagnon with an equally pharyngeal resonance and an easily malleable medium pitch that can tap into a high pitch level when afraid—Homer's famous scream "Haaaa!"<sup>192</sup>—or a lower pitch when threatening Bart for instance. The tempo is usually slow which holds negative connotation according to Armstrong. The voice quality in the Québécois version portrays him as a lazy and stupid character verging on stereotype. The French version ups it one notch and accentuates Homer's low intelligence throughout the seasons, which is on a par with his variety of language (see Chapter 2). Visually speaking, Homer's baldness and weight inevitably make him look older. Consequently, Phillipe Peythieu voices him differently in the first three seasons. Peythieu explains: "Fox gave the wrong information to the French

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<sup>192</sup> See Appendix P.

production company: since Homer was bald we gave him a very old voice, close to someone in his 60s!”<sup>193</sup> (*propagationduchaos.net*) or again “at the beginning, I lent him some of De Gaulle’s voice characteristics ‘I have understood you!!!’ Homer looked more like grandpa Abraham, it was the voices I heard when I was a child in the 1960s ... so after that he had a higher pitch and then we went completely crazy”<sup>194</sup> (*propagationduchaos.net*). French Homer’s early voice features a pharyngeal quality while in later seasons the voice is higher pitched and distinctively more oral but with a heightened choppy rhythm—“vous /pou/rriez j’ter /un coup d’oeil à /une/ gros/seur /sur/ mon/ dos/?” S20E09)—and a slow tempo verging on psychological retardation.

As for Marge, Julie Kavner, who already has a “honeyed gravel voice” (NY times) due to a “bump on vocal cords” (Haun n.pag.), plays on a “hoarse voice quality ... perhaps designed to convey the extent to which Marge is tired and harassed by her lynchpin role in staving off the disasters that frequently threaten the family” (Armstrong 2004: 106). This could alternatively be interpreted as second-hand smoking since Marge’s sisters and mother chain-smoke cigarettes and have no qualms about blowing the smoke in other people’s faces. Both the Québécois and French versions reproduce the hoarse quality of Marge’s voice by adding a throatal “r” and insisting on syllabic duration: “*ma [r]chouette*” (QV S03E01: 5’45’).

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<sup>193</sup> “la prod française a eu de mauvais éléments de la part de la Fox: comme le personnage de Homer était chauve, on lui a donné une voix très vieille, une voix de 60 ans!”

<sup>194</sup> “au début j’avais des accents un peu Gaulliens ‘Je vous ai compris!!!’: Homer ressemblait plus au grand-père Abraham, c’était les voix que j’avais écoutées dans mon enfance dans les années 60 ... donc après il a pris un peu plus d’aigu et puis ça a déliré complètement.”

Quite surprisingly, Bart is voiced by a woman in all three versions. In the original version, Nancy Cartwright has to dub not only a male character but also a child, which is a double challenge. In order, to match Bart's physical appearance she voices him with a nasal resonance and a medium-high pitch. This technique portrays him as young and carefree. In the Québécois version, Johanne Léveillé also reproduces the nasal resonance but with a slightly higher pitch than the original version while the French version remains closer to the original version. Lisa is voiced by Yeardley Smith with a very high-pitch and an oral resonance hence fitting the appearance of a little girl. Lisette Dufour has a more nasal quality and an equally high-pitch to fit her age. The FV has a similar portrayal but with what I would call a more crystalline or poised, melodious voice in the FV, once again on a par with her high lexis and morphosyntax, conveying her intelligence.

In the original version, Dan Castellaneta voices Krusty with a raspy voice and a medium/high pitch translating his smoking habit and unhealthy lifestyle comprised of drug abuse and gambling. Despite being a clown, Krusty is a rough individual who despises children and does his job in a most dispassionate manner. In the French version, his voice is closer to Homer's in that it is pharyngeal and higher-pitched but not raspy and "guttural, heavy, with a slower tempo than the original"<sup>195</sup> and a low pitch (Plourde 2000a: 57). In the Québécois version, his voice is also higher-pitched, but what I would call 'clownish' as well as displaying a raspy quality similar to the original version. Abraham/Abe Simpson's voice is very distinct since Castellaneta lends him a "wheezy and airy"

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<sup>195</sup> "grasseyante, lourde, au débit légèrement plus lent que dans l'original, et le ton est bas."

quality (DVD commentary S05E14) due to his unknown yet great age, which is transferred to both QV and FV although the latter also lends him a quivering or frail quality. His voice quality in the FV is a source of humour since it portrays him as a frail old man while he has survived WWII and is still more than capable of travelling around the world and performing activities that would arguably be deemed impossible at his age—skateboarding, flying a plane, etc.

One of the most distinct voices in the show is Mr. Burns'. Harry Shearer lends him "characteristics of UK English accent and the anglicized, upper-class US New England accent. This is a long US tradition that gives villains an English or anglicized accent..." (Armstrong 2004: 104). However, Shearer also modeled his voice on Lionel Barrymore and Ronald Reagan's speech style (Marder n.pag.). This is also paired with a sense of frailty conveyed through the quivering quality of his voice as he is old. According to Armstrong (2004), they give him a *seizième* (104) upper-class accent in the French version although it could be argued that his voice is thinner than the original, more nasal and even a little gravelly with the play on "r" such as in "bonsoir". For the Québécois version, as we have seen earlier in chapter 2, Edgar Fruitier voices him with a *standard Québécois* accent.

Moe's voice in the original version has a medium to low resonance and a jerky rhythm, translating his disillusionment and his somewhat rougher side, which is reproduced by the Québécois version. In the French version he has a nasal resonance and raspy or rumbly quality emphasizing the rough life he has experienced but also his relative 'creepiness' that scares most potential love interests away. Conversely, Skinner has a medium to low pitch paired with a

throatal resonance in the OV. This is fitting since, as a smart and educated character, he is one of the voices of reason in the show. In the FV he has deep resonance and a melodious voice while in the QV, there is no significant play (see Chapter 2).

Otto, the bus driver and school dropout, has a throatal resonance, a slow delivery to enforce his wannabe cool attitude punctuated with popular expressions: “man”, “dude” and “relax man” (S02E01). In both the Québécois and French versions, Otto has a dopier voice with a more throatal quality than the original version. Nelson’s voice has a breathy quality and a deep pitch paired with a slow delivery portraying him at once both threatening—he is one of the school bullies—and slightly dumb in the French version while the Québécois version does not feature any play on voice quality. Conversely, in the FV, Ralph features a high-pitched voice verging on baby-like quality. This enforces his often nonsensical speech, dumbness and innocence combined, as he is oblivious to his surroundings, absentmindedly picks his nose and makes spontaneous, awkward and spot-on remarks when he notices something nobody else has. This is reproduced in the FV and, to a lesser extent, in the QV. Besides its raspy quality, Milhouse’s voice has a slightly high pitch and a jerky tempo in the OV. The QV alters his voice and Milhouse often dramatically drops the intonation at the end of sentences paired with a syllabic duration such as “*chez nous*” (S09E20: 4’31’), which could be an attempt at reproducing his Belgian origins, although the OV does not feature any accent. In the FV, his delivery is slow, with a medium range and throaty or even wheezy quality.

Finally, the French version adds more colour to the voice quality via secondary characters, especially when scientists are involved. For instance, in S02E08, Marge meets Joe Clark, the inventor of Truckausorus, a giant metal dinosaur that breathes flames, eats cars and is the star of a monster truck rally. When apologizing to Marge for destroying her car, he mumbles, snuffles and slurps his saliva. These characteristics portray him as “a geek” with a very nasal resonance and a medium pitch. The FV changes his characterization and stereotypes him by emphasizing the link between the visuals and the verbal: his appearance could be deemed “geeky” with his thick-rimmed nerd glasses and blouse.<sup>196</sup> The same approach is prevalent in S09E04 with Professor Frink (see Appendix P, fig.86), the town’s stereotypical scientist with his useless inventions and discoveries. In both the original and Québécois versions, he has a high-pitch nasal resonance while in the French version, the voice actor adds a lisp and his articulation is labored.

## **4.2 Who Cares about the Visuals? Translation is all about Words, isn’t it?**

### **4.2.1 Acknowledging the Importance of the Nonverbal through the Audio and Visual Channels in Translation**

Dubbing reminds us of the possibility that all translations have a semiotic dimension (Zabalbeascoa 1997: 339)

The non-verbal dimension is transmitted three ways:

- (a) showing only the non-verbal information item and allowing the audience to interpret or decode it according to their culture and world knowledge
- (b) showing the non-verbal information item and giving a verbal explanation of it or making reference to it through words hence changing sign-systems or

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<sup>196</sup> See appendix P.

(c) showing the non-verbal information item and flouting its semiotic meaning by means of a deceptive verbal explanation or a word play between image and words- the visual metaphor'.<sup>197</sup> (Chaume 1998: 20)

Based on Chaume's description, the interrelationship between verbal and non-verbal is of the utmost importance as one cannot be dissociated from the other. This meshing of visual and verbal can prove to be a challenge in the attempt to maintain a coherent whole since the information can be conflicting. Depending on where the essential information is for the understanding of the plot or the action, which is necessary for the "cohesion" (Tortoriello 62) ensuring 'readability', the translator, the dubbing actors and the director will face several challenges. "Coherence", which is more often than not dependent on the cohesive quality of the audiovisual text, is the main priority in translating an audiovisual text and has to be preserved at all costs according to Chaume (1997: 320). This component is essential to the audience in order for them to reconcile the visual meaning with the verbal channel. What Chaume is implying here is that the translation or the dubbing has to read, or in the case of dubbing, 'look' as if it is not a translation or a dubbed show.<sup>198</sup>

When looking at non-verbal elements in the text, Chaume contends that "... the process of transfer may require making some verbal information explicit by means of non-verbal communication (mainly in the translation of written texts). Or ... non-verbal information in the source text could sometimes be included in the verbal target subtext (mostly in audiovisual translation)" (1997: 317). The translator has three valid courses of action available to him/her in order to carry

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<sup>197</sup> Numbers in parenthesis are added for the sake of clarity.

<sup>198</sup> This in turn echoes the old "domestication versus foreignization" conundrum that Venuti coined.

out his/her task successfully: (1) if the non-verbal item belongs to the target culture's repertoire, and hence is straightforward, the translator can leave it as it is;<sup>199</sup> (2) if it does not exist he/she can provide additional information through the verbal channel or in other words through an explicitness method and finally, in the worst-case scenario, (3) if the sign does not exist in the target culture, hence conflicting with the target culture repertoire, and the verbal subtext in the original does not fit the target culture then the translator may provide a total substitution (325).

Through these different techniques, the presence of the nonverbal generates a multidimensional translation in both TV shows: "... a form of translation that transfers—with a specific purpose—a speaker or hearer's concern expressed in a sign system 1, formulated in a medium 1, via the same medium or a medium 2 or a combination of media into another sign or semiotic system 2" (Geryzmisch-Arbogast 5). The visuals often take precedence over the verbal dimension in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*, the latter often pairing it to a cultural reference such as is the case in S04E21 a clear reference to the assassination of president Kennedy (see Appendix P).

#### **4.2.2 Humour and Prevalence of the Nonverbal Dimension in *The Simpsons* and *The Flintstones***

A few words on the humour of both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* are essential since, for the former, humour relies mostly on the visuals and, for the latter, on its interplay with the verbal dimension. The humour of the shows stems

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<sup>199</sup> Chaume states that this is very common when the TV show is from a Western culture and is translated for another Western culture. In our case, from the USA to Québec and France, the visuals should theoretically be mainly cross-cultural.

from both verbal and non-verbal dimensions as well as polysemiotic puns. Dirk Delabatista gives a most insightful definition of wordplay:

The general name for the various *textual* phenomena in which *structural features* of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a *communicatively significant confrontation* of two (or) more linguistic structures with *more or less similar forms* and *more or less different meanings*. (128)

The humour in puns is produced by a connection between a play on both linguistic and semantic features. Delabatista distinguishes between puns that are homonymic—same sound and spelling but different meaning—, homophonic—same sound but different spelling—, homographic—different sound and spelling—and paronymic—different meaning and spelling. A pun often plays with a fixed part of a language such as idioms, which constitute so-called “untranslatability” for some translators. Moreover, by its very nature, wordplays are subversive because they undermine the assumptions about language as a fixed entity, and thus it can carry political undertones. There are a few instances of puns and wordplays in *The Flintstones* and countless ones in *The Simpsons* such as the following:

Barney: Practicing golf. Watch this. Fore! (*swings and misses the ball*)  
Fred: One more “fore” outta you and I’ll give you what for. (S01E01)

Homer: I have a great way to solve our money woes. You rent your womb to a rich childless couple. If you agree, signify by getting indignant.

Marge: Are you crazy? I’m not going to be a surrogate mother.

Homer: C’mon, Marge, we’re a team. It’s [uter-US], not [uter-YOU] (S12E09)

However, wordplay and puns will not be the focus of this chapter<sup>200</sup> especially since “US sitcoms ... tend to rely on good lines rather than puns. Good lines or

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<sup>200</sup> For a study of wordplay in *The Simpsons*, see Simon Labate’s M.A. thesis.

sharp and clever remarks are hard to define in terms of VEH.<sup>201</sup> While a pun is dependent upon linguistic ambiguity, cultural ambiguity, or a mixture of both, a good line is not ... Good lines [are] non-specific VEH” (Chiaro 2006: 203). Beyond puns and wordplay, the humour in both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* rely on good lines and in the case of *TS* “complex jokes” (Zabalbaescoa 1996: 254) or more adequately complex humor in which the humour stems from recognizing the visuals as a cultural reference.

In *TF*, Fred is the character who has the best lines accompanied with the laughing track:

Wilma: It’s been weeks since you had a good word for anybody or anything.  
Fred: Oh yeah, what about that thing I said about your mother last week?  
Wilma: My mother?  
Fred: I said, good riddance she lives 50 miles away (S03E08: 5”15’)

Besides good lines, the importance of the visuals in the reception of the humour of the show cannot be overemphasized. Most of the humour relies on the visual dimension especially with the aggressiveness of its characters<sup>202</sup> manifested by fights and verbal abuse, as well as falls and accidents<sup>203</sup> and the use of dinosaurs as commodities in *The Flintstones*.<sup>204</sup> The character’s expressions, emotions and their gestures are often exaggerated. Falls, accidents and acts of

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<sup>201</sup> VEH stands for “verbally expressed humour”, an expression coined by Chiaro (2005).

<sup>202</sup> The first episode opens with Fred verbally threatening Barney to “put his fist in his nose”, which he often does, and is matched by the onomatopoeic soundtrack. Wilma attacks Fred with diverse utensils, throughout the series and Bam-Bam regularly beats up bigger characters.

<sup>203</sup> Fred and Barney are prone to dangerous accidents and falls that would kill any non-fictional person. By putting their lives in jeopardy, slipping, getting knocked over by a pterodactyl, crashing their cars countless times, the comic visual humour becomes dominant.

<sup>204</sup> Because of the anachronistic nature of using dinosaurs, this is incongruous and hence ‘funny’. Who would expect a mammoth to be the source of hot and cold water for a shower by placing a fire or ice cubes under his belly? Or who would think about putting bees in a shell in order to use it as a razor?

violence are mostly cross-cultural and take their cues from classical comedies such as Charlie Chaplin's slapstick humour. Although it is a common assumption that visuals are universals, they do not hold the same cultural connotative value as pointed out by Caffrey: "visual nonverbal cue as *a nonverbal item appearing in the image of an audiovisual text which has an intended secondary, connotative meaning*" (165).

More importantly, the humour relies on the interplay between verbal and non-verbal dimensions creating complex wordplays. The connection between both dimensions is crucial for creating cohesive wholes in both shows and in all three versions:

Paperboy: Oh, Mr. Flintstone. Here's your paper. Catch! (*throws paper made of stone knocking Fred to the floor*)

Wilma: Did you get your paper, dear?

Fred: Yeah and I'm lucky it only comes once a week. (S01E01)

Marge: Homer, look what I found in your mother's things.  
(*Marge gives Homer a DVD*)

Homer: A donut from the future (S19E19: 17"10')

In the first example from *The Flintstones*, the humour is dependent on both dimensions since Fred is getting knocked down by a newspaper made of stone. In the example from *The Simpsons*, humour stems from the discrepancy between the visuals and the fact that Homer is obsessed with food, especially with donuts, to such an extent that he hallucinates a donut instead of a DVD due to its shape and glossy look.

While *The Simpsons* is famous for its cultural references, tongue-in-cheek dialogue and jokes as well as its good lines, the non-verbal subtext is critical to the humour of the show. Strictly visual humour in *The Flintstones* is also prevalent, as is the case in most TV shows targeted at children, especially

traditional animation: “Nonverbal communication with the viewers occurs all the time, particularly in animation, where the number of VNCs [Visual nonverbal cues] tends to be the highest” (Caffrey 165). The non-verbal humour or action in *TF* is a central interest for the translator and the dubbing actor who both have to properly read the situation. In *The Simpsons* the characters’ reactions are often exaggerated. For example, one of the trademarks of the show is Homer strangling Bart whenever he feels he has done/said something wrong<sup>205</sup> and Homer’s screaming expression—a close-up on his open mouth and tongue sticking out. These visual cues are reminders of traditional animation and its exaggeration of facial expressions, which could be taken as “international” facial expressions, meaning that they can largely be understood cross-culturally.

Three of the most famous hallmarks of *The Simpsons* are strictly non-verbal and part of the opening sequence: 1. the blackboard gag; 2. Lisa’s saxophone part and 3. the sofa gag. For the blackboard gag, Bart is seen writing a different phrase in punishment for something he has said or done. In both the Québécois and French versions such phrases are also visually translated through subtitles. The gag is usually an American cultural reference and occasionally features a pun. The second gag is Lisa playing a different song on her saxophone in each episode. Here the reference appeals to the music lover and often refers to American pop culture or classics. It is communicated through the non-verbal audio channel. The last one, the sofa gag, shows the Simpsons family running to their sofa, which faces the television screen. As they are about to settle down in front of the TV, a short skit happens before they can finally turn the television

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<sup>205</sup> See Appendix P for snapshots.

on.<sup>206</sup> Finally we can mention the humour in *The Itchy and Scratchy Show*, a TV show that both Lisa and Bart adore, which is a violent version of *Tom and Jerry* almost devoid of speech and relying on physical gags, especially over-the-top gruesome ones.<sup>207</sup>

In AVT, the non-verbal dimension cannot be directly altered, hence the dubbed show carries visuals from a cultural referential universe that may or may not be shared by the target culture. Considering that the dubbed products are also located in a Western culture—Québec and France—one might think that their visual repertoire would bear similarities. We will see that the contact zone between the American visuals and the Québécois/French verbal is mostly featured through 4.3: the interaction with the décor—be it pictorial signs, handwritten notes, etc.—and 4.4: body language or kinesics.

“Non-verbal information has usually been neglected or taken for granted, as if the translation of verbal utterances took into account or simply included every single paralinguistic, kinesic or semiotic sign which cohesively complements verbal signs” (Chaume 1997: 315). The interplay between the verbal and non-verbal dimensions has an impact on the translation, and a willingness to make the translation visible through a non-cohesive text comes out in the Québécois version of both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*. The voice of the translator is heard and a hybrid construction between the American visual, creating its own narrative, the translator’s speech and the dubbing actor’s voice

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<sup>206</sup> See appendix P. Some of those can be extremely long and can be cultural references that remain untranslated and solely rely on the viewer’s cultural repertoire. The translator has no power over the non-verbal sequence.

<sup>207</sup> See appendix P.

undermines the cohesion of the scene. This gives rise to a new entity, a product of the Third Space, between “domestication” (Venuti 1995: 21) and “foreignization” practices. On the other hand, the French version tends to enforce the cohesion through the “domestication” (21) of the visuals in both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*.

#### **4.3 The Absurd and the Voice of Reason: Interplay with the Décor in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons***

In the original version of *The Flintstones*, whenever a pictorial sign becomes incremental to the developing plot or is prominently featured in a shot, the characters also read it aloud for the audience. In the DVD of both dubbed versions the use of the same technique and hence same channel<sup>208</sup> allows the characters to become ‘in-text translators’. The audience is faced with unchanged pictorial signs written in English while the French-speaking characters seem to understand the foreign language by reading it aloud in French, and hence providing a translation for the audience, thus enforcing the cohesion between the verbal and visual dimensions.<sup>209</sup> Halliday and Hassan provide a preliminary definition of cohesion, essential to the understanding of the plot and action:

The concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text. Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text. (4; my emphasis)

Tortoriello expands the definition by stressing the importance of the visual in audiovisual translation: “Cohesion in an audiovisual text operates on a semiotic,

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<sup>208</sup> Also known as the “isosemiotic” parameter (Gottlieb 2005: 3)

<sup>209</sup> In S01E09 Fred reads a sign saying: “\$500 to anyone who stays ‘3’ minutes with THE CHAMP Sports Arena.” (15”34’)

rather than a merely semantic lexicogrammatical, level, resulting as it does from the interrelation between the acoustic and the visual dimensions and between the various codes at play—the linguistic, the paralinguistic and the kinesic” (62; my emphasis). We will see that although the Québécois version is not cohesive<sup>210</sup> it remains coherent.<sup>211</sup> These aspects give rise to the absurd in the QV. The French version on the other hand tends to enforce cohesion through “domestication” (Venuti 1995: 16) of the visuals. In the QV, the act of translation is made visible and audible through the presence of ‘in-text translators’ without creating discrepancies within the cohesive whole—hence it does not undermine the contract of illusion in place between the viewer and the dubbed product.

The Québécois version of *The Flintstones* tends to play on the absurdity and inconsistencies of the show. It readily emphasizes the absurdity of living Québécois life of the 70s<sup>212</sup> in the Stone Age. In S02E07, when Fred and Barney are held hostage at the back of two bank robbers’ car, the wheel comes off and the robbers ask Fred to fix it.

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<sup>210</sup> Chaume notes the importance of cohesion within the spoken text in “Mas allá de la Lingüística textual: cohesión y coherencia en los textos audiovisuales y sus implicaciones en traducción” (2001). He states that the visuals help the viewers to bridge the gap between the less ‘cohesioned’ text (spoken) and the visuals.

<sup>211</sup> Coherence can be succinctly defined as “a network of relations which organize and create a text” (Baker 218). Baker explains that “cohesion is the network of surface relations which link words and expressions to other words in a text, and coherence is the network of conceptual relations which underlie the surface text” (218). Blum-Kulka (1986) defines coherence “as a covert potential meaning relationship among parts of a text, made overt by the reader or listener through processes of interpretation” (17) and cohesion “as an overt relationship holding between parts of the text, expressed by language specific markers” (17).

<sup>212</sup> The show aired later in Québec than the original although finding the exact dates was impossible, even after contacting Radio-Canada.



Fig. 13. Flat tire.<sup>213</sup>

Character	OV	QV	FV
Robber	A wheel came off. Go and fix it	Oh une crevaison. Va la réparer	Une roue s'est détachée. Va la réparer.

Table 25. Absurd Translation.

This scene does not provide much humorous effect except for the fact that the robbers ask their hostage to fix the wheel (see fig.13). In both the original and French versions the situation is realistic and does not create a discrepancy or a lack of cohesion between the visuals (a wheel came off) and the verbal (“go and fix it”). The scene does not represent a challenge for the translator. However, the Québécois translator decides to opt for a less neutral translation and plays on both visual and verbal dimensions creating a rupture that is incongruous or absurd. Instead of saying that a wheel came off the robber states that they have a flat tire (“*une crevaison*”), which is impossible since the wheels are made of stone. The humorous effect in the Québécois version stems from the discrepancy between the verbal and the visual, which is an additional absurd type of humour effect.

Another instance of absurd humour happens in S02E01 when Fred is reading the newspaper.



Fig. 14. Stone newspaper.

<sup>213</sup> All the snapshots are taken from the Warner Brother American DVD box set of *The Flintstones*.

Character	OV	QV	FV
Wilma	Can I have a piece of it?	Pourrais-tu m'en passer une partie?	Tu veux bien m'en donner un morceau?
Fred	Okay just a minute. Here. Now don't get it all mixed up	Ouais correct. Attends un peu. Ecoute, mélange-les pas toutes	D'accord. Une seconde. Tiens. Attention à ne pas l'effriter

Table 26. Play with the Visuals.

This time, the humour effect comes from the interplay between the verbal and the non-verbal in the original version (see fig.14). The OV is absurd since the different sections of a newspaper made of stone cannot possibly be mixed up, which is further supported by the laughing track. The Québécois version retains the absurd quality of this moment and translates “mixed up” by a lexical equivalent: “*mélange*”. Conversely, the French version displaces the type of humour, which ceases to become incongruous and instead becomes more literal and logical with “be careful not to crumble it”. It reinforces the logical link, or cohesion, between the visual and the verbal dimensions. A newspaper made of stone would logically tend to crumble due to the property of this material.



Fig. 15. Scrabble.

Character	OV	QV	FV
Fred	C-A-T. Cat. That's four points for me	C-A-T cat. Ça m'fait 4 points pour moé.	Puisqu'on joue au <i>Scrabble</i> en anglais, j'émets le mot “cat”, le chat, 4 points pour moi
Arnold	Alright. I'll just take your cat an add -A-C-L-Y-S-M	Correc'? J'accepte le cat mais j'y ajoute un “a-c-l-y-s-m”	Parfait. Et moi j'ajoute un “a-clysme” à “cat” <u>puisque c'est en anglais</u>
Fred	C-A-T-A-C... Catac... what kind of made-up word is that?	Cata, cata... quelle sorte de fabrication de mots que c'est ça?	Catac... mais qu'est-ce que c'est ce mot bizarre? Ça veut dire quoi au juste?
Arnold	Cataclysm: a freak disaster. That gives me 79 points.	Cataclysm un désastre imprévu. Ça m'fait 79 points	“cataclysm” comme en français, c'est un désastre naturel. 72 points.

Table 27. Voice of Reason.

Finally, the opening scene of S02E08, features Fred and Arnold, the newspaper boy, playing *Scrabble*. In this scene, the *Scrabble* board is prominently featured as Arnold is pointing at the word “cataclysm” (see fig.15). Since the visuals are an inherent part of both the shot and the plot, the translator is faced with a complex translation. Once again, the Québécois version decides to leave the word “cat” as it is and provides a literal translation, leaving it up to the audience to find what the word means while “cataclysm” is explained in the same fashion as the original version. The French version favours a more explicit or even educational translation and once again domesticates the English visuals when both characters state “since we are playing *Scrabble* in English”. Such a sensible explanation is meant for a French audience who cannot but notice the characters are playing in another language.

From these three examples, we can already delineate the two diverging approaches to the original version the Québécois and French versions adopt: the former leaning towards incongruous laughter, the latter towards rationality or a domestication of the visuals.



Fig. 16. Quimby in his “office”

In *The Simpsons* (S04E21), Mayor Quimby pretends he is hard at work during the flu epidemic in Springfield while he is actually taking a vacation in the Bahamas. As he is finishing his live speech to the Springfield citizens, a local

music player walks across the screen which puts Quimby off: “hey you, get that steel drum out of...the mayor office” to which the man answers “sorry man.” The French version provides an equivalent translation with “*hey vous qu’est-ce que vous faites avec ce tambour dans...le...hum...bureau du maire*” and “*sorry frère*”. However, the Québécois version opts for a slightly different approach. The QV removes the geographical reference and replaces it with “*hey vous, sortez-moi tout de suite ce...fonctionnaire du maire*” to which the local man replies “*pas d’problème patron*”. Based on the visual, it is not clear whether Quimby is talking to the cameraman or the steel drum player although the logical explanation does point to the former. The QV becomes even more absurd than both the original and French versions in two ways. First, by referring to the steel drum player as a mayor’s employee when he clearly does not look nor act like one, and second with the steel drum player taking the joke in stride and calling him “boss”. The QV adds a comedic layer to an already absurd situation.

#### **4.3.1 Explication and Creativity: Translating Signs in *The Simpsons***

In *The Simpsons*, signs and notes are numerous compared to *The Flintstones*, and written words are systematically provided with a translation either in the form of subtitles or/and in a voice-off from the main characters. Usually, the translation provided is straightforward which means it does not create any pun and/or the visuals are not in discrepancy with the verbal channel.



Fig. 17. Kent Brockman

<b>Character</b>	<b>OV</b>	<b>QV</b>	<b>FV</b>
Kent Brockman	The dreaded Osaka flu has hit Springfield	La grippe d'Osaka tant redoutée vient de frapper Springfield	La redoutable grippe d'Osaka a frappé Springfield

Table 28. In-text Translator.

In this particular scene (fig.17), S04E21 (3''15'), Kent Brockman acts as a translator for the visuals displayed behind him. The fact that Brockman voices the equivalent of the original conversation in both the Québécois and French versions adds another layer or provides another effect to the dubbed product. The viewer is faced with unchanged visuals that he/she might not fully understand although the picture of the sick Godzilla is an international visual that helps with the deciphering of the word "flu". Thanks to Kent Brockman's explanation through the verbal, the visual becomes thoroughly understandable. Kent Brockman becomes an in-text translator for both the French and Québécois audience drawing attention to the site of translation.

Signs are often an opportunity for the original version to be humorous and to insert (not so) subtle references to popular culture, religion or simply to play with the language. This can complicate the task of the translator who must find a solution within the range Chaume described (see 4.2.1). We will see that once again the Québécois version tends to provide a less domesticated translation and especially features its multiple ties with US culture (chapter 5), as well as a cruder side than either the original or French versions; it readily manipulates the visuals. On the other hand, the FV provides a tamer version and tends to use an explicitation technique and hence a more rational explanation when the signs are considered too culturally different from the French cultural repertoire.



Fig. 18. Church letter board

Unlike *The Flintstones*, in which religion is never referred to visually or verbally—the characters never mention religion or go to church and there is no religious exclamation/interjection/saying—religion in *TS* is one of the most common themes and has been extensively researched in academia.<sup>214</sup> Religion is both criticized and revered in the *The Simpsons* such as this sign in S06E07 (see fig.18) when the family goes to the First church of Springfield to listen to a sermon on “Evil women in History: from Jezebel to Janet Reno”. The board is recurrent in *TS* and often contains sarcastic and borderline blasphemous messages. In this specific case, the humour relies on the viewers’ knowledge of who Janet Reno is. The episode aired in 1994, when most of the American audience was familiar with Janet Reno, the first woman Attorney General. Considered a controversial figure, she would aggressively fight against child abusers and was criticized for her handling of the Davidian cult in Waco, which resulted in an infamous massacre. In the Québécois version, the sign is translated through a voice-off technique provided by Bart walking by: “*Les femmes méchantes dans l’histoire: de Jezebel à Janet Reno*”. The translation is straightforward and either assumes the Québécois audience will know who Janet Reno is or simply decides that on the scale of importance or “priorities”

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<sup>214</sup> See Pinsky’s *The Gospel according to The Simpsons* (2007) for a collection of articles on the subject.

(Zabalbeasoca 1999: 159) it does not require an explanation. The former is very likely since most of the important news in the US is also aired in Canada and many American TV channels and news outlets are also available to Canadians. The French version has a different approach to the sign and provides a subtitle (see fig. 18) with an explicitation technique “*Janet Reno le ministre de la justice*”. While the Biblical figure of Jezebel could be considered international, French translators are faced with the likelihood that French viewers will not be familiar with Janet Reno. As a consequence the humorous effect would be lost if not provided with an explicitation technique especially since the emphasis is on Janet Reno.



Fig. 19. Homer weighing himself

The same explicitation technique occurs in S02E18, but this time via the verbal channel, when Homer is reading the scales. Once again the character acts as an in-text translator. In that scene (S02E18, 5’50’), Homer decides to face reality and weighs himself for the first time. This is followed by his reaction “*Ha! Mon Dieu! Je fais 260 livres. Je suis qu’un gros porc de 130 kilos [whimpers]*” whereas the Québécois version translates “*Oh mon dieu, 260 livres! [whimpers] Hou, hou, hou! Je suis un gros cochon obèse.*” France uses the metric system with kilograms unlike the US’ customary units with pounds. Canada is a hybrid system, a mixture of Imperial (pounds) and metric systems (kilometers), especially for weights where pounds are more common than kilograms. The shot significantly lingers on

the scale indicating 260, which makes it impossible for French Homer to say “260 kilogrammes”. The French translators have to provide an ingenious translation through Homer’s speech giving the viewer the conversion to kilograms. While at the same time the visuals are constraining the dubbing they also give some room for the translators to provide an ‘explicit’ translation since Homer is saying this sentence off-screen. Additionally, the French version seems more judgemental and harsher about Homer’s weight with the use of “*porc*” instead of a milder “*cochon*”. The former holds negative connotations since it applies to a “vulgar, dirty and repulsive man” as opposed to a less harsh “pig”.



Fig. 20. Québécois film titles



Fig. 21. Québécois “dog neutering”



Fig. 22. French film titles



Fig. 23. French “dog neutering”

The Québécois version displays significant creativity through signs and wordplay and especially when inserting references to Francophone culture and literature. In this episode, Homer has to get Santa’s Little Helper, the family dog, neutered. Before driving him to the veterinary clinic he decides to take him to the red light

district to “give him a night his wang would never forget” (3’06’). The scene is the occasion for multiple wordplay and humorous effects. Homer first takes his dog to an adult movie theatre for dogs where the titles *Behind the Doggie door*, *Long Dog Silver* and *On Golden Retriever* clearly spoof *Behind the Green Door* (an adult movie) *Long Dong Silver* (an adult movie actor) and *On Golden Blonde* (a pornographic movie based on *On Golden Pond*). The QV translates all of them and, instead of spoofing the pornographic industry’s staple names or movies, decides to recreate innuendos with “*veux-tu sentir mon entrejambe?*”, a direct reference to dogs’ bad habit of sniffing human intimate parts, “*deux cockers en or*”, arguably a play with the word “cock” in English, and, finally, “*Histoire d’os*”<sup>215</sup> a cultural reference to pornographic novel “*Histoire d’O*” by French author Anne Desclos (pen name Pauline Réage) and a wordplay based on homophony with the word “os” whose final “s” is silent. Homer finally takes his dog to the neutering clinic with the dubious sign “Nuts Landing. Dogs neutering”<sup>216</sup>, which the QV decides to translate by “*Casse-noisettes—Clinique de castration*”<sup>217</sup>. This is not only a reference to the famous Russian ballet performance “The Nut-Cracker” but also a clear play on the genitalia “nuts” and the graphic neutering act. The QV keeps both the flavour of the original and the humorous effect.

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<sup>215</sup> The titles can be translated as follows: Do you want to smell my crotch? Two golden cockers and History/ story of bone(s).

<sup>216</sup> “Nuts Landing” is a reference to the US evening soap *Knots Landing*, on the air from 1979 to 1983.

<sup>217</sup> It can be translated as “Nut-Cracker: neutering clinic.”

Conversely, the French version only translates one of the titles on the billboard with “*une vie de chienne*”, a play on the famous idiom “*une vie de chien*” (tough life) and the word “bitch”, a derogatory term to refer to a woman and holding the same sexual connotations as its English equivalent. However, the translation for the clinic sign in the FV only focuses on “dog neutering” with a very straightforward “*castration de chiens*” and without reproducing the humorous effect of the original. This choice could also be explained by the fact that the dubbing team has a limited timeframe to dub the whole episode (5 days) and that the translation of signs is not always a priority.<sup>218</sup>



Fig. 24. Subtitles for “The Future of Breeding”

The Québécois version also resorts to the voice-off technique to add an extra layer of humour in some scenes such as the one (S12E15: 15’48’) where Bart, a notorious prankster, decides to rewrite the sign for a panel discussion “the future of reading” as “the future of **bre**ading.” In the French version, it is paired with the subtitles “*l’avenir de la biture*”<sup>219</sup> or, colloquially, “the future of getting boozed up”. The FV provides once again a straightforward translation and instead of

<sup>218</sup> This is confirmed by the dialogue adapters of *TS*: Juliette Vigouroux and Alain Cassard. In an interview to *TheSimpsonpark.com* website, Juliette Vigouroux states: “Une autre difficulté réside dans les ‘inserts’: Canal+ exige que l’on sous-titre tout mais il n’y a parfois pas assez de temps de lecture et il est très difficile de rendre les blagues en si peu de mots.” (“Inserts are another difficulty. Canal+ demands that we subtitle everything but there is sometimes not enough time to read them and translating the jokes in as few words is difficult”). See chapter 1, section 1.3.3.

<sup>219</sup> The misspelling of “biturt” is very likely involuntary.

prioritizing the matching of the visuals with the verbal it opts for an equivalent humorous effect through homophony (“*biture*” and “*lecture*” have the same ending) while diverging from the original meaning. Conversely, the Québécois version features a heterodiegetic voice-off technique. In a dispassionate and poised voice, the heterodiegetic narrator first reads the unaltered sign “*l’avenir de la lecture*” but then hesitates when Bart rewrites it: “*hum...l’avenir de la panure*”. The voice-off is a comedic addition not only through the use of the word “*panure*”, the act of breading ingredients which is closer to the original meaning of “breeding”, but also through the hesitation itself that is not present in the original version. Disconcerted by Bart’s alteration, the Québécois narrator catches himself in time and reads in a dispassionate manner “*l’avenir de la panure*”. The original constraint of the visuals becomes an opportunity for the QV to be creative and humorous.



Fig. 25. Québécois church letter board



Fig. 26. French church letter board

The Québécois adaptors’ creativity can even go as far as reproducing the visual humour through the same channel (S17E3). The Church of Springfield, tired of having the letters on their billboard stolen, resorts to call out the thief on their billboard. Short on letters, they must use numbers to get their message across. The difficulty or constraint for the translator here lies in the emphasis on

the visuals only, since the semantics of the message itself does not represent a challenge. The Québécois version decides to keep the play on the visuals by substituting the number “3”, standing for the letter “E”, with a “5”, standing for the letter “S”. By displacing the replaced letters in the original version, the QV conveys the same humorous effect based on the visuals. Conversely, the French version glosses over the use of the numbers and relies instead on the viewer’s ability to spot the missing letters on the original sign.

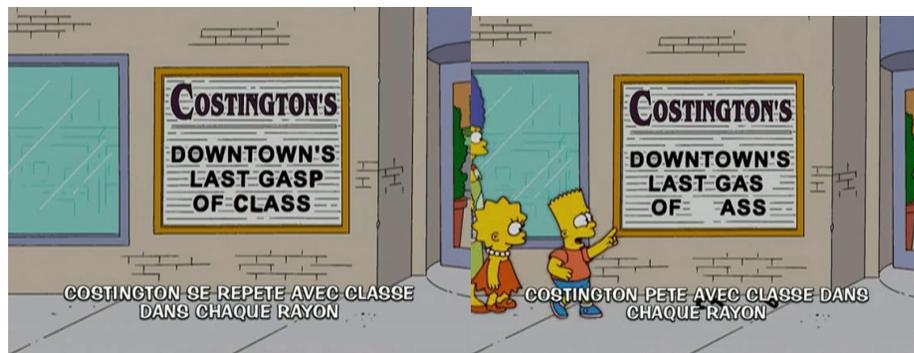


Fig. 27. French translation for Costington



Fig. 28. Québécois translation for Costington.

Conversely in this scene (S15E16) a drunk man accidentally knocks down a few letters from a sign for Costington’s department store. The sign features rude language with the original “gasp” becoming “gas” and “class” turning into an unfortunate “ass”. Once again here the humour depends on the correlation between the non-verbal visual, Bart laughing at the sign, and the visual non-verbal channel, the sign missing words. The complexity of the translation is heightened

by the wordplay. While both Québécois and French versions provide subtitles, the QV opts for subtitles that are closer, albeit longer, to the originals in terms of the placement of the missing words. In the original version, the words “gasp” and “class”, respectively “*respect*” and “*de l’artisan rusé*”, are missing letters. The FV only omits letters in the word “gasp”: “*se répète*” becomes “*pète*”. We can note that the FV also offers a less crude version than the QV that does not shy away from the word “*anus*” whereas the FV omits any reference to “*ass*” or “*anus*”.



Fig. 29. Québécois t-shirt



Fig. 30. French t-shirt

The cruder side of the Québécois version is also present in another scene that can seem controversial albeit humorous (S15E16). As Lisa is browsing the aisle, the sales woman approaches her with a t-shirt popular among trendy little girls saying “Sassy b\*tch” (see fig. 29 and 30). Although the asterisk is strategically placed, the humour stems from the fact the English-speaking viewer will immediately recognize the word but that it is also not only derogatory to any woman wearing this tee-shirt but especially to an 8 year old child. That a sales associate would approach a young girl with such a message is highly unlikely but it can also be taken as a criticism of targeting such products to younger girls who tend to be over-sexualized.<sup>220</sup> The Québécois version decides to reproduce the \*

<sup>220</sup> See Coon and Mitterer’s *Introduction to Psychology. Gateway to Mind and Behavior* and the question “are we oversexualizing young girls?” (376)

symbol but opts for a cruder translation of “bitch” with “ *salope* ”. The latter is closer to “slut” than “bitch” while the “sassy” part is left out to hone the message “ *petite salope* ”, a common vulgar expression in French translating to “a little slut”. The adjective “sassy” would tone down the word “bitch” but the QV decides to go for a stronger message by leaving it out. Conversely, the French version (see fig. 30) conveys the most common meaning for “bitch”, understood as a malicious or unpleasant person, with “ *garce* ”. The FV also keeps the “sassy” reference with “ *insolente* ”. As a consequence the FV’s message is closer to the original version since “sassy bitch” becomes “ *garce insolente* ” understood as a woman who speaks her mind too much and can be offensive rather than a “lewd woman/slut” in the QV.

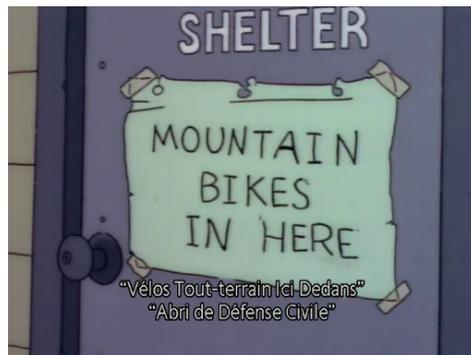


Fig. 31. School sign



Fig. 32. TV channel sign

Finally, the Québécois version takes signs as an opportunity to use its vernacular language (chapter 3) be it on the syntactical level (see fig.31 S04E20) or the lexical one (see fig. 32 S15E22). In Canada, road signs and official government documentation are translated in *standard French* (see Chapter 3). Nonetheless, as observed in Chapter 3, characters speaking *standard* or *international French*, such as Seymour Skinner also occasionally resort to *joual*. One would assume that Seymour would follow the ‘standard French rule’ for

signs at schools. But, through the sign Skinner posted in order to trick the school bullies, the QV inserts an ‘oral feel’ with the grammatically incorrect “*ici Dedans*” (“here inside”). It could be argued that this sign is not truly official but meant as a way to trick the school bullies into one room and lock there here while inspector Chalmers performs a thorough inspection. However, the same vernacular is reproduced on the sign for a TV channel. As seen in Chapter 3, Québécois television, especially news programs, are the model for standard Québécois. In the QV, the sign “still in English” is translated with a vernacular expression “*pas encore viré à l’espagnol*”. In standard Québécois, “*virer à*” can only be used to mean “*changer d’aspect, de caractère*” for a change of state but not for a language. It can also be added that the QV does not provide a literal translation unlike the French version (*toujours en anglais*) but instead provides a rare explicitation technique, explaining the expansion of the Spanish language in the US and showing as well their understanding of the US situation.



Fig. 33. Willie teaching French

Finally, I have to mention a likely case of censorship in both the Québécois and French versions where the usual approach to the translation is reversed: the FV becomes absurd whereas the QV domesticates its visuals. In that scene (S06E22) the visuals prominently feature French cultural artefacts and

stereotypes—a French flag, a striped navy blue shirt popularized by Jean-Paul Gaultier and a beret. Springfield elementary school is going through such an important staff shortage that Groundskeeper Willie is asked to teach a French class. Willie, a Scottish man in the original version, speaks *joual* in the QV and has a rural accent in the FV (chapter 2). In the three versions, Willie is an uneducated and violent man. For him to be teaching French seems quite incongruous. Displeased with the situation and despising the French, Willie greets the class with “Bonjour, cheese-eating surrender monkeys”. This expression is a cliché about French people and history, making fun of the French surrendering to the Germans during World-War II and their heavy cheese consumption. The FV creates a discrepancy between the visual and the verbal since Willie is teaching English and greets the class with “*Hello, mangeur de rosbifs à la gelée de groseilles*”. Not only does the translation clearly clash with the visuals strongly hinting at a French class, but the FV decides to censor the insults to the French people. They remove the insult and decide to displace the ‘thrashing’ of one nation with the classic French and English friendly rivalry by calling the latter “*rosbifs*”, a popular French derogatory term referring to English people.

In the Québécois version, Willie is still teaching French, hence enforcing the cohesion between visuals and verbal, but censoring the original expression. The QV reinforces his lack of education and refinement as he tells the class “*aujourd'hui on va étudier l'accord du participe futur*” (“today we’ll the study the future participle agreement”). Not only does this grammatical component not exist, but Willie’s speech often features grammatical inconsistencies (see Chapter

3). Once again, the QV takes the opportunity to reproduce the same type of humorous effect, thus reinforcing Willie's characterization as an illiterate character but also the incongruity of having him as a substitute teacher.<sup>221</sup>

#### 4.4. Body Language

##### 4.4.1 Body Language in *The Flintstones*: the Absurd and the Voice of Reason

The same discrepancy can be noted in scenes featuring body language, presenting cultural-specific oddities. I will study a scene in S01E24 where a case of body language foregrounds the contact zone between the ST and the TT<sup>222</sup> and hence creates a disjuncture within the cohesive whole. A few words on the context of this scene are necessary in order to understand the value of the gesture.

After Fred runs into an old friend called Mr. Gravel/Mr. Gravillon/Mr. Gravier, the latter invites both families to a free vacation in his resort hotel. Fred readily accepts the invitation unknowing that Gravel, who just had his entire staff quit on him due to poor treatment and untimely payment, is planning to use them as personnel for a large convention held in his hotel. While talking on the phone Fred calls his friend by his old nickname: Smoothie. This is the scene following their conversation after Mr. Gravel hangs up:



Fig. 34. Body gesture "smoothie"

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<sup>221</sup> This is the only case of obvious censorship in the case of insults I have found. France is mentioned or featured in S01E11, S09E04, S13E14, S15E21, S21E05 and S21E10 with no such censorship despite the fact that they are called "Frogs" in S09E04. However in that episode the French retaliated by bombing Springfield, killing the entire population except for Homer.

<sup>222</sup> ST stands for source text and TT for target text.

OV	QV	FV
Old Smoothie. I had forgotten that name, but it fits. I'm still the old Smoothie.	Ha, ha, ha vieux Mosus. J'avais oublié ça. Chu encore le même Moooo-sus.	Mon brave Frisette tu es génial. J'avais oublié ce surnom tiens, mais j'ai pas changé: je fais toujours mes coups ennnnnn dessous.

Table 29. Body Language in *The Flintstones*.

We are faced here with what Zabalbeascoa calls the complex joke (1996: 253) or, as I would like to rename it, a complex humorous effect (CHE)<sup>223</sup> relying on “kinesics aspect” (Chaume 1997: 322) since it qualifies more as a funny moment than a joke per se. The humorous effect comes from the interplay between the visual—sign-system 1—and the verbal dimension—sign-system 2. The visual dimension—his body language—emphasizes the verbal one—the fact that he is a smooth talker. These moments are instances of the challenges the translator faces since the gesture is the only action in the scene. It is also emphasized by the cohesive link between the verbal and the visual dimensions, hence attracting the viewer’s attention.

The translator has a few options available to him/her: either find a linguistic/verbal equivalent to “smoothie” in the target language, hence entailing a loss in the interplay with the gesture/visual, or try to reinforce the visual/verbal link without finding an equivalent to “smoothie”. The last option would entail the complete loss of the interplay between visual and verbal dimensions. The

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<sup>223</sup> In “Translating Jokes for Dubbed Television Situation Comedies”, Patrick Zabalbeascoa differentiates between 7 types of jokes: “(1) the international joke, which does not depend either on linguistic aspects of the source text or familiarity with the source culture; (2) the binational-joke, that could be included in the same previous category;(3) the national-culture-institutions jokes, whose references need to be adapted in order to retain the humorous effect of the source text; (4) the national-sense-of-humor joke, referring to themes that are more popular in some countries than in others and also requires adaptation; (5) the language-dependent jokes, which are language specific, such as wordplays, and usually require extra effort and creativity from the translator; (6) the visual jokes, that are represented by images and/or sounds and may or may not present the characteristics listed in the other categories; and (7) the complex joke, which combines two or more of the types of jokes mentioned before.” (170). The latter is the one I am interested in here.

Québécois translator cannot translate the semantics of “smoothie” within the same economy of words as the original and instead uses the joul word “*mosus*”.<sup>224</sup> He/she opts for the third method listed by Chaume, which is an emphasis on the verbal dimension. Since “Smoothie” becomes “*moooo-sus*”, it captures the sonority of the word “smoothie” (“smoozie”) with the [s] and [z] sounds, while the dubbing actor plays with the intonation by lengthening the [o] on the hand gesture. Although this choice of word does not match the original verbal semantics with the body language, it manages to echo the original sonorities [o] and [s] present in the word “smoothie”.

The French dubbing translator went for Chaume’s second option and decided to attach importance to both dimensions by trying to match the visual to the verbal in a more logical way. Such method echoes what Goris noticed about dubbing strategies in “The Question of French Dubbing: Towards a Frame for Systematic Investigation”: “many equivocal or vague expressions have become clearer or more precise” (Goris 183). In doing so he/she resorts to “explicitness” (Chaume 323), which requires a speech longer than the original. This is a technique the translator can get away with in animated TV series since he/she has to worry less about exact visual synchrony. The name “Smoothie” also becomes more pejorative in French through the use of “*Frisette*”: the latter is “a little ringlet or a wood floor” (*littré.fr*) and the suffix “-ette” (meaning “small” in French) adds a ridiculous side to his character. The French translation emphasizes the bad traits of the character.

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<sup>224</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 3, *Mosus* comes from Moses (*Mosus*) (God damn it!). Fred uses it quite often such as for instance “*mosus de voiture*” (“you damned car” my translation). It can also refer to somebody who is a crook.

Similar to the Québécois version, the [z] sound is retained through the use of the suffix “-sette” (“zèt”). The dubbing actor plays with the intonation by lengthening the “en” sound on the gesture. Unlike the original and Québécois versions, the French version does not repeat “*frisette*” when it comes to matching “smoothie” to the gesture. Instead, the French translator opts for an additive translation: “*je fais toujours mes courbes en dessous*” meaning he is a sneaky individual who hits his opponents below the belt. As a result, the French translation seems more readable hence more “transparent” (Venuti 1995: 48) than the Québécois. The latter draws attention to the gesture that clashes with the verbal dimension. The interplay between the visual and verbal dimension attracts the viewer’s attention to the site of translation in the QV, unlike the FV.

However, one of the most challenging CHE I happened to find is in S01E15. Chaume also studies the same kinesics activity in a scene in *Pulp Fiction*.<sup>225</sup> Fred, who has reached musical fame, tours the country followed by his groupies to the dismay of Betty, Barney and Wilma. Betty comes up with a plan to destroy his reputation with the young hipster crowd.

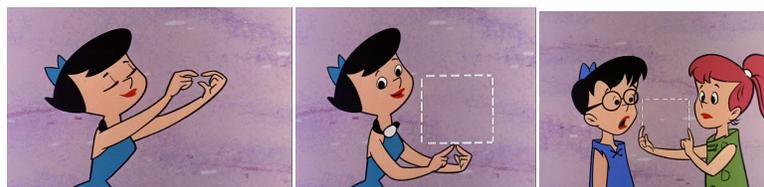


Fig. 35. “Square” body gesture

Character	OV	QV	FV
Wilma	Did you hear the lowdown on Hi-Fye?	T’as-tu appris la vérité sur Hi-Fye. Hi-Fye,	Et Betty, écoute. Tu connais la rumeur qui court sur Hi-Fi?

<sup>225</sup>In “Translating non-verbal information in dubbing” (1997), Chaume evokes the loss of meaning due to the fact the Spanish culture might not understand it (322-3). I refer to it as a “repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1997: 5). There is an additional explanation of the gesture in *The Flintstones*—“you mean like four corners”—absent from *Pulp fiction*.

	He is really a square	c'est vraiment un borné	Il parait que Hi-Fi est super vieux jeu
<b>Betty</b>	No, you mean like four corners?	Non, tu veux dire comme ca?	Tu veux dire qu'il a l'esprit aussi étroit qu'un timbre poste?

Table 30. Discrepancy between the Verbal and the Visuals

Since the emphasis on the visuals is strong and the translator does not have the option to gloss over it, his/her creativity comes into play. The exchange features a complex wordplay between the visual “square” and “four corners” (see fig.35) that Betty draws in thin air and the idiomatic expression “to be a square” understood as “a person who is conventional or conservative in taste or way of life” (*Merriam-Webster.com*). Betty specifically draws the square to correlate it with the verbal speech: “you mean like four corners?”

The Québécois version translates the word “square” by “*borné*” which means “small, limited, when referring to the intellect or ability. Limited intelligence. Narrow-minded man” (*Littré.fr*)<sup>226</sup> or again “Without any ability or intelligence when talking about people”<sup>227</sup> (*Littré.fr*). Based on these definitions, the translation conveys the semantics of being square without providing a literal translation. But in the second sentence matching the visuals the translator simplifies “four corners” in “no you mean like that?” The translation weakens the cohesion between the visual and the verbal and leaves this sign that does not belong to the target “repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1997: 5) untranslated.

The French version decides to modernize the translation of “square” by giving it a distinct young popular feel with the idiomatic expression “*super vieux*

<sup>226</sup> “petit, restreint, en parlant de l'intelligence, de la capacité. Intelligence bornée. Homme d'un esprit borné.”

<sup>227</sup> “Sans capacité, sans intelligence, en parlant des personnes. C'est un homme borné.”

*jeu*”—he’s super old-fashioned—which conveys the semantics of “being a square”. The FV decides to once again domesticate the drawing of the sign through “explicitness” (Chaume 1997: 323): the sentence “*il a l’esprit aussi étroit qu’un timbre poste*” (“he has a brain the size of a stamp”) reinforces the link between the visuals and the verbal.

Through the visuals, the voice of the translator is heard in the QV whereas the FV tends to tame the material and adopts a “domesticating” attitude in order to become “transparent” (Venuti 1995: 1) and easily readable for the audience

#### 4.4.2 Body Language in *The Simpsons*



Fig. 36. Homer imitating Bruce Lee

In *The Simpsons*, most body language arguably does not represent challenges for translation as it does not clash with the verbal dimension and belongs to the target culture repertoire. In this scene, S04E20, Homer is preparing to fight snakes, displaying movements similar to Bruce Lee. The scene is entirely visual and only features Homer’s screams mimicking a fighting Bruce Lee. Since the latter was an international icon, the cultural component in this scene crosses cultures and does not require any verbal explanation.



Fig. 37. Lisa and Bart's silent communication

However, this is not the case in one of the most complex scenes I have found (S02E15) in *The Simpsons* where Lisa and Bart have a silent conversation solely based on body gestures and provided with a subtitled translation corresponding to each gesture in the original version. Two levels of translation coexist in that scene: the subtitles and the voice-off. The scene also resorts to the popular idiom “to drive somebody crazy” visually matched by the characters’ kinesics. The complex humorous effect stems from the correspondence between the kinesics and the written words. While the first part of the scene, “you stink” does not present a real challenge as both the verbal and visual translate literally in French, the latter part, “you drive me crazy” does not. Both the Québécois and French versions provide a voice-off translation of the subtitles hence keeping the visual remainder. The FV decides to translate “drive me crazy” with “*tu me rends cinglée*”. Although the translation conveys the semantics of “being crazy”, the voice-off does not match Lisa’s gesture. Once again, it can be argued that the scene unfolds too quickly for both the viewer and adaptors and only represents a small part in the whole episode. The priority in that scene for adaptors was conveying the idea of “going crazy”. However, the QV bridges the discrepancy between the visual and verbal in the FV by using the popular Québécois

expression “*tu tournes de la boule*” to the detriment of the original semantics. Instead of telling Bart that he drives her crazy, Lisa tells him that he is becoming crazy. Her body gesture, steering a wheel, matches the verbal “*tournes*” while her pointing a finger at him correlates the “*tu*”.

Through the contact zone between the verbal and the visual, two tendencies are apparent in the Québécois and French versions. While both apprehend the play on voice quality in a similar approach, the FV clearly enforces a cohesive cartoonish feel in both TV shows that is on a par with its artificial language in *The Flintstones*, which also works as a compensation strategy. The negotiation of the Other, the visual remainder is a bone of contention for the FV that tends to subordinate it to the verbal and acts as a reasonable voice in both versions. Conversely, while the QV features a cartoonish whole in *The Simpsons* through a play on voice quality it still features a ‘realistic language’ and popular feel in both. Through the visual, the QV also displays a certain link to its North-American roots (see translations for fig. 19 and 32). It also becomes absurd and less ‘serious’ than the FV and foregrounds the contact zone between the two dimensions and plays with the visuals to a greater extent.

## **Chapter 5. The Cultural Third Space in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*.**

Cultural references in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* are conveyed through both the visual (see Chapter 4) and verbal channels. This chapter will mainly focus on the verbal dimension, which is the channel the translator has the most power over. I will analyze the translation of “cultural referents” (Agost 99) in both TV shows, and their part in opening up a Third Space, allowing for a political and visible translation in the Québécois version and a move from a neutralized fantasyland in the French version of *The Flintstones* to a more geographically anchored show in *The Simpsons*. Two marked tendencies stem from the Québécois and French dubbing processes. Through the verbal dimension analyzed in Chapter 3 and the non-verbal dimension analyzed in Chapter 4, the Québécois version offers a visible translation as well as a political subtext and a “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) that are enhanced by cultural references. The French version’s evolution—from *The Flintstones* to *The Simpsons*—towards a more idiomatic and contemporary language—analyzed in Chapter 2—is on a par with its move away from a cultural and geographical “fantasyland” in *The Flintstones* to a more geographically and culturally anchored show in *The Simpsons*. It becomes a Third Space midway between a French and American imaginary in *The Simpsons*.

Via the countless cultural references pervading *he Flintstone* and especially *The Simpsons*, the Québécois version leans towards not only an opening to the culture of the United States and a claiming of its belonging to the North-American continent, or its (1) “*américanité*” (Thériault; Von Flotow 2009: 91), but also

towards a rhizomatic “global village” (Marshal McLuhan). The other purpose or effect of the language used—*joual*—in both Québécois versions is to reinscribe the dubbed product within a Third space where hybridities are created between a community building approach and the *americanité* of Québec. (2) *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* belong to the Québécois *téléromans* network, a Québécois TV genre around which a discourse of *américanité* exists (Nguyên-Duy and de la Garde). This reinscription reinforces the sense of community previously mentioned within the language used in dubbing. (3) The Québécois version of both TV shows is also deeply political, first in the proper sense, with references to the use of controversial *joual* and language policies in Québec, and, second, in a figurative way as the Québécois version purposefully offers a visible translation. Characterized by hybridities, the Québécois version features a meta-discourse on the translation field in *The Simpsons* in which references to the dubbing actors and the Québécois dubbing industry are common: the Québécois version’s dubbing process is made visible. The Québécois version becomes a rhizome connecting various languages and cultures. The French version embodies a cultural “Third Space” matching the “third norm” (Pavesi 1996: 128 qtd. in Bucaria 162), synchronian, in *The Flintstones* and a hybrid cultural space in *The Simpsons*.

### **5.1 Defining Terms**

My goal in this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive and finite definition of what “culture” means and represents as this would be well beyond the scope of

the present research.<sup>228</sup> No given country or nation ever presents a unified and pure self-contained culture, but is instead an evolving enmeshing of different cultures. Culture is expressed in diverse hybridities between the Self and the Other. However, Samovar and Porter provide us with a working definition of the term as: “The deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relationships, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving” (Samovar and Porter 8). Accordingly, the present study will analyze “cultural referents” (Agost 99) as a wide array of “... specific places in a city or country; aspects related to history, the arts, and the customs of a society and of a given age (songs, literature, aesthetic concepts); celebrities; mythology; gastronomy; institutions; currency, weights, and measures; etc.” (99). What is implied in this definition is that a cultural referent consists of the meshing of elements within a society that differentiates it from another (Martínez-Sierra 2010: 123). A culture is understood as a dynamic and heterogeneous entity comprising different subcultures (Martínez-Sierra 2004: 133). Moreover, with the influence of globalization (see introduction chapter), cultures are shifting at an increasing speed and extending beyond national borders.



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<sup>228</sup>In the words of Williams “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language”(1983: 87).

Fig. 38. Springfield and its view of New York and Paris<sup>229</sup>

In *The Simpsons*, we are moving towards an increasingly large community; the main characters travel the world and the city of Springfield becomes a melting pot of cultures and languages (Cantor 91) as symbolized in this snapshot from S12E04 (see fig.38). *The Simpsons* stands for the “global village” (Marshall McLuhan) in which Springfield overlooks New York, Hollywood and France. This global village, characterized by the circulation of goods, especially technology and people, is shaping the new world and connecting different cultures to form a rhizomatic entity.

### 5.1.1 Of Americanization and *Américanité* in Québec

The show’s [*The Simpsons*] depiction of America, the American suburb, and American capitalism are a far cry from flagwavingly chauvinistic, as with its individuals, institutions, and mindsets (Gray 131)

It would be expected that due to its geographical proximity to the US, Québec, despite being an official French-speaking Canadian province, is culturally influenced by (Even-Zohar 2005) the United States. As such we would expect most cultural references in both TV shows to be kept in the Québécois version. In other words, the TV show would feature a certain *américanité* (Thériault). Von Flotow, citing the UDA website, states that “... Québec’s proximity to the source culture of most films (the United States), its *américanité*, gives it special access to the ‘spirit of the American language and the mores of its people’” (2009: 91). For Thériault, this goes beyond a certain American spirit to embody instead an essence. In Thériault’s *américanité*:

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<sup>229</sup> The snapshot is a reference to the famous New Yorker world map, a satire of the celebrated New Yorkers’ egocentrism.

the historiographer's French Canadian evolutionist and continuity perspective, according to which the history of French Canada would be a slow and difficult blossoming of a Catholic and French essence, has been replaced by a reading marked by a rupture from both the modernist or historical 'revisionist' paradigm of Québec and a reading of Québécois *américanité* (342).<sup>230</sup>

According to Thériault (see Chapter 1), the identity of Québec is characterized by an "intentionality" (353): "a Québécois could not identify himself without coming upon his lineage, and, in this lineage, the permanence of an 'intention'—the one that is expressed in a national project"<sup>231</sup> (Miguelez 254) which strongly echoes Bhabha's "community ... envisaged as a project—at once a vision and a construction..." (1994: 3). This 'intention' lies in the identity issues of Québec and its unique status of being a nation using French as the official language within an Anglophone ocean. Québec actively engages with its past and this is reflected in both *The Flintstones* and, to a lesser extent, in *The Simpsons* through the French language and through cultural references.

## 5.2 Québec at a Crossroads: A Third Space

Communication between cultures involves, by a translational process, not only a redefinition of the Other's meaning according to one's own representational context, but also a transformation of one's own articulation, the construction of a 'third space' of meaning... (Carbonell 91)

At the crossroads between France, the US and English Canada, Québec is a contact zone for languages and cultures: *The Flintstones* and especially *The Simpsons* become the epitome of this contact zone—from the visual to the

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<sup>230</sup> "A la perspective évolutionniste ou continuiste de l'historiographien canadienne-française, perspective selon laquelle l'histoire du Canada français serait le lent et difficile épanouissement d'une essence, catholique et française, se serait substituée une lecture de rupture dont participaient à la fois le paradigme moderniste ou "révisionniste" du Québec et la lecture de l'américanité québécoise."

<sup>231</sup> "le Québécois ne pourrait pas s'identifier sans rencontrer sa filiation, et dans cette filiation la permanence d'une « intention »—celle qui s'exprime dans un projet de nation."

verbal—with cultural references drawing upon the (1) US, (2) French and (3) Québécois society at the time the show is airing. Through the visual—the visual remainder of the American original—and the verbal entranceways, in which the multiple references to American, Canadian and French, culture are voiced, the Québécois version constructs a map of signs that pertain to a cultural contact zone in the image of Québécois society.

The QV has five distinct ways of dealing with cultural references: (1) keeping the original reference; (2) substituting it with a Québécois one; (3) replacing it with a French one; (4) substituting it with another American reference and (5) erasing the reference. We will see that the first two tendencies are the most common ones. Due to its geographical proximity to the US, the QV retains some if not most of the references made to the American culture especially the popular cultural ones. According to Labate, who provided an in-depth analysis of 10 episodes of *TS* in French, “half of the cultural references in the original version of *The Simpsons* hint at various kinds of products (including especially films, TV programmes, kinds of foods, etc.), a quarter to well-known toponyms, and a third to famous anthroponyms (mainly celebrities, fictional characters and demonyms)...” (37).<sup>232</sup> In *TF*, the most common cultural references are Hollywood celebrities, mass media—television, cinema and newspapers—sports teams and food.

### 5.2.1 References Kept

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<sup>232</sup> For a qualitative corpus-based study see Labate’s MA thesis in which he studies the translation of ten episodes of *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*. He focuses on intertextual and cultural references as well as puns and quantifies the different changes in both versions.

Besides the strictly visual references to American culture<sup>233</sup>, the QV of *The Flintstones* often keeps the original references and emphasizes its status as an ‘in-between’ culture with, for instance, food: “*du baloney et du fromage*” (S04E21) and “*beurre de pinotte*” (S04E21). Not only does it directly feature a linguistic contact zone but it also presents a cultural contact zone since these food items are present in both Québec and the US. Most importantly, *The Simpsons* made in Québec also shows the specificity of Québec as a hybrid culture evidenced in the shot when Homer weighs himself for the first time (see chapter 4, fig.19). While the United States uses US customary units, Canada uses a blend, a hybrid system between Europe and the US.

The tendency of keeping the names of famous American actors and actresses is prevalent in *TF* although the show does not offer as many cultural references as *TS*. The names of famous actors of the time, such as Stoney Curtis (Tony Curtis S06E03), Gary Granit (Cary Grant S01E06) and Perry Gunite (Perry Mason S01E21), are kept in the QV, along with Italian actress Gina Lollobrickida (Gina Lollobrigida S03E17) and worldwide famous places such as Hawaii (S03E10), Texas (S05E22) and Hollyrock (Hollywood S01E06). More general references to sports, baseball and football for instance, are kept with “*les peewee*” (S02E32), a reference to the American peewee league.

In *TS*, this tendency is more disparate. A reference to George Washington (S02E1) will be kept whereas another one to Jimmy Carter will be substituted (S04E21). Famous American celebrities such as Tony Bennett (S02E05), Jack Nicholson (S02E06), Tom Cruise (S04E21), Jane Seymour (S15E11), Nichelle

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<sup>233</sup> In S02E18, the whole sequence follows Homer training to the *Rocky* musical theme.

Nichols (S15E19), Bill Clinton (S15E21) and, for British culture, sir Ian Mckellen (S15E4) and Prince Charles (S15E15) are kept, especially when they visually appear in the episode. Pop culture references are also kept such as Marmaduke (S02E06), *les trois Stooges* (S02E08), Sheriff Lobo (S04E21), Playboy mansion (S09E1), *The Price is Right* (S15E05), Fox channel (S15E18) as well as chain department stores such as Radio-Scrap (Radioshack S09E02) and Dollarama (S09E03). Finally, some miscellaneous references are kept: *The Economist* (S15E18), Mountain Dew (S12E07), the Kentucky derby (S02E06) and Ray Bradbury (S02E19) to name a few. However, from season 9 onwards, this norm gradually shifts to an increase in references to Québécois society and history. Beyond the local or the community, *TS* reaches out to the global through the featuring of foreigners and references that are not strictly Québécois but also American and French creating a patchwork or rhizomatic entity connecting different cultures.

### 5.2.2 Québécois References

Another norm at work in the Québécois version is “... to have references that resonate with Québécois viewers instead of simply translating American references that would have less impact”<sup>234</sup> (Gagnon). This is an approach radically different from the French adapters’ who believe that the Québécois method of adaptation is “*franchouillard*” (Juliette Vigouroux *simpsonpark.com*). The first link to Québec, or the first “reterritorialization” (Plourde 2000a: 200) technique is through the names featured. In *The Flintstones*, the names of the

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<sup>234</sup> “... d’avoir des références qui résonnent auprès des auditeurs québécois au lieu de simplement traduire les références américaines qui auraient moins d’impact.”

main and most secondary characters are French: Fred Caillou (Fred Flintstone), Délima (Wilma), Agathe (Pebbles) Arthur Laroche (Barney Rubble) Bertha (Betty), Boum-Boum (Bam-Bam), Joe Tête-de-Pierre (Joe Rockhead), Mr. Ardoise (Mr. Slate) and Les Affreux (The Gruesomes), to name a few. However, this tendency slightly shifts in *TS*.

While most secondary characters have Québécois names in *The Simpsons*, the main cast keeps their original English names: Homer, Marge, Bart, Lisa and Abraham Simpson. Most secondary characters though become Québécois when they are not celebrities in both QVs: Blanquette (Becky S03E08 *TS*), Gratien Génie Rock (Norman Rockbind Genius S01E17 *TS*), Stéphane Pierre Ponce (Stanley Stone Bruise S01E09 *TF*), Pierre Jean Robitaille (S01E12 *TF*), Melville J. Pleindefoin (Melville J. Mushrocks *TS*), Jean Caisse (Chip Garble S03E06 *TS*), Armand A. Pasbon (Armand J. Pebble S02E26 *TS*). The last three are also humouristic additions and a reinforcement of the negative portrayal of the characters as the latter is both a bigamist and a con artist.

In *The Flintstones*, some Québécois celebrities replace American ones such as Robert Charlebois *in lieu* of Frank Sinatra (S01E27) and, whenever a fictional personality in the original version is not a direct reference to a real one, the Québécois version takes this opportunity to insert references to Québécois celebrities: Jean-Pierre Fou-à-lier (S02E29), a reference to Jean Pierre Coallier, and Ti'Blanc Rochard (S01E02), renowned Québécois musician Ti-Blanc Richard, among many others. *The Simpsons* perfects this trend with political figures such as Janette Bertrand (S02E24)—a Québécois feminist activist—

Andrée Champagne (S06E01)—a Canadian politician and actress—and Claude Landré (S03E08)—a Canadian humourist and radio host. The QV goes as far as keeping the same category<sup>235</sup> of reference when Quimby asserts his Irish origins “Moi Joseph Fitzgerald O’Malley Fitzpatrick O’Donnell La Bolduc Quimby” (“I Joseph Fitzgerald O’Malley Fitzpatrick O’Donnell The Edge Quimby” S20E01). La Bolduc was a Québécois musician in the 1930s born of an Irish father and a French Canadian mother who played Irish reels (*historica-dominion.ca*), and hence this translational choice effectively substitutes the original reference to The Edge—the guitar player from the Irish band U2.

Miscellaneous cultural references to Québec are also present with “*jusqu’à présent Fred il a l’air d’un croisement entre le prix citron et le gag d’la semaine*” (“he looks like a saber-toothed monster and gila monster” S02E24) and “*prix orange*” (Emmy Awards S02E27): both *prix citron* and *prix orange* are references to the prize awarded by Québécois journalists to their worst and best collaborators or customers while “*le gag de la semaine*” is a popular Québécois TV show.

Besides the popular cultural references, the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* tends to geographically transpose the show to Québec through multiples references to Québécois places such as Chicoutimi (S05E03), Mont-Royal (S01E01), le Mont Tremblant (S03E17), le Rock Tremblant Inn (S01E05), le pont Sam Champlain (S02E25), la plage du Réal (S02E28), a reference to *Plage-Idéal* in Laval, Ouestremont (S02E18), a reference to the Outremont neighbourhood in Montréal, Ste. Pépite de Terrebonne (Gold Nugget Texas

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<sup>235</sup> In this case, a reference to a musician in the OV will be replaced by a reference to another musician in the QV.

S02E26), les Cantons-de-l'Est (S02E31), la Cité des arts (Carnegie hall S06E01), la Banque d'économie (S01E07), Pierre Brook (Prinstone S01E08), a reference to Université de Sherbrooke, as well as other Canadian cities—Ottawa and Vancouver (S02E03). The Montréal Gazette (S03E04), the Montréal Expos (S01E01), a former baseball team based in Montréal, la carrière Miroc where Fred works—a reference to the Miron quarry in Québec—and Radio-Granada (S02E31)—an unveiled reference to Radio-Canada, the channel airing the show in the 1970s—are other geographical ties. Unknown or general places are given a Québécois flavour with “205 boulevard Rocmort” (“35 Cobblestone Road” S04E05).

Food is also an opportunity for the Québécois version “to put its distinctive spin” (Altarac) with “*tourtière*” (S02E28), a typical Québécois dish, “*les oeufs dans le vinaigre*” (dodo eggs S03E05), while keeping mentions to “*beurre de pinotte*” (S05E14), popular in both Québec and the US, and “*sirop d'érable*” (hog-branding time S05E19).<sup>236</sup> Finally, the QV seems to favour religious references, and effectively transplants them into the Québécois culture, such as “*comme un diable qu'on a sauté dans l'eau bénite*” (“like a horny-toad frog on a hot stove” S03E05), which is also a common technique in *TS* with “*Ste Bénite!*” (“Good gravy!” S02E06).

In *The Simpsons*, references to Québécois culture increase with each season. *The Simpsons* perpetuates the tradition started with *The Flintstones* and substitutes most references by a Québécois one in later seasons—starting with season 9—with popular culture and especially its Québécois actors: Robert Lepage

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<sup>236</sup> Plourde observes this tendency (2000a: 65).

(Shakespeare S17E21), Céline Bonnier (S17E11), Régean Ducharme (Thomas Pynchon S15E10), Dominique Michel (Lisa Gibbons S12E05), François Morency (Funky Winkerpoint S12E05), Martin Drainville (Niklor in the OV who is a made-up superhero S12E05). Other miscellaneous pop culture references include: *Virginie*, a *téléroman* (*The Jim Belushi show* S15E01), les prix Gémeaux (the Emmys S15E12), le coffret-cadeau Michel Rivard (S15E02) and Stéphane Bureau (S15E02).

It is also worth mentioning here that the Québécois version alters the characters' idiosyncrasies through cultural references. In the original version, Marge reminisces about her high school days, which becomes "CEGEP" (S02E12) or the equivalent of a college in Québec. The QV increases Marge and Homer's level of education. While it could be seen as a "fluke", the same trend is apparent with Moe. While he reads Doris Kearns Goodwin in the OV, in the QV Moe becomes an avid reader of "André du Bouchet": "*j'ai jamais payé pour du André du Bouchet pis c'est pas maintenant qu'j'veis commencer*"<sup>237</sup> (S21E03). While the former is an American biographer and historian with strong political convictions, the latter is a French poet who wrote obscure poetry that we would imagine Moe, an illiterate bar owner, unable to read. However, not only is he reading du Bouchet, but Moe also clearly understands his poetry as he criticizes him, which is an additional source of incongruous humour. This is on a par with the social navigation evidenced in Chapter 3.

Sports figures and teams also become Québécois with les Nordiques, a hockey team, (NY Yankees, a baseball team S2E10) and Rodger Brulotte (Sandy

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<sup>237</sup> "I never paid for a book by André du Bouchet and I'm not going to start to today."

Koufax, also a baseball player S09E06). Food is both Québécois and North-American with “*beignes à l’érable*” (S04E21), “*baba au rhum*” (sponge cake S03E03) and “*pâté à viande*” (S02E11), which is a traditional North-American dish.<sup>238</sup>

In *The Simpsons*, geographical relocations include “*Boucherville philharmonique*” (S17E09), “Québec” (Ozarks S09E01), Concordia University (S10E7), Canal Vie (cable TV S12E07), canal Télétoon au 2100 rue Ste Catherine ouest (S15E15 and S20E01) a meta commentary about the channel airing the show in Québec, *Le devoir* and *Le journal de Montréal* (*New York Times* and *New York Post* S15E21), les Rocheuses (S02E19), “*mes territoires du Nord-Ouest*” (Scandinavian regions in the original version, S21E05) or again Caraquet (Aberdeen in OV S21E06). The Québécois version extends its network of references beyond Québec to include Canadian celebrities such as Wayne Gretzky. The original reference to William Shatner (“Shatner’s stealing” S15E18), who is also Canadian, is replaced by a reference to a resolutely Canadian sport, hockey, and the 1988 infamous trading of Wayne Gretzky, from the Edmonton Oilers, to the Los Angeles Kings.

### 5.2.3 French References

The Québécois version of *The Flintstones* also claims ties with France through the diegesis and extra-diegesis. Although the TV show’s title has been translated to *Les Pierrafeu*, no character is called *Pierrafeu* in the QV. Instead, the main

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<sup>238</sup> Eric Plourde observed the tendency in his thesis (2000a: 64).

family's name is a simple *Caillou*<sup>239</sup>—the Rocks instead of the Flintstones. The name *Pierrafeu* is used in the French version for both the name of the show and the main family. Since the original French dubbing was done in the early 60s, as opposed to the early 70s for the QV, we can assume that the QV decided to use the name in the FV as a nod to its North Atlantic cousins *Les Pierrafeu*.<sup>240</sup> The link to France is also referenced in the dubbing through the music industry (Tino Roxi/Tino Rossi S01E15), the fashion industry (Gogo Chanel/Coco Chanel S01E10), geographical places (St Tropezan/St.Tropez, S04E06) and historical figures (St. Exupéry, S01E01). Finally, the Québécois version also privileges a reference to “Europe” instead of Japan (S02E31).

References to French culture are scarce in *The Simpsons* unlike the *The Flintstones*. Besides the episodes in which France is featured, references to French literature (Jean Valjean S02E07, Astérix chez les Bretons S15E04 instead of King Ralph) or to famous French people such as Jacques Cousteau (S12E03, also in the OV) are rare. We can mention one episode in which the Québécois version adds a reference to France that is not present in the original version. Barney tells Homer: “T’es en retard pour le cours de diction française?”<sup>241</sup> (S02E06) to which Homer replies: “un cours de diction française, pour quoi faire? J’m’en vais pas en France moi.”<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> The back translation is “rock.”

<sup>240</sup> This could be taken as an additional deliberate absurd humour.

<sup>241</sup> “you’re late for your English class” in the OV

<sup>242</sup> “English? I’m never going to England” in the OV. In his thesis, Plourde contends that the QV adopts a defensive stand towards France as showcased in the episode in which Bart goes to France (S01E15). After a confrontation with unscrupulous winemakers Bart desperately tries to

#### 5.2.4 Contemporary References in *The Flintstones* and Self-Derision in *The Simpsons*

Another tendency in the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* is that it will almost systematically provide more contemporary reference.<sup>243</sup> As a consequence, the Québécois world of *TF* appears to be a modern society unlike the French version (see section 5.5.1). References to prehistoric animals and food are usually substituted with contemporary references: a “brontausorus bone” becomes a generic “*bon nonos*” (S03E04), “a saber-toothed tiger” becomes a fantasy “*loup-garou*” (S03E03), “wrestling saber-toothed tigers” (S03E15) becomes a resolutely modern “*faire du parachutisme*” and a “cactus berry pie” turns into a traditional “*une tarte aux fraises*” (S03E10).

The Québécois version of *The Simpsons* also takes itself less seriously through the cultural references, hinting at a more “casual” or “less obsessed” language in *TS*. It does not shy away from making fun of Québec and its politics, which is a first hint at the QV’s tendency towards self-derision and a language that becomes less political in *The Simpsons* than in *The Flintstones*. When Homer criticizes Massachusetts, “They must be from Massachusetts. Did you know that in Massachusetts it’s legal to marry your son?”, the QV relocates to Québec with “*Qui viennent du Québec chuis sûr de t’ça. Ça a l’air qu’un gars a l’droit de s’marier avec son fils*” (S17E11), hence displacing the critique to Québec. Or

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communicate with a French policeman to no avail, which leads him to say: “j’pensais qui comprenaient l’français en France. Si i parlaient a’ec c’t’accent là i pourraient piger, non? Je pige bien moi, quand ils-e causent!” (2000a: 100) The fact that French culture is less mentioned in *TS* than in *TF* could back this claim. However, in the episode in which the family is rescued by a French crew (S15E22) and lives in France, no further mention is made of the linguistic divide. No criticism comes from the QV. (Plourde’s assertion could stem from his endorsement of Brisset’s outdated ideological stance).

<sup>243</sup> Most of the prehistoric vocabulary is updated.

again, “*j’ramènerais la fête de la Reine et la fête de Dollard en deux congés séparés payés. Peuvent ben mettre la face de la reine sur l’dos d’l’autre. On s’est encore fait avoir. Si ça continue ils vont nous faire fêter Pâques et Noël en même temps*”<sup>244</sup> (S02E04). Homer refers to *La Fête de Dollard* becoming *la Journée nationale des patriotes* in 2003. Originally designed as Québec’s own Victoria Day, celebrated in the rest of English-speaking Canada, it was moved from November to May and now both holidays are on the same day.

Politics are often referred to in the Québécois version and transposed to Québec with humouristic jabs, not present in *The Flintstones*. For instance, when Lisa gets voted school representative, Chalmers exclaims “*c’est comme Simone Monet-Chartrand en version féminine*”<sup>245</sup> (S15E04). Monet-Chartrand was a feminist political activist as well as a pacifist, which fits Lisa’s personality. However, Monet-Chartrand is criticized in the QV for being manly, hinting at Chalmers’ sexism (S15E03). Or again “*tu f’rais bailler Lucienne Robillard*”<sup>246</sup> (S15E01) once again hinting at Robillard, a Québécois liberal party member, being a boring politician. Another reference to Donald Trump becomes “Trudeau” (S17E08) when Homer tries to imitate Trump and Lisa says he looks like Mussolini. Finally, the QV explicitly criticizes Duplessis (Jimmy Carter S09E08 in the OV) when Homer says “*ils auraient jamais dû élire Duplessis*” (“We elected Carter”). The critic becomes even more explicit in S04E2 when Quimby

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<sup>244</sup> “Like getting Washington’s birthday and Lincoln’s birthday back to separate holidays. President day? What a rip off! I bust my butt day in and day out...” in the OV.

<sup>245</sup> “a female Eleanor Roosevelt” in the OV.

<sup>246</sup> “you look like the first lady of yawn” in the OV.

unveils a statue in honour of Jimmy Carter. In the QV, it becomes Duplessis followed by the reactions of men in the crowd: “*Faut pas charrier! C’est le plus grand monstre de notre histoire!*”<sup>247</sup> (“You’re kidding! He’s our history’s greatest monster!”). While in the original version the first reference is a joke, the Québécois version becomes harsh toward Duplessis and his government that was heavily criticized to such an extent that his in power time was dubbed “*la Grande noirceur*”. In that respect, not only does Homer criticize the conservatism of the Duplessis government, but he also claims a modern *américanité* interpreted as a rupture from tradition and culminating in the Quiet Revolution. The second reference to Duplessis becomes a blatant criticism and reinforces the political subtext of the Québécois version through the addition of “our history”.

While *The Simpsons* adds subtle political touches in a humouristic way, it also pokes fun at its own pop culture. Homer, who is trying to talk The Who into playing on his side of town, tells the band that the inhabitants living on the other side of town “... *vous forceront à porter des chemises à frou-frou comme Patrick Bourgeois*” (“like Keith Partridge” in the original version, S12E02).

### **5.3 *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* as *Téléromans***

*The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* draw upon Québécois culture and offer an imaginary that is mainly Québécois recreating a strong sense of community. This notion could be pushed further: the Québécois version of both *TF* and *TS* are reminiscent of the long-standing Québécois *téléroman* tradition reinforcing this sense of community at the intertextual level. A tenuous link exists between the *américanité* phenomenon described in Thériault’s work and the *téléroman*, a

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<sup>247</sup> “he’s History’s greatest monster!” in the OV.

Québécois audiovisual genre. A discourse about the *téléroman's américanité* clearly appears in Leroy, de la Garde or Nguyễn-Duy's works. According de la Garde:

it's to open yourself to modernity, to a particular model of modern society and to the place it [Québec] could and should hold at the nations' table. And this modernity, this modern society, for obvious geopolitical, economic and cultural reasons, is American if not the United States. All in all, the *téléroman* invites Québec to invent a model of American society, to discover its *américanité*." (2002: 6)<sup>248</sup>

Or again, "the *téléroman* is similar in many ways to American TV shows aired during prime-time ... to American soap-operas ... and to South American telenovelas"<sup>249</sup> (Leroy 67). Leroy's words bear an uncanny resemblance to Thériault's analysis of what *américanité* means to the scholars in the field:

... in order to build a culture of modernity, it was necessary to revisit four centuries of History marked by long-standing ruptures in identity and the imaginary. It was all the more difficult for a hybrid society such as Québec, with its elite seeing itself in the light of French culture, whereas the popular classes were open to the North-American spaces and experiences and as a consequence felt alienated by this elite culture.<sup>250</sup> (11)

The *téléroman* was the decisive factor in the shaping of this Québécois modernity as *téléromans* were widely watched and their audience was mostly "*les petites gens*" while intellectual elites despised the genre (Nguyễn-Duy 1995b). The *téléroman* is conceived as the propeller of the Quiet revolution; belonging to the low culture, in opposition to the elite culture inevitably linked to the old European

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<sup>248</sup> "c'est s'ouvrir sur la modernité; c'est s'ouvrir sur un modèle particulier de société moderne, et sur la place qu'il pourrait et devrait occuper à la table des nations. Et cette modernité, cette société moderne, pour des raisons géo-politiques, économiques et culturelles évidentes est américaine sinon états-unienne. Bref, le *téléroman* invite le Québec à s'inventer un modèle de société américaine, à découvrir son américanité."

<sup>249</sup> "le *téléroman* est semblable à plusieurs égards aux séries américaines diffusées aux heures de grande écoute ... aux soap operas américains ... et aux telenovelas sud-américaines."

<sup>250</sup> "il a fallu, pour construire une culture de modernité, reconsidérer quatre siècles d'Histoire marqués par des ruptures durables d'identité et d'imaginaire. Cela était d'autant plus difficile, pour une société hybride comme le Québec, que son "élite" allait se penser dans la perspective d'une reproduction de la culture française, tandis que les classes populaires restaient de leur côté ouvertes à l'espace et à l'expérience nord américains et se sentaient en conséquence étrangères à la culture de l'élite."

world, the *téléroman* resolutely posits an *américanité*, claims roots within the tradition of *telenovelas* and soap operas that are genres telling stories of ordinary but resolutely modern people. It acts as a mirror to a Québécois nation reshaping its identity during the social upheavals in the 1960s-1970s. In turn it inscribes itself in a hybrid genre: “while it takes its inspiration from both the American and the European genre, the *téléroman* is not completely one or the other”<sup>251</sup> (Croft et al. 26; my emphasis). The *téléroman* belongs then to a cultural Third Space blurring origins and identities.

Three aspects, at the intertextual and thematic levels, allow us to consider both TV series as part of the “*téléromans* network”<sup>252</sup> (Nguyễn-Duy 1995c: 29), hence enforcing the sense of community already made present through the verbal channel (see Chapter 3): 1.the dubbing cast; 2.the themes and 3.the language used both as a sign of proximity and a political tool.

### **5.3.1 A Sense of Community through the *Téléroman* Network**

Nguyễn-Duy provides a clear and concise definition of what *téléroman* is for the sake of this research: “Fictitious TV show offering a realistic description style, comprised of a series of episodes airing at a fixed time and continuously one after the other, presenting a temporal frame of an episodic sequential type, overlapping, episodical or both”<sup>253</sup> (1995c: 18). On a structural level, both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* air in self-contained episodes with some continuity, especially since

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<sup>251</sup> “S’il s’inspire à la fois du genre américain et du genre européen, le téléroman n’est totalement, ni l’un ni l’autre.”

<sup>252</sup> “le réseau téléromanesque.”

<sup>253</sup> “Émission de télévision à caractère fictif et à description de style réaliste, comportant une série d’épisodes en continuité les uns avec les autres, diffusée à périodicité fixe et présentant un cadrage temporel de type séquentiel épisodique, séquentiel enchaîné, ou séquentiel épisodique enchaîné.”

both the Flintstones and the Rubbles' lives dramatically shift when they have a baby. *The Flintstones* first aired on *Radio-Canada*, host of countless *téléromans*, while *The Simpsons* first aired on *TQS* in 1993 at 4 pm before switching to *Teletoon* in 2004 airing at the much later time of 9 pm. In that sense *TS*'s airing time indicates a targeted young audience.

However, the adaptation of *The Simpsons* is reminiscent of the *téléroman* and its “auteuristic television”<sup>254</sup> (Leroy 10) approach. Johanne Léveillé (Bart's voice), Benoît Rousseau (Lenny and other secondary characters' voice), Gilbert Lachance (voicing Krusty and other secondary characters), François Sasseville (Sideshow Mel) and Pierre Auger (Disco Stu) are part of the team of adaptors. Johanne Léveillé also acts as the artistic director (*doublage.qc.ca*).<sup>255</sup> As a consequence, the dubbing cast holds power over the dubbing decisions and translation, which helps confer an ‘auteuristic’ feel to the adaptation unlike the approach in the French version where discrepancies originally existed between the adaptors' and actors' work.<sup>256</sup> A link or continuity between the *téléromans* and both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* is apparent in the cast. Most dubbing actors for both cartoons have starred in one or more *téléromans*, before, during and after the airing of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* (see table 31). Marc Labrèche, often mentioned in the dubbing of *The Simpsons*, is also famous for his character in *La petite vie*, one of the most popular *téléromans*.

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<sup>254</sup> “une télévision d’auteurs.”

<sup>255</sup> See <http://www.doublage.qc.ca/p.php?i=162&idmovie=3103>

<sup>256</sup> See Chapter 1 and section 5.6.2.

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Téléroman</b>
Alain Zouvi (Smithers <i>TS</i> )	4 et demi (1994-2001)
Claude Michaud (Barney <i>TF</i> )	A la branche d'olivier (1970)
Béatrice Picard (Pearl Slaghoople <i>TF</i> and Marge <i>TS</i> )	Balsamine (1962-1963)
Paul Berval (Fred <i>TF</i> )	Bonjour docteur (1987-1989)
Jean-Louis Millette (Smithers and Apu <i>TS</i> )	Bouscotte (1997-2001)
Monique Miller (Betty <i>TF</i> )	Cap aux sorciers (1955-1958)
Gilbert Lachance (Krusty <i>TS</i> )	Chambres en ville (1989-1996)
Alain Zouvi Johanne Garneau (Selma and Ralph <i>TS</i> ) Louise Rémy (Edna <i>TS</i> )	Des dames de cœurs (1986-1989)
Béatrice Picard	Du tac au tac (1976-1982)
Janine Sutto (Grandma Slahooople <i>TF</i> )	Ent'Cadieux (1993-1999)
Edgar Fruitier (Mr. Burns <i>TS</i> ) Yves Massicotte (Barney <i>TS</i> )	Entre chien et loup (1984-1992)
Alain Zouvi	Fortier (2001-2004)
Yves Massicotte Jean-Louis Millette Béatrice Picard	Grand-Papa (1976-1979)
Alain Zouvi Yves Massicotte	L'auberge du chien noir (2003-present)
Paul Berval Edgar Fruitier Yves Massicotte	La famille Plouffe (1953-1959)
Yves Massicotte	La montagne du Hollandais 91992-1993)
Bernard Fortin (Ned, Chief Wiggum and Rev. Lovejoy <i>TS</i> ) Janine Sutto Hubert Gagnon (Homer and Abe <i>TS</i> )	Lance et compte :(1986-1989) Lance et Compte: le crime de Lulu (1990)
Benoît Marleau (Moe <i>TS</i> ) Yves Massicotte	La pension Velder (1957-1961)
Edgar Fruitier Benoît Marleau	La petite patrie (1974-1976)
Bernard Fortin Marc Labrèche (Krusty and Otto <i>TS</i> )	La petite vie (1993-1998)
Alain Zouvi	Le monde de Charlotte (2000-2004)

Jean-Louis Millette	L'héritage (1987-1990)
Béatrice Picard	Le paradis terrestre (1968-1972)
Marie-Andrée Corneille (Mrs. Hoover <i>TS</i> )	Le retour (1996-2001)
Jacques Brouillet (Mr. Slate <i>TS</i> ) Janine Sutto Monique Miller	Le septième nord (1963-1967)
Béatrice Picard Jean-Louise Millette	Le survenant (1957-1958)
Serge Turgeon (Grand Poobah <i>TF</i> ) Edgar Fruitier Janine Sutto	Les belles histoire des pays d'en haut (1956-1970)
Paul Berval	Les Berger (1970-1978)
Béatrice Picard	Les Brillant (1979-1982)
Janine Sutto	Les Parfaits (2001-2002)
Alain Zouvi	Les supers mamies (2002-2003)
Janine Sutto	Monsieur le ministre (1982-1986)
Edgar Fruitier Jean-Louis Millette Monique Miller	Montréal PQ (1992-1995)
Edgar Fruitier Janine Sutto	Poivre et sel (1983-1987)
Béatrice Picard	Rue de l'anse (1963-1965)
Béatrice Picard Denise Proulx (Wilma <i>TF</i> ) Serge Turgeon Edgar Fruitier	Rue des pignons (1966-1977)
Janine Sutto	Rumeurs (2002-2008)
Jean-Louis Millette	Sous le signe du lion (1961-1967)
Marie-Andrée Corneille Béatrice Picard	Sous un ciel variable (1993-1997)
Béatrice Picard Jean-Louis Millette Denise Proulx Janine Sutto Edgar Fruitier	Symphorien (1970-1977)
Serge Turgeon	Terre humaine (1978-1984)

Edgar Fruitier Yves Massicotte	
Alain Zouvi	Un monde à part (2004-2006)
Bernard Fortin Béatrice Picard	Virginie (1996-2001)
Marie-Andrée Corneille Bernard Fortin Janine Sutto	Watatatow (1991-2005)
Edgar Fruitier Claude Michaud Jean-Louis Millette Janine Sutto	Y'a pas de problème (1975-1977)

Table 31. List of *Téléromans*.<sup>257</sup>

The dubbing cast itself inscribes the dubbed shows within the *téléroman* tradition and the Québécois viewer will undoubtedly recognize the voices, all the more since the actors are visually featured in the opening credits of *The Flintstones* (see 5.3.1). Denise Picard provides an additional bridge not only between the cartoons and the *téléroman* but also between *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* as she voiced a character in each adaptation.

The dubbing cast reinforces the “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41) furthered by the title of both TV shows. “Several *téléromans*’ titles are the main characters’: *Les Berger, Les Olden*” (Nguyen-Duy 1995c: 68)<sup>258</sup>. *Les Simpson* and *Les Pierrafeu* would seamlessly blend into this list. Moreover, the titles “... show the genre’s focus on familial and private spheres.”<sup>259</sup> (Nguyen-Duy 1995a: 67). On a structural level, while both *TF* and *TS* are cartoons that cannot

<sup>257</sup> The table is alphabetically organized based on the name of the *téléroman*. This list is also non-exhaustive as this would greatly impede the interest of this chapter. For an exhaustive list, visit [teleromans.e-monsite.com](http://teleromans.e-monsite.com)

<sup>258</sup> “plusieurs titres de téléromans sont ceux des personnages principaux: *Les Berger, Les Olden...*”

<sup>259</sup> “Ceci traduit la focalisation du genre sur les sphères familiale et privée.”

claim to be realistic, especially since the former takes place in a fictitious and anachronistic prehistoric age and the latter features absurd situations, the themes underlying them are realistic: the shows' focus on the family and the community or the private sphere (67), especially *The Flintstones*. In the latter, most of the action happens indoors and the characters rarely leave their city while in *The Simpsons*, the globetrotting family always goes back to their Springfield residential suburbia. Nguyễn-Duy words are worth quoting here at length:

The realistic style of the *téléroman* is provided by the *mise en scène* of intrigues that, despite their sometimes unbelievable and unexpected developments, lend routine and privacy quality generating a recognition and identification process. The stories are essentially based on the interpersonal relationships of characters who are the archetypes of an everyday man or woman. And even if these characters are different from the average Québécois ... they are still dealing with daily problems that testify to their virtual realism.<sup>260</sup> (1994: 48; my emphasis)

Most of the Springfield's and Bedrock's inhabitants are "*petites gens*" with their "*p'tits bonheurs*" (de la Garde 2002: 15). While the Simpsons family often find themselves in absurd situations and plots, in the end, the only constant is the family's tight-knit unit and the strong sense of community and bonding seeping through the TV shows. The *téléroman* follows the occasionally difficult life of its characters and focuses on the importance of the family in Québec. *Téléroman* characters are deeply familiar and mirror Québécois society already present through the multiple references to Québécois culture (Québécois celebrities for instance). Through the *téléromans* "... there was a specific anchoring in Québécois culture whose first characteristic was the identification process. The

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<sup>260</sup> "Le style réaliste du téléroman lui est conféré par la mise en scène d'intrigues, qui, malgré des rebondissements parfois saugrenues, n'en gardent pas moins une saveur de quotidienneté et de privacité entraînant un processus de reconnaissance et d'identification. Les histoires sont essentiellement basées sur les rapports interpersonnels entre des personnages qui se veulent autant d'archétypes de monsieur et madame-tout-le monde. Et même si ces personnages se démarquent du Québécois moyen ... ils demeurent aux prises avec des problèmes quotidiens qui témoignent de leur réalisme virtuel."

characters have familiar names, they live in places identified as being Québécois and during times that mirror our history. They have careers and occupations easily relatable to the ones in our country”<sup>261</sup> (Beauregard qtd. in Desaulniers 40). This statement could easily apply to both adaptations in which references are made to Québec. Even supposedly evil characters (Mr. Burns in *TS*) become deeply engaging as they narrate their story and become familiar to the audience, especially with Burns using *joual* expressions and *standard Québécois* (see Chapter 2). The feeling of proximity is enhanced by both the language and the cultural references.

This sense of community in both cartoons is expressed through the use of *joual* by the main and secondary characters. This “language of proximity” (Lampron qtd. in Von Flotow 2010: 35), along with the Québécois references, gives a “local” feel. The goal of both Québécois versions is not “*forgetting the Révolution tranquille*”<sup>262</sup> (Paquet 1999). They are set on transcending it, moving towards another state or identity while staying political. In both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* the “US is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of imaginary landscapes” (Appadurai 31). The dubbed shows do not merely absorb US values and products but instead create a second culture. Through the different uses of these “nodes” the Québécois version remains deeply political, hence positing

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<sup>261</sup> “ il y a eu un ancrage très précis dans la culture québécoise avec une première caractéristique qui est l'identification. Les personnages ont des noms familiers, ils vivent dans des endroits identifiés au Québec et à des époques marquées par notre histoire. Ils sont inscrits dans des métiers, des vocations et toutes sortes d'occupations repérables dans le cadre du pays.”

<sup>262</sup> “oublier la révolution tranquille.”

itself as this ‘intentionality’ towards the building of a national project Thériault was evoking earlier. Beyond an *américanité* or Québécois feel, both dubbed shows act as a rhizomatic entity connected to the global:

the almost instantaneous and permanent success of the small screen is due, on one hand, to news programs allowing viewers to see the world and the Other with their own eyes and to narrate this world through words familiar to them—it is open to the global—and, on the other hand, is due to fictional characters whom viewers can identify with—it acts as a mirror of the local. The vast majority of those who analyze the téléroman seem to have kept this dichotomy—information/window open onto the world and fiction/mirror of society. (Bouchard 2000 qtd in de la Garde 2002: 5)<sup>263</sup>

### 5.3.2 The Linguistic and Political Issue in Québec

Purists à la Georges Dor very often criticize television, and especially *téléromans*, for not being a good linguistic educational tool. But a language that is completely distorted no longer conveys any feeling. There was a TV show on Télé-Québec, *Hôtel Hélène*, I think, with Maude Guérin. These characters’ language was bad, they were swearing, dirt was coming out of their mouth. In *Fred Dy*, there are also two characters, Ben and Mona, whose language is bad. The author’s goal is to show that everybody has something to teach us, even people on social welfare, and that one can learn from their dramas. You have to give credit to the language in all its shapes and dimensions and teach people how to create and see its nuances, to feel its resonances everywhere. By wanting to homogenize too much, you cut yourself off from reality!<sup>264</sup> (Beauregard qtd.in Desaulniers 44; my emphasis)

Not only do the dubbed shows belong to the Québécois network but the link between *joual* and the Québécois society of the 1960s-1970s for *The Flintstones* is reinforced by the presence of Monique Miller, the acting voice of Betty Rubble,

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<sup>263</sup> “Le succès quasi instantané et permanent du petit écran serait redevable, d’une part, aux émissions d’information qui permettraient aux téléspectateurs de voir le monde et l’Autre avec des yeux et de le dire avec des mots qui leur sont familiers—c’est son côté ouverture sur le global—et, d’autre part, aux personnages de fictions en qui les téléspectateurs se reconnaissaient—c’est son côté miroir du local. Cette dichotomie—information/fenêtre sur le monde et fiction/miroir de la société—semble avoir été retenue par la très grande majorité des analystes du téléroman.”

<sup>264</sup> “Les puristes à la Georges Dor reprochent très souvent à la télévision, et aux téléromans en particulier, de ne pas faire une bonne éducation linguistique. Mais une langue complètement dénaturée n’est plus porteuse de sentiments. Il a eu une émission à Télé-Québec, *Hôtel Hélène*, je crois, avec Maude Guérin. Les personnages y parlaient très mal, ils sacraient, c’était de la terre qui sortait de la gorge. Dans *Fred-Dy*, il y a aussi deux personnages, Ben et Mona, qui parlent mal. L’idée de l’auteur, c’est que tout le monde a quelque chose à nous apprendre, même des assistés sociaux, et qu’on peut tirer des leçons d’eux ou de leurs drames. Il faut rendre justice à la langue dans toutes ses dimensions et apprendre aux gens à créer ou à voir ses nuances, à sentir ses résonances partout. À trop vouloir homogénéiser, on se coupe de la réalité!”

who has played in Tremblay's play *En pièces détachées* (1969) featuring the working-class of Montréal and its alienation. Finally, Janine Sutto, grandma Lance-Roche, also played Lisette de Courval in Tremblay's controversial *Les Belles-soeurs*, a 1968 political play written in *joual*. This is all cohesive of the revolutionary and political intertext in *TF* delineating itself in the audio channel and through the presence of voices of actors with whom a Québécois audience will be familiar.<sup>265</sup>

The language issue is prevalent in *The Flintstones* and acts as a link with *téléromans*. In *La petite vie*, for instance, the language issue is crucial as showcased by Moman claiming in a rare moment of seriousness: "... *la langue c'est les entrailles d'un peuple*" ("the language is the gut of a people" *Le voyage à Plattsburgh I*). According to Nevert, "... the Paré family's adventures are also linguistic ones. The identity issue bonding them lies within both the characters and the language in *La petite vie*. The language/identity overlap has opened up onto a major issue in Québec and onto a mirror effect between the TV series and the society it came from"<sup>266</sup> (13). The language has a crucial place in both dubbed shows that are reminiscent of *La petite vie* and the language they speak is deeply rooted in Québécois history and culture.

We can also draw a parallel between a scene in *The Simpsons* and one in *La petite vie*. In the latter, a French couple who appears in four episodes (*La*

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<sup>265</sup> The rest of the Québécois cast will also become famous such as Serge Turgeon who will become the president of the UDA (see chapter I section).

<sup>266</sup> "les aventures du clan Paré sont aussi celles du langage. Quant à la problématique qui les relie, celle de l'identité, elle marque à son tour et les personnages et la langue de *La petite vie*. Dans la brèche ouverte par la superposition langue/identité se faufile alors la question majeure du Québec, et vraisemblablement l'effet miroir entre la série et la société où elle a vu le jour."

*correspondance de Moman I, Le 40ème anniversaire IV, Le mariage du gai II et Le 40ème anniversaire III*) displays “... each time their complete contempt of the two Québécois”<sup>267</sup> (79). In a footnote, Lortie writes “this French contempt of the Québécois is not new...”<sup>268</sup> (79) and “the presence of the French couple puts the spotlight on the linguistic discrepancies between French from France and French from Québec”<sup>269</sup> (82-3).

The same situation happens in *The Simpsons* when Bart goes to France (S01E11) and is exploited by unscrupulous Southern French winemakers. Bart speaks with an accent when talking to a French policeman: “*pourquoi i comprennent pas? J’pensais qui comprenaient l’français en France. Si i parlaient pas a’ec c’t’accent là i pourraient piger non? Je pige bien moi, quand ils-e causent!*” (Plourde 2000a: 123). According to Plourde, “Bart exemplifies ... the uncomfortable position of the Québécois concerning the paradox of being able to understand the French ... while not being understood unless speaking a French different from the one he uses” (124).

In *TF*, while education officials speak international French, a language of oppression and spoken by no one, it is barely present in *TS*. The QV of *TS* features a caustic language reminiscent of *La petite vie*, through references but also a specific portrayal of the characters. In choosing *joual* and, to a lesser extent, *standard Québécois* both dubbed shows assert their belonging to the

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<sup>267</sup> “à chaque fois un mépris total vis-à-vis des deux Québécois.”

<sup>268</sup> “cette question du mépris français à l’endroit de Québécois n’est pas chose nouvelle...”

<sup>269</sup> “la présence du couple français engendre la mise au jour des dissemblances de langage entre le français de France et le français du Québec.”

*téléroman* genre featuring “a common and lively language, easily recognized by the majority of Québécois”<sup>270</sup> (Leroy 13). Once again here Leroy evokes a language of proximity that bonds viewers and conveys a community feel.

“Even if Québécois cultural life is largely influenced by their *north-américanité*, the French reality ... remains a central axis around which our culture is built”<sup>271</sup> (Garon and Lapointe 3) or again “... Québec has its own unique identification process that is neither from France nor from the United-States, but is American with some French cultural ‘accents’” (Leroy 25).<sup>272</sup> The *téléroman* traces back Québécois history (Nguyen-Duy 1995a: 57); it does not discard the past as Québec is “... modern, liberal, secular, industrial ... [and] displays its *américanité* through legendary figures out of its *téléromans*” (9).<sup>273</sup> Continuity exists between Québec’s past, present and future. Here, the *téléroman* does not become a rupture with or a discarding of the past. Beyond the cultural references made to Québécois culture and society in both *TF* and *TS*, the former revisits its linguistic past while the latter also revisits its turbulent political past through subtle touches interspersed throughout the TV series: “this fascination for products from another era translates a positive desire towards remembering or discovering a collective past and must be considered as part of a particular context

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<sup>270</sup> “une langue banale et vivante, aisément reconnaissable par la majorité des Québécois.”

<sup>271</sup> “Même si la vie culturelle des Québécois est largement teintée par leur nord-américanité, le fait français...demeure l’axe central autour duquel se construit notre édifice culturel.”

<sup>272</sup> “l’identification québécoise qui se fait à sa façon qui n’est ni française, ni états-unienne, mais américaine avec quelques ‘accents’ de culture française.”

<sup>273</sup> “... moderne, libéral, laïque, industriel ... qui affiche son américanité à travers les figures légendaires sortis de ses téléromans.”

which is a quest for cultural and national identities”<sup>274</sup> (Nguyen-Duy 1995b: 58). This historical past in *TF* and *TS* is paired with a contemporary anchoring and a sense of modernity.

These features in both *TF* and *TS* place them as part of the “*téléroman* network” (Nguyen-Duy 1995c: 29). More than anything else the *téléroman* was part of the formation of a Québécois identity and led to the *Révolution tranquille*: “a strong link is forged between the *téléroman* and the Quiet Revolution”<sup>275</sup> (Leroy 10). The latter is subtly referred to in *The Flintstones* (section 5.4.1).

## **5. 4 Politics of Visibility and Audibility, Visibility and Audibility of Politics**

### **5.4.1 Political Undertones in *The Flintstones***

Language and power intersect not only in obvious conflicts concerning official tongues, but wherever the question of language difference becomes involved with asymmetrical political arrangements. (Shohat and Stam 52)

Besides fostering a sense of community, the use of *joual* in the wake of the *querelle du joual* and in the midst of Québécois language policies<sup>276</sup> is a conscious choice made by the dubbing studio: *The Flintstones* was the first animated TV show targeted at children to use popular Québécois.<sup>277</sup> The show aired in the wake of *The Official Language Act* adopted by the government in 1969 which acknowledged English and French as equal languages, hence

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<sup>274</sup> “cette fascination pour les productions d’époque traduit un désir positif de se remémorer ou de découvrir un passé collectif et doit être considérée dans le contexte particulier d’une quête d’identités culturelle et nationale”

<sup>275</sup> “un lien ténu se forge entre téléroman et Révolution Tranquille.”

<sup>276</sup> Loi 101, politique linguistique de la langue.

<sup>277</sup> In Chapter 1 we saw that TV shows were and still are mostly dubbed in France and then exported to Québec. The dubbing is using a French from France. This practice has been criticized by several official organizations in Québec advocating for a dubbing made in Québec.

recognizing them as the official languages of Canada. The Québécois version of *The Flintstones* was done in the mid to late 70s along with other significant shifts in terms of societal changes and language policies over the French language in Québec. It came in the midst of debates about the use of *joual* and bitter arguments about its implementation and nature at all levels of society. In terms of society upheavals, the dubbing of the show comes after the Quiet Revolution a period of major changes in Québécois society, among which are the modernization and secularization of Québécois society and the nationalization of power factories.

In the fashion of a *téléroman* that accompanies the different social upheavals that Québec goes through (Nguyên-Duy 1995c), *The Flintstones* reflects the social changes and participates in a new order. These major upheavals within Québécois society are subtly referred to in the Québécois version, which is arguably a manipulation by the dubbing company and/or actors/adapters of the time. While the QV claims its north-American roots and similarities with the US it refuses to discard the past and instead exalts the *Révolution tranquille*. In S02E03 (18''18'), Fred is calling his boss in the hopes of quitting his job as a school bus driver.

Characters	OV	QV
<b>Boss</b>	Fred, listen to me, boy. I'm going to say something important	Fred, Fred écoute moi bien. Là j'veais t'dire quelque chose [kəkfoz] de très important
<b>Fred</b>	I'm listening	Oui patron
<b>Boss</b>	Four score and seven years ago I founded this company dedicated to the proposition that all children should be treated equal. All we ask of you is blood, sweat, and tears. And we shall go to the end. We shall keep them rolling.	A Ottawa, après des grands froids, j'ai fondé une compagnie <i>Les Autobus jeunes canadiens</i> qui vont partout et coûtent rien. De Vancouver à La Milingue, nos autobus ils sont bilingues, qu'ils roulent vite ou ben lentement ça n'a rien de ben terrible. Tout c'qui est vraiment

		important c'est qu'ils roulent dans une cité libre
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Table 32. Political Reference.

The Québécois version manipulates the verbal channel since Fred's boss remains invisible during that stretch of the conversation. The focus is on Fred's reaction to the speech—visibly touched, he starts crying. In this short conversation, the boss takes pride in the fact that his company's mission is to provide a bilingual service not only in Québec, but throughout the entire country of Canada, which is different from the original dialogue.

We have two blatant instances of these political undertones pervading the Québécois dubbing that reinforce a double reading. If like the original version, the Québécois version is targeted at both children and adults it also adds an extra political layer specifically targeted at a mature Québécois audience. Two references are intimately linked to Québécois songs and their social influence in the 1970s while another one proves to be more subtle (S02E02) yet still very significant to a Québécois viewer.

The first reference occurs in S03E17 when the maid, Gina Lollobrickida, is watching a TV show called *The Ed Stonevan* show (*Sur le toit* in the QV).

Characters	OV	QV
<b>TV host</b>	And now folks, let's give a really big Ed Stonevan welcome to a really big Western singing star: Tiny Tex Bricker	Et maintenant, applaudissons comme seuls les gens d'ici savent le faire un chanteur western, vedette des disques joul, Billy la botte
<b>Tiny Tex/Billy</b>	Oh give me a home where the dinosaurs roam, oh where the reptiles in the maze play	J'ai perdu mon joul pis je sais [je] pas où il est. La j'commence à avoir peur qu'un Français l'ait mangé
<b>Gina</b>	That's terrible singing!	C'est terrible cette chanson!
<b>Tiny Tex/Billy</b>	Is hurt by discouraging word cause you're too busy running away	Oh mon pov' tit poney! C'était le joul de ma vie. Faut croire qu'on l'a jamais compris.

<b>Gina</b>	I no can stand it	Mama mia c'est trop affreux ça!
<b>Billy</b>	Oh oh...	Ha mon pauvre joual

Table 33. Reference to *Joual*.

In the original version, Tex is feeling nostalgic about “a home where the dinosaurs roam” while the Québécois version refers to a horse or more precisely a “joual”, which is the *joual* term for “cheval” and the vernacular Québécois language. In this instance, the singer laments over the slow but steady replacement of “joual” by *standard French* (*un français l'ait mangé*) in Québec, which is reinforced by the following words: “they probably never understood it” and “it was the language of my life”. It strongly echoes *La mort de mon joual* by Roland Lorrain in which the author writes “*joual was our soul and one does not live very long without his/her soul*” (8)<sup>278</sup>. Once again, *joual* is perceived as an affectiolect (Dargnat 61), linked to the soul but also a political tool in the *Révolution tranquille*. In *The Flintstones*, “language is ... an important factor in social cohesion. It creates a sense of solidarity and complicity between individuals. It symbolizes and shows a sense of belonging to an original society and culture, one that is different from others but as rich and deserving of respect” (Corbeil 37; my emphasis).<sup>279</sup> In *TF*, the dialect known as *joual* becomes the norm of the Bedrock community. *Joual* in *TF* becomes political as noted by Laurendeau: “the political side of the coin: the men from Parti Pris saw joual as a tool for making political claims, focused on the social dimension—they understood that the best way to upset institutions was to use their own language

<sup>278</sup> “le joual, il faut bien le dire, c’était notre âme. Et on ne vit pas longtemps sans son âme...”

<sup>279</sup> “La langue joue...un rôle important dans la cohésion sociale. Elle crée entre les individus une solidarité et une connivence de tous les instants. Elle symbolise et manifeste l’appartenance à une société et à une culture originales, différentes des autres, tout aussi riches et dignes de respect.”

against them, to shatter the norms of the two-headed monster that is bourgeois discourse: both English and French” (Beaulieu 1974: 17 qtd. in Laurendeau 434).<sup>280</sup> Benoît Rousseau comments: “*The Flintstones* broke a taboo in a way, and the fact that the dubbing occurred at the beginning of Québécois nationalism, in the 1970s, surely has something to do with it” (167).<sup>281</sup>

*Joual* as a political tool is also referenced through Robert Charlebois, the first singer to use *joual* and who altered the musical landscape in Québec (Normand 89). The latter is directly referenced in S01E27 when two music students answer Wilma and Betty’s ad about a bedroom for rent. When Wilma asks them what type of music they sing they answer “*un peu dans l’genre de Charlebois*” (7’28’). When Barney has an outburst about having live-in musicians who do not pay rent, Betty replies: “if we don’t encourage young people to play music, who will be our next Charlebois? If you really think about it, we are being patriotic” (16’45’).<sup>282</sup> Once again, the QV is making a political statement through the reference to Robert Charlebois whose “*joual ... is not a good natured one, like la Bolduc’s, but the more deliberate, politically engaged and sometimes artificial one of the CEGEP youth and some well-known authors*”<sup>283</sup> (108) or

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<sup>280</sup> “le côté politique: les gars d’Parti Pris ont vu l’joual un instrument d’revendication, axé su l’social- y avaient compris qu’la meilleure manière d’écœurer les établis'sments c’tait de r’tourner l’langage contre eux autres, c’tait d’faire péter les normes du discours bourgeois qui était icitte un monstre à deux têtes, l’anglaise pis la française...”

<sup>281</sup> “Les *Pierrafeu* ont brisé un tabou: en quelque sorte, et le fait que ce doublage soir survenu dans la première flambée du nationalisme québécois, dans les années 70, y est certainement pour quelque chose.”

<sup>282</sup> “si on encourage pas les jeunes à la musique, qui sera notre prochain Charlebois? Si t’y penses comme y faut, on agit patriotiquement. ”

<sup>283</sup> “joual ... n’est pas celui bon enfant, de la Bolduc, mais celui, délibéré, engagé et parfois artificiel, de la jeunesse cégépienne et de quelques auteurs bien connus.”

again “... joul is indebted to him. He imposed it on the Québécois song ... and it will be very prolific! This is the only exact transcription of a particular culture, ours: this language as upbeat as the music on which it relies is one of the most precious contributions by Robert Charlebois to Québécois culture that keeps on expanding”<sup>284</sup> (Texte de Pierre Bélali dans *Le Devoir*, 1971 qtd. in Normand 109). Normand adds that “he participated in the rejection of the great French song tradition, venerable and old-fashioned, and adapted American ‘underground’ rock to Québécois counter-culture”<sup>285</sup> (109) hence Québec claims roots in a North-American reality while adapting US culture and society to Québec. Standing at a crossroads, it features *américanité*, criticized by Thériault, while remaining political.



Fig. 39. The Québécois voicing cast<sup>286</sup>

Finally, the Québécois version of *The Flintstones* is also political in regards to the nature of the dubbing industry. As seen in chapter 1, dubbing is the

<sup>284</sup> “il a donné au joul ses lettres de créance. Il l’a définitivement imposé à la chanson québécoise ... et il aura une nombreuse progéniture! C’est la seule transcription exacte d’une culture particulière, la nôtre: “ce langage aussi rythmé que la musique sur laquelle il repose est un des apports les plus précieux de Robert Charlebois à une culture québécoise qui s’étoffe de plus en plus.”

<sup>285</sup> “il a participé au rejet de la grande tradition française de la chanson, vénérable et désuète, et a adapté le rock américain “underground” à la contre-culture québécoise.”

<sup>286</sup> These images are taken from the website *t411.me*. The opening credits on my Québécois DVD are the original ones.

“*art de l’ombre*” in which the body of the dubbing actor disappears in order to keep the viewing contract intact. However, this invisible actor comes out of the shadows in the Québécois version and is awarded the same status as an original actor (see fig.39). Not only does the QV feature “Denise Proulx as Délima Caillou”, implying that the show the Québécois viewer is watching is made in Québec, but it also features a picture of each dubbing actor next to their respective character, once again interpreted as an original production in the manner of a *téléroman*. Right from the opening credits the Québécois version appropriates the original version and turns it into a Québécois *pure laine* product. In that sense the dubbing of *TF* acts as a rereading of its American belonging. *The Flintstones* is “primary culture” (Thériault 100) material with which the QV creates “a second product”, a “Third Space” (Bhabha 1994: 36) of negotiation. The QV takes the American product and examines it from a distance in order to engage with it (Thériault).

#### **5.4.2 Visibility of Translation in *The Simpsons***

While *The Simpsons* does not go as far as *The Flintstones* and does not prominently feature its dubbing cast, they use the verbal channel, the dialogues, to become audible. While on the surface it would appear that the Québécois version of *The Simpsons* is less political than *The Flintstones*, be it literally (no mention of *joual*) and figuratively (when it comes to the translation industry, the dubbing cast is not visually featured unlike the ones in *TF*), it is still actively political in subtle touches dispersed throughout the episodes. The QV’s approach to the language would appear more “*décomplexée*” as proven by its sense of self-

derision (see section 5.2.4). It would seem that *joual* serves aesthetic purposes as well as the conveying a true sense of belonging and community.

However this sense of self-derision is used in conjunction with a willingness to make the translation ‘audible’ when Homer is watching a TV show whose main character is voiced by Marc Labrèche. Homer exclaims “*Labrèche qui fait des voix? Ca a juste pas d’bon sens!*”<sup>287</sup> (S15E07). The humour works on two levels: not only is Homer depreciating one of the dubbing cast members but it also creates a sense of complicity with the Québécois fans since Marc Labrèche voices Krusty. Marc Labrèche (S15E6: 10”21’) is mentioned again when Marge thinks he would be a good actor for a specific role: “*Pourquoi pas Marc Labrèche? Il est mignon, séduisant, intelligent en plus d’être sexy physiquement*” (John Stewart in the OV). The same technique is used for Béatrice Picard when Homer is dreaming about receiving an Oscar and screams “*c’est pour ma femme. C’est pour toi Béatrice Picard*”<sup>288</sup> (S05E19), once again a clear reference to the fact that Béatrice Picard voices Marge, Homer’s wife, in the Québécois version. Finally, Abraham Simpson, rebuked by an older woman, screams “*j’aimerais bien ça qu’on s’débarasse d’vous-autres les genre Béatrice Picard*” (Audrey Hepburn in the OV, S15E18), which is once again a clear example of self-derision.

Another reference to the dubbing cast is made in S09E06 (22”00’). The dubbing takes advantage of the visuals during the closing credits as names appear

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<sup>287</sup> “Labrèche who voices characters? That doesn’t make sense!”

<sup>288</sup> “that’s for my wife. That’s for you Béatrice Picard.”

on screen when Homer declares “*toute l’équipe de doublage coupée*”<sup>289</sup> instead of “Castellaneta, gone. Kavner, cut”. Once again, the Québécois version takes the visuals as a way to put the dubbing team in the spotlight.

More importantly, the Québécois version subtly resorts to a meta-commentary on the invisibility of translation (S09E03):

	OV	QV
<b>Heterodiegetic narrator</b>	It’s the TV movie of the year. “The Krusty the Klow n story: booze, drugs, guns, lies, blackmail and laughter.” Starring Fyvush Finkel as Krusty the Klow n	Le télécinéma de l’année: “Krusty histoire d’un clown: boisson, drogues, armes, mensonges, chantage et rire.” En vedette <u>Yves Massicotte</u> dans “Krusty le clown”
<b>Actor playing Krusty</b>	I went through a five-year orgy of nonstop pills and booze with nothing to show for it but four Emmys and a Peabody Award ( <i>cries</i> )	J’ai passé à travers d’une orgie qui a duré cinq ans: pilule, boisson, pis ça a pas servi à grand-chose. Tout c’que j’en ai r’tiré c’est un <u>Ronald pour le doublage</u>

Table 34. Reference to the Dubbing Industry.

While in the original version the reference is to American actor Fyvush Finkel, the Emmys and a Peabody award, both awards for outstanding television programming that are well-known and broadcast in Canada, the Québécois version takes an altogether different road. It takes this opportunity to refer to Yves Massicotte, Barney’s voice in the TV show<sup>290</sup> who is awarded “un Ronald pour le doublage”, a prize for dubbing. Not only does it explicitly refer to the Québécois version’s own dubbing quality, but the QV also plays on self-irony: the frustrated actor cries, which in the QV is doubly bittersweet humour since he ‘only’ won a prize for dubbing unlike the more prestigious Emmy and Peabody awards. His

<sup>289</sup> “the whole dubbing team is cut.”

<sup>290</sup> Yves Massicotte is also famous for being the voice of the captain in *Titanic* and James Caan for *Snow Dogs*. He is a staple name in the Québécois cartoon dubbing industry, akin maybe to Roger Carel in France. For his dubbing work visit the following page <<http://www.doublage.qc.ca/p.php?i=163&idacteurfr=27>>.

reaction seems justified and points to the fact that dubbing is a depreciated and undervalued art for which prizes and distinctions are non-existent or not recognized. The QV does not seem to take itself seriously and displays a more casual approach to its language than in *The Flintstones*.

## 5.5 Fantasyland in the French Version of *The Flintstones*

### 5.5.1 Geographic Limbo

The rooting in national culture is still a distinctive feature of many cultural products. But we also observe the opposite trend. Fictions, in particular, targeted at children and teenagers throughout the world feature characters who are not attached to a clearly identified territory and culture. (Dagnaud 30; my emphasis)<sup>291</sup>

In its dealing with American popular culture the French version of *The Flintstones* adopts an ambiguous and apparently inconsistent attitude already noticed in the treatment of the nonverbal dimension (see Chapter 4). At times it will keep the original references, at other times it will update them to the 90s society, while it will ‘neutralize’ or domesticate others by displacing the reference to a French setting.<sup>292</sup> Most surprising of all, some references to French culture in the original version such as the French Riviera (S04E30) and Brigitte Bardot (S02E03) respectively become a neutral “*les palaces*” and an American reference to “Michael Jackson”. This section will draw upon the taxonomy laid out by Goris in “The Question of French Dubbing: Towards a Frame for Systematic Investigation” (1993) and his concept of “naturalization” (177).

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<sup>291</sup> “L’ancrage dans la culture nationale perdure aujourd’hui comme un signe distinctif de beaucoup de produits culturels. Mais on observe aussi la tendance inverse. En particulier les fictions qui visent le public des enfants et des adolescents à travers le monde mettent en scène des personnages détachés d’un territoire et d’une culture identifiée.”

<sup>292</sup> The first two techniques are prevalent unlike the latter one.

Unlike the Québécois version, the French version anchors the show in a fantasyland place where a reference to “Arkystone” is replaced by a neutral “battlefield”<sup>293</sup> (S04E18), while both Texas (S05E22) and Hollyrock are kept. Even a reference to Bedrock, the city in which the main characters live, is replaced by “*village*” (S01E01). A reference to “Bedrock college” (S04E06) becomes a general “*conservatoire de la ville*”. Or again, a reference to a popular brand “Cactus Coola” (Coca Cola) becomes a neutral “*jus de cactus*” (S01E05). This trend for the translation of brands is later explained by *The Simpsons*’ adapter Juliette Vigouroux as a norm in the French version of TV shows in France (Altarac 94). In another instance, “*Swiss Family Rubberstone*” (S04E06) becomes a neutral “*un film*”. Goris calls this technique a “naturalization” (177) of geographical ties. Such choices can be partially explained by the fact that the references might not be shared with the target culture (France)’s repertoire (Even-Zohar 1997: 20) defined as “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and handling, or production and consumption, of any given literary product” (21): Texas and Hollywood are both well-known places in France, unlike Arkansas. Another likely explanation is that they are also visually featured twice in the series and hence become an integral part of the story.

The currency of this limbo place is *shells*<sup>294</sup> in the French version instead of the bills used in both the original and Québécois versions, a currency matching a place outside reality. Concomitantly, in choosing shells the FV once again bridges the discrepancy between the visual and the verbal dimensions. In both the

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<sup>293</sup> “un champ de bataille”

<sup>294</sup> “Coquillages” in S01E03, S02E05, S03E01, etc.

original and Québécois versions, *The Flintstones*' society visually uses seashells even if the characters refer to them as dollars, which once again adds an absurd layer to the show creating a discrepancy between the visuals and the verbal channel. The FV adopts an altogether different approach and glosses it over. This translational choice can be interpreted as a way to target the show at children.<sup>295</sup> By paying in “*coquillage*”, a concept that is easily understandable to children and would appeal to their imagination more than dollars, the FV aims for candour. This is substantiated by the fact that insults are toned down (see Chapter 2) and that the French version makes references to prehistoric animals or material (see next section).

The French version compensates for this loss with multiple references to the Stone Age through insults and pet names. It serves another purpose: anchoring it in this fantasy Stone Age. This is a way to compensate for the tendency towards levelling the spoken register in the TV show (see Chapter 2) as already noticed by Goris in his case study (174), the lessening of idiomacity and authenticity, as well as the geographical neutralization at work.

### **5.5.2 Prehistoric Vocabulary: Creativity**

In the original version, the discrepancy between the characters' contemporary speech and their prehistoric surroundings is arguably a source of absurd humour. Their speech is more elaborate than what we would expect from prehistoric men—that would be assumed to mostly consist of aural sounds such as grunts, screams, moans or at most, of a very primitive form of language such as is the

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<sup>295</sup> This is most likely the case since the series aired during *Hannah Barbera Dingue Dong* show on Antenne 2 in the morning.

case of most movies featuring the “caveman” type of character. However, all of *The Flintstones*’ characters’ speech is that of someone living in the 1950s-1960s<sup>296</sup>, complete with teenage speak (see Chapter 2). One of the countless examples of this contemporary language is this comment from the water cooler elephant at hearing Fred complaining.

Fred: Oh! Did anybody ever have it as tough as me?  
Water Cooler Elephant: You think you got it tough? How’d you like to swap jobs, fatso?  
(S06E21: 3’45’)

The use of “fatso” and the sentence’s morphosyntax (“how’d you like”) allow for modern colloquial speech since most characters are supposed to be part of the North-American working class. In the French and Québécois versions, the characters also speak contemporary French. If the FV tends to be more wooden (see Chapter 2) and tends to gloss any geographical ties, it offers an original and revisited modern language that manages to convey its own fantasyland imaginary.

There are three different ways the French version displays significant creativity (1) through the translation of proper names; (2) revisited idioms/sayings; (3) general Stone Age references. First of all, every character in the OV has been “Flintstonized” in the sense that their names lexically refer to the Stone Age with both major families, the Flintstones and the Rubbles, but also with secondary characters such as Sonny Cobblestone. The FV perpetuates the tradition with a twist. The FV is predictable and provides, what could be described, as ‘straightforward’ or literal translations: Mr. Ardoise (Mr. Slabsides S01E28), Joe Galet (Joe Rockhead S01E26) and Mme. Tête-de-caillou (Mrs.

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<sup>296</sup> As much as a cartoon, which is a fictional product with fictional characters, allows for ‘authentic speech’ since most researchers in the field of media and translation have observed the unnaturalness of speech in any fictional piece. See Chapter 2.

Stonehead S01E18). However, instead of providing a lexical equivalent, the FV regularly inserts puns. Sonny Cobblestone becomes “*Sonny Face de Pierre*” (S04E20) in the FV, which can be demeaning since it may be translated as “stonefaced”, or again “Marblehead boy” becoming “*le p’tit Pierre Ponce*” (S04E01), a pun playing on homography and homophony since “Pierre” is both a proper name and a common name, “stone”, translating to “pumice stone.” “Mr. Weirdly Gruesome” becomes “*Mr. Bizarrus Fous-la-trouille*” in French. The FV evokes Latin etymology (*Bizarrus*) combined with a pun on the idiomatic expression “*foutre la trouille*”, slang for “scaring the crap out of somebody”. “Miss Boneyville” is “Mme Beau-tas-dos” (S04E10)—Nice-pile-of-bones—once again playing with the visual dimension as she is a young and attractive secretary but also a haughty character unwilling to help Fred. Finally, Kristen Flagstone (S03E10) becomes “*Agathe Dalle-de-marbre*” (Marbleslab). Besides reterritorializing the show to France through French names, the French translators/adapters enhance the characters idiosyncrasies through the translation.

Such variations on idioms and expressions are also featured in common expressions when “to hitchhike” (S01E01) becomes a more era-appropriate “*faire du chariotstop*”, instead of merely hitchhiking, which would be a modern reference; the French version decides to insert a reference to older times with the word “cartwheel” and, in the process, matches the visuals with the cars’ appearance close to carts.<sup>297</sup> The FV translators insert as many references as possible while playing with the language, arguably a difficult feat with the following three expressions: “*le plus beau coup de la préhistoire*” (S01E01),

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<sup>297</sup> This is in sharp contrast with the QV offering a modern take of the TV show.

*“inutile de monter sur tes grands brontosaures”* (S01E17) and *“une caverne qui donne la chair de dinosaure”* (S05E09).<sup>298</sup> The first expression does not simply refer to History but to the Stone Age while the second one replaces ordinary horses with “brontosaurus” and the third and last one plays with the idiomatic expression *“donner la chair de poule”* (“to give somebody goose bumps”) and the “brontosaurus” dinosaur. These expressions also tend to create a sense of complicity between the viewers, recognizing the proverbs or sayings, and the TV show, especially older viewers who will later on expect these types of idioms under the new prehistoric light.<sup>299</sup>

Other miscellaneous references to the Stone Age are *“la société protectrice des dinosaures”* (“the dog pound” S04E11), *“la cuisson du mammouth”* (“the roast” S04E12) and a “can of tuna” becoming a more era appropriate *“mammouth”* (S02E07). Another reference to “fish pond” (S05E02) becomes *“une mare à poissonsaures”* while “those cannibal fish are better than a watchdog” are translated into *“ces pirannausaures sont plus efficaces que des canitosaures”* (S05E02). Finally, the “x-ray machine” becomes *“la grotte à rayons-x”* (S05E02), which matches the visual<sup>300</sup> as the machine looks like a cave<sup>301</sup>: the translation increases coherence between the visuals and the verbal dimensions.

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<sup>298</sup> Respectively, “the best deal in prehistoric age”, “no need to get up on your high horse” and “a cave that gives you goose bumps”

<sup>299</sup> While the French adaptation is intended for a youth audience considering the airing time, it also keeps a second layer of meaning targeted at an older audience such as parents.

<sup>300</sup> It can also be understood as a domestication of the visuals since the machine looks like a cave.

<sup>301</sup> See Appendix O.

### 5.5.3 Selective Intertextuality?

Besides, compensating for its loss of idiomacy with a new lexis pertaining to the Stone Age, the French version shows inconsistencies towards cultural references present in the original version. As we saw earlier in section 5.2.1, the FV tends to turn the show into a geographical limbo through the neutralization or internationalization of geographical places. The OV's rich cultural intertext also undergoes three main trends in the FV: (1) keeping the reference; (2) complete erasure and (3) substitution for a French reference or another North-American reference.

The first link to American society the French version keeps is the first names of the main characters: Fred, Wilma, Barney and Betty. Although their last names have been translated (Pierrafeu and Laroche) their first names stay the same. Reference to English pop culture with "the Beagles" (S05E02) stays the "Beagles" not only because the Beatles is a world famous band but especially because of the multimodal aspect of the scene: we hear a song similar to The Beatles and Dino is wearing a wig whose hairstyle is similar to the hairdos of the singers.<sup>302</sup> The same technique is applied to references to popular American culture such as "*Fred Aspierre et Ginger Rocher*" ("Fred Astone and Ginger Rockus" S06E23), a clear reference to Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. The popularity of both actors crosses borders and this trend could also be explained by the fact that the general French audience is familiar with these celebrities and used to American names, hence sharing this cultural item repertoire (Even-Zohar

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<sup>302</sup> See Appendix O.

1997: 21). Besides celebrities, references to international events are also kept with “*les jeux Olymprocks*” (“Olymprocks” S06E23).

However, the most common trends are arguably the second and, to a lesser extent, the third ones. Links to the 1960s North-American culture pervade the original version with some characters’ names. “Mrs. Rockfeller” (S02E10), an unveiled reference to John Rockfeller, is a wealthy woman and the French version decides to substitute the reference to the epitome of the American self-made man with “*Mme. Cresus*” whom a French audience might be more familiar with, especially since the show was redubbed in the 1990s and the expression “*être riche comme Crésus*” is familiar to a French audience. The FV could have kept the reference to the Stone Age, like the Québécois version (*Mme. Rocfalaise*), but instead chooses to lay the emphasis on her social status and class, a notion still very much ingrained in French society. Another reference to “Halloween” (S01E03), a traditional American celebration, becomes “*carnaval*” in the FV effectively neutralizing the cultural link to North-American culture and reterritorializing (Plourde 2000a: 118) it to France where carnivals are popular.

Oddly enough, the French version substitutes popular American celebrities with equally popular but contemporary ones such as “*Michael Klaxon*” for “Terry Masonite” (Perry Mason). Michael Jackson seems to be the reference of choice or the “formulaic” (Bucaria 149) epitome of American culture in the FV, replacing “Louis Prima” (S01E27). This could be once again explained by the international popularity of Michael Jackson unlike Perry Mason, a more obscure reference, especially to a 1990s young audience. This assumption is confirmed when Robert

de Niro replaces James Slagney (S02E09) and the FV features two additional actors with Dustin Hoffsable (a reference to Dustin Hoffman S02E09) and Tom Crouton (a reference to Tom Cruise S02E09).

The French version pushes this trend further and occasionally decides to “nativize” (Martínez-Sierra 2004: 37) the TV show by inserting popular French cultural references especially when it comes to popular characters. Rick Masterson (Bat Masterson) and Mavrock become respectively Nicolas Hublot and Navarock (S01E28). This is a displacement in the category of reference as Bat Masterson was a frontiers man and New York columnist whereas Nicolas Hublot is a green French activist and politician who hosts environmental TV shows. While Navarro would be the French equivalent of Maverick, the latter is also famous in France. In the original version, Fred meets with the president of “Bedrock Television Studios” named “B.J”. In the FV, he becomes “*P.P.B.A*” which is a barely veiled reference to “*P.P.D.A*” or “*Patrick Poivre d’Arvor*”, a prominent French TV news presenter, if not the most iconic one. And finally, to name just a few, “Raiders” become “*les chevaliers du ciel*” (S02E26), a famous French TV show from the 1960s, “*Jean-Pierre Fossile*” replaces *The Ed Stonevan Show* (S3E17) a direct reference to Jean-Pierre Foucault and his famous *Sacrée Soirée*, a reference to “Lady Godiva” which might be obscure to a young 90s audience becomes “*la belle au bois dormant*” (Sleeping Beauty S02E22).

When no cultural reference is present in the original version the French version occasionally inserts a French one such as “*on croirait voir une vieille*

*bretonne*”<sup>303</sup> for “he’s got a lampshade on his head” (S01E28). In S04E3, Fred states that they will take “back roads” or, in the FV, “*des routes départementales*”, which is a clear relocation to France. Most surprisingly, a neutral “papers” (S01E27) becomes a more political “*La Terre*”, a newspaper from the 1930s essentially targeted at the working-class and farmers and affiliated with the communist party.

More importantly, the French version displays a fond link to France when it comes to gastronomy: “*crêpes bretonnes*” (S01E13) replaces “hotcakes”, “brontosaurus steak New York cut” (S01E27) is “*cactus farci*” (stuffed cactus), a reference to “*tomates farcies*”, paired to an additional “*la salade aux lardons*” (salad with lardons S06E12) arguably a traditional French dish. A reference to Von Rickenrock, historical figure Von Richthofen, becomes “*cet affreux mangeur de choucroute*” (“this horrible sauerkraut eater” S05E26) an extra cultural reference to German and Alsace’s gastronomy. And, finally, “*ma petite tartelette à la fraise*” (“my little strawberry tartlet” S06E26) replaces “my little dumpling”. Other miscellaneous references are made to “*l’éducation nationale*” (“our nation’s education program” S01E27) and “*la caisse de retraites*” (“pension fund”, “social security” in the OV S01E26). These different choices claim roots in France, which can seem inconsistent with the overwhelming geographical limbo in which the characters live and instead presents a Third Space as “a sort of “in-between space”... located between existing referential systems and antagonisms...” (Wolf 2008: 13).

## **5.6 The American Imaginary in the French version of *The Simpsons***

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<sup>303</sup> “You look like an old Brittany woman.”

In *The Simpsons*, the dubbing adopts a different approach. While *The Flintstones* lends itself to a geographical neutralization as few references are made to the world beyond Bedrock and to pop culture in general, *The Simpsons*' success partly stems from its immersion in American popular culture. There is a clear tendency towards keeping the original cultural references as long as they are equally famous in France. In other cases, three tendencies are prevalent: the FV will (1) substitute it for another American one with which the French audience will be more familiar; (2) substitute it with a French reference; (3) substitute it with a reference to another culture; (4) erase the reference. Unlike in *TF*, the latter is rare while the third is sparse. The first tendency is the most prevalent and even obscure references are kept in the FV unlike the QV.

### **5.6.1 American Imaginary**

Walking in *The Flintstones*' footsteps, the French version of *The Simpsons* keeps the names of the main characters along with most of the secondary characters except for Sideshow Bob and Sideshow Mel who respectively become Tahiti Bob and Tahiti Mel. Plourde, who studied the character of Sideshow Bob, contends that the change fits the character's appearance with:

his straw skirt and teeth necklace [that] allude to his character being originally from an island nation and now a citizen of France. This kind of name change typifies a reterritorialization process that seeks to move the scene of the series to the boundaries of the target culture's country or nation ... the translator is reaffirming France's sovereignty over a dependent territory in the Pacific. (2000b: 118-9)

I would argue that, while it does indeed bring the show back to France, the sovereignty link seems fragile since Sideshow Mel, who wears the same costume, will later on replace Sideshow Bob. Both characters are eloquent and far more intelligent (see Chapter 3) than the crude and illiterate Krusty, which undermines

the claims about hierarchical phenomenon in the dubbing made by Plourde. The most logical explanation would be that the French version could not translate “sideshow” with a literal “*attraction secondaire*” or the idea of a sideshow in the same economy of words as the original version. Instead they focused on his physical appearance since his hairstyle mimics a palm tree (see Appendix P) you would find in Tahiti. When Sideshow Mel replaced Sideshow Bob, the translators decided to keep the “Tahiti” reference previously used as he serves the same function in the show, thus reinforcing the cohesion of the show.

The French version retains most of the references made to the United States<sup>304</sup>, be it geographical or cultural ones. A reference to the “Middle West” (S10E05), “Kansas City” (S02E05), “*Pontiac dans le Michigan*” (S2E10) or again “Sarah Lawrence College” (“*Collège Villa Maria*” QV, a private school in Montréal, S12E04) are kept along with the names of sports team, from baseball “New York Yankees” (*Les Nordiques* QV S2E10) to basketball with “San Antonio Spurs” and football with “Superbowl” and “*Cowboys de Dallas*” (S02E07). Other references to American politics are kept with “*gouverneur*” (S02E04) and Nixon (S04E20) as well as American cultural events such as “Thanksgiving” (S2E7) or “*l’anniversaire de Washington*” and “*la Journée du Président*” (S02E04). Once again, this could be explained by the fact that politics are often prominently featured in the episodes and that *The Simpsons* always features a Thanksgiving episode as well as the Halloween special. Due to the

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<sup>304</sup> Based on a sample of 10 episodes Simon Labate observes that over 58% of references are kept or modified (23%) and rarely deleted (17%) or added (2%) (37). However, he does not make a distinction between the references that have been swapped for another American reference and those that have been replaced by a French one.

proliferation of media, most common US politics and customs are familiar to a French audience. This is in itself a major evolution from *The Flintstones*, a show airing earlier when less information was accessible worldwide.

Cultural references are also kept, be it to the US, Ernest Hemingway (S02E11), *Saved by the Bell* (S15E03) or to other cultures such as Ringo Starr and the Beatles or “*la reine d’Angleterre*” (“the Queen of England” S04E20). Even when they are not world famous celebrities and visually present in the episode, interacting with the characters, most obscure cultural references are equally kept, unlike in the Québécois version. Fyvush Finkel (S09E03), Thomas Pynchon (S15E10) and Sandy Koufax (S09E06), to name a few, are kept: all of them are unlikely to be popular among the French Simpsons audience, largely teenagers and young adults.

While most of the original cultural references remain intact, the French version also explicitates some of them for the audience or partially keeps the references intact and volunteers extra information (Goris 182) in order to increase “... the degree of redundancy and internal (logical) coherence of the filmic message” (182), which is a norm in translational activity (182). For instance: “*la Bible lue par... Larry King, journaliste sportif*” (“The Bible read by Larry King, sports journalist”, Larry King in both QV and OV).<sup>305</sup> Here the priority is incongruous humour as Homer is listening to an audiotape of the *Bible* read by Larry King who in the French version is referred to as being a sports commentator, which adds an extra layer of humour. Another case is “*Non chez*

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<sup>305</sup> This is also a mistake on behalf of the FV since Larry King was a radio talk show host before becoming a famous CNN host. His sports commentating job was brief and not as famous as his radio talk show hosting.

*Hefner, le patron de Playboy*” (“no at Hefner’s, the boss of Playboy”, “no the Playboy mansion” in both OV and QV S09E01), specifying who Hugh Hefner is while leaving out the Playboy mansion, a place not likely to be as famous as its owner in France

Another trend is to provide a hybrid between keeping one part of the reference and replacing another one with an international reference: “*4 misérables Emmy et le clown d’or*” (“4 miserable Emmys and the golden clown”, “4 Emmys and a Peabody award” in the OV S09E03). While the former is an American award, the latter is a reference to the prize awarded during the international circus festival in Monte-Carlo, less obscure than the Peabody award in France. The reference to the Emmys is kept since *Série Club* broadcasts the even in France and the highlights are part of the national news at 8 pm in France on most main channels.

The French version of *The Simpsons* chooses to leave most of the show’s geographical anchoring in the US and substitutes lesser known American references with more popular ones: “*Ce Kojak est plus sexy que Canon, Magnum et Mannix réunis*” (“Kojak is sexier than Canon, Magnum and Barnaby Jones put together” S15E14). While the first three are famous TV series and characters in France, the latter is undoubtedly less well-known to a French audience and was replaced by popular Mannix. Finally, to name a few more, the FV features “Paul Newman” (Elliott Gould in both the original and Québécois versions S02E12), “*J’veis rater Shériff fais-moi peur*” (“le sheriff Lobo in both the original and Québécois versions S04E21). Once again, although a young audience might not

be familiar with the main character they will have heard of the show itself, considered a cult TV series. Another reference to *Santa Barbara* is replaced with *Melrose Place* (S07E08) since at the time (1997) the latter was more popular with a young audience than *Santa Barbara* that ran from 1984 to 1993 which is further backed up by *Les feux de l'amour* replacing *The James Belushi show* (S15E01). A reference to “Julie Newmar” (S20E01) becomes “Greta Garbo”, “Snoopy” is favoured over “Ziggy” as the former is more likely to be popular, “le chapeau de Colombo” replaces “Beverly di Angelo” (S15E12) and “on dirait une créature de l'espace dans la série Star Trek” replaces “you look like a mascot from some horrible Southern college” (S17E05).

Geographical references are also substituted for more familiar ones or staple names such “*donner une conférence à l'université de Berkeley*” (Villanova in both the original and Québécois versions S09E01). Berkeley is one of the most prestigious universities in the world and is internationally renowned, unlike Villanova. Finally, “from Ozarks” becomes “*les plaines de l'ouest*” (S09E01). This could be interpreted as a double process: both a neutralization one since “*plaines de l'ouest*” are not as geographically specific as “Ozarks”—a French audience won't be familiar with the name—but also an anchoring in the US since the reference to the “Midwest” is kept.

Other references are also replaced by non-American culture such as Versace instead of Vera Wang (S20E04), “Paul Anka” for “Keith Patrick” (S12E02) and “*une Margaret Thatcher en version féminine*” for “a female Eleanore Roosevelt” (S15E04). The latter is a sarcastic jab at Margaret Thatcher

known as the Iron Lady and might refer to France's friendly rivalry with England, apparent again when talking about the Beatles: "*Les Beatles hein? Ha oui. C'est cette bande de sauvages brailleurs que la reine Elizabeth avait décorés. Pauvre Royaume d'Angleterre*"<sup>306</sup> (S04E20). Although the original version criticizes the band, the French version insists instead on the absurdity of their knighthood with its "poor Kingdom of England" addition.

### 5.6.2 Substitution for French References

The French version occasionally makes references to French society, which is explained by Juliette Vigouroux, one of the adapters:

When there is wordplay or allusion to products, brands, or events involving celebrities who are unknown in France, you have to adapt without providing a chauvinistic translation, without alluding to French things but always to something internationally known because, even if it's dubbed in French, the context is American (editor's note: they are not responsible for references to Loana, Danièle Gilbert, Mamie Nova etc. in some episodes, these are changes coming from the dubbing actors during the recording session). (*simpsonpark.com*; my emphasis)<sup>307</sup>

The approach to the dubbing process is at odds with the Québécois version's but also with the French dubbing actors' who state "well, we completely appropriated the French version, we found things that were not in the original" (Peythieu *simpsonpark.com*).<sup>308</sup> As a consequence, the French version occasionally makes references to French society with "*le Smic*" (S18E14), "*SOS animaux*" for animal

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<sup>306</sup> "The Beatles hey? Ha yes. It's this gang of yelling savages that Queen Elizabeth anointed. Poor kingdom of England!" "Beatles eh? Yes, I seem to remember their off-key caterwauling on the old Sullivan Show. What was Ed thinking?" in the original version.

<sup>307</sup> [http://www.simpsonspark.com/interviews/interview\\_vigouroux\\_cassard.php](http://www.simpsonspark.com/interviews/interview_vigouroux_cassard.php). "Quand il y a des jeux de mots ou des allusions à des produits, des marques, ou des choses qui se sont passées entre des personnalités totalement inconnues en France, il faut adapter sans jamais tomber dans le franchouillard, jamais faire d'allusions à des choses françaises mais toujours à quelque chose de connu internationalement, car, même si c'est doublé en français, le contexte est américain. (ndlr : ce ne sont pas eux qui sont responsables des noms Loana, Danièle Gilbert, Mamie Nova etc. mentionnés dans certains épisodes, il s'agit de modifications apportées par les comédiens lors de l'enregistrement). "

<sup>308</sup> "c'est à dire qu'on s'est accaparé la VF, on a trouvé des trucs que ne sont pas dans l'original."

control (S12E02) or cultural references to art with “*la guerre des boutons*” (S04E12), “*les trois mousquetaires*” (the 3 stooges in both the original and Québécois versions S02E08), “*les Schtroumpfs*” (Marmaduke in both OV and QV S02E06), “*Mes BD de Pif le chien*” (“My Lois Lane comics” in OV and “*Mes Capitaine Québec*” in QV S15E17).

When the original version is vague or not culturally specific, the French version occasionally takes it as an opportunity to add a French cultural reference with “*vous avez des calamars géants comme ceux qui attaquent le Nautilus?*” (“do you have any giant squid? The kind that drag men to their deaths?” in OV and QV S02E11) an additional reference to Jules Verne’s *20 milles lieues sous les mers*. Or again “*les Beaux-Arts*” (“art school” in the OV S02E18) and “*t’es pas Laona*”<sup>309</sup> (“you’re no prize either” in the OV S12E15).

Finally, when it comes to food, the French version will often use French references, which has been noted by both Labate and Plourde in the episodes they studied and is a norm in the French version of *The Flintstones*. The only exception is “donut” as the TV show popularized the food in France. A regular “gum” becomes a “*Malabar*” (S02E04), “domestic champagne” is fiercely corrected by the only producer of champagne in the world with “*mousseux*” (“sparkling wine” S02E08), “sponge cake” becomes “*chou à la crème*” (S02E06), “Swedish meatballs” are “*p’tit salé aux lentilles*” (“salt pork with lentils” S02E07), “baloney and cheese” become a French staple food “*fromage et saucisson*” (“cheese and salami” S04E21) while “*beurre de cacahouètes*”

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<sup>309</sup> Homer is unable to pronounce Loana’s name correctly.

(S0E21) is kept along with “cheeseburgers” (S02E03) equally popular in France where you can find countless MacDonald restaurants.

### 5.6.3 Neutralization

Finally, another technique, although not very common in *The Simpsons*, is occasionally found in the French version: the neutralization of references. First, brands are systematically removed from the FV and replaced by mixed or limbo references such as “*les pyramides vont être aménagées en casinos*” (“they are converting the pyramids to casinos”, “Sears” in OV S15E01), “*une usine d’eau importée de France*” (“a water factory from France”, “Evian” in the OV S12E02) although the link to France is kept, “*eau gazeuse*” (“sparkling water”, “Mountain Dew” in the OV S12E07) and “*une carte d’abonnement des magasins Bricolemoïça*” (“a member card for the Fixmethis stores”, “Radio Scrap” in the OV, a reference to Radio Shack S09E02). A first element of response is that “Because the commercialization of brands is not permitted on French television programs, Vigouroux frequently adapts mentions to American products by conjuring up invented names. She also generally favors using international-based cultural allusions over French references” (Altarac 94-5; my emphasis). However, this does not explain the neutralization of geographical places such as “*rue de la toison d’or à Tif city*” (S02E02) and the name of fake cartoon characters with “*Funky un personnage de BD*” and “Niklor” (Noid and Funky S12E05).

The technique is aptly summarized by Altarac:

Effectively, the show does not remain fully American in the adaptation process but it is clearly not fully Japanese or French either. While there is a strong indigenizing process involved, Lorenzo et al. (2003) note that *The Simpsons* maintains its status as an American show even as it takes on certain elements of the foreign culture. There are enough elements of non-translation to remind viewers of the series’ U.S. origins. Overall,

the dubbed versions do not pretend to be a Japanese or French show, even with the numerous ways they recontextualize the dialogue to fit the local language and culture. (Altarac 223)

Unlike its approach in *The Flintstones* the French version of *The Simpsons* acts as a more Americanized show or a hybrid living in a Third Space midway between France and the US. Most of the cultural references are more concrete matching a more concrete language, unlike *The Flintstones*. Interestingly enough the FV will even keep references to the point of being obscure. In a way both French (for *The Simpsons*) and Québécois versions feature:

a hybridity ... not necessarily the result of cultural merging in the traditional sense of the word but rather of 'contact zones' ... between cultures of the encounter of spaces, which now, as the product of 'translation between cultures' can generate 'borderline affects and identifications' ... By transferring the cultural between former fixed territories, a 'Third Space' is opened up'..." (Wolf 12-3; my emphasis)

Both shows act as rhizomatic entities connecting various cultural references that ultimately blur the fixed identities of the TV series.

## **Conclusion: Dubbing, Third Space, Rhizome and Contact Zones**

The stairwell as liminal space, in-between designation of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower ... the hither and thither of the stairwell ... prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. (Bhabha 1994: 4)

The present research is constructed along the stairwell image operating on various levels or dimensions within the dubbing industry, following the steps that constitute the dubbing process. It presents a three-tier methodological approach—1.the contact zones; 2.the Third Space and 3.the rhizome—allowing for a variety of perspectives on the dubbing process and product and what each one can bring individually and conjointly. (1)The contact zones between the local/national and the global give birth to “borderline affects” (Bhabha 1994: 167) or tendencies that do not stem from the centre but are instead peripheral or liminal. Contact zones highlight power relations along the France-US-Québec axis and question the place and politics of the dubbing industries as a peripheral activity, the languages present and, finally, the cultures represented. (2) The Third Space, the liminal space, is understood as a site for the enactment of those contacts. It is a space characterized by overlapping cultures and languages upsetting any fixed identity and holding subversive power: the Third Space is a site for the visibility of the translation on industrial, linguistic and cultural levels. Finally, (3) the rhizome is a unified multiplicity that goes beyond any possible dualism at work within the contact zone(s) and Third Space concepts: it systematizes them and conceives languages and cultures as varieties and “becomings” or ongoing processes. The rhizome offers a new methodological approach to the dubbing process and product and throws new light on the concepts of Third Space and contact zones.

This methodology opens up a new space of translation on three different levels that are investigated in the present research: (1) the languages in contact, (2) the verbal and nonverbal dimensions and (3) the “cultural constellations”<sup>310</sup> (Georgios 2007).

Dubbing is an art of the contact zone defined by Pratt as “... social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power” (34). Dubbing generates contacts which, in turn, heightens gaps between various elements; it is not a neutral hybridization process as posited by Altarac in her study of *The Simpsons*. Instead, “the drive toward global uniformity ... is overtly counteracted by phenomena like fragmentation ... and has radically changed the criteria and agencies responsible for the construction of cultures in their multifaceted aspects” (Wolf 11). These instances of “disjuncture”, “ruptures” and “dissonances” call attention to the site of translation within the dubbing process and make the text political as it becomes visible.

Within a context of globalization, audiovisual translation redefines the very concepts and techniques used in Translation Studies including what is meant by the translator, and also questions the invisibility/shadow status of translation.

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<sup>310</sup> In his article “Cultural Constellations and Translations” (2005), Georgios coins the expression “cultural constellations”. According to him, any culture is comprised of cultural systems encompassing different areas of life. Georgios studies these cultural areas of life (8) represented within source texts and surrounding them (micro and macro structure). After listing these different areas of life, Georgios structures them “in form of cultural systems of the source culture” (9). He then conducts a comparison between the areas of life surrounding the source text and those present within the source texts. “The concretized elements of each cultural system in the source-text are related or combined with a unit within the text. This unit could be spread over a smaller or larger part of the text and the respective units as a whole form a configuration of cultural elements, called **cultural constellations** ... a cultural constellation is a textual construct depicting all elements of a cultural system that are manifested in a text” (10-1).

As borders of nation-states are becoming less more permeable, translation for dubbing is inscribed within power relations situated in the contact zones between the global and the local. The latter create points of dissonance through the resistance of the global by the local. Through the “cultural exception” and then the “cultural diversity” initiatives both France and Québec negotiate the global. Both consider audiovisual products as distinctive cultural goods, a view radically different from the United States, the primary exporter of audiovisual goods. The imaginary of these TV shows is crucial to the linguistic, cultural and economic issues (Von Flotow 2010: 32) in both Francophone regions especially considering the prominence of American audiovisual products in their televisual landscape.

The Third Space questions the dichotomy between the local/the national and the global in translation to offer an interstitial reading foregrounding power relations. The concept of Third Space in Bhabha seems apt for apprehending the field of the audiovisual industry and especially dubbing. A reading of the dubbed work as a product of a Third Space, understood as a spatial and temporal in-between irremediably unsettles fixed identities, be it linguistic or communal/cultural ones. As a consequence, the present dissertation is interstitial and political in nature. It presents a rereading of these disturbing entities created within the Third Space as products of cultural, political and linguistic contact zones. Moreover, Bhabha tells us that “political empowerment, and the enlargement of the multiculturalist cause, come from posing questions of solidarity and community from the interstitial perspective” (1994: 3; my

emphasis) which is what the present research set out to accomplish by working from within the interstices between policies, languages, dimensions and cultures.

Finally, if we understand television as ultimately “a field of cultural and economic hybridity, flux and migration...” (Sparks and Kumar 14), American audiovisual products are altered and form a rhizome as they are transplanted in another culture. Appadurai clearly equates the globalization phenomenon to a rhizome: “the world we live in now seems rhizomic” (Appadurai 29). Globalization is then understood as a process within which the world “has come to be perceived as more and more complex, increasingly centerless, and featuring a multiplication of interacting parts that are increasingly fragmented and unstable” (Buell 10; my emphasis). This process is mirrored within the dubbed product and dubbing process that are sites of negotiation between the global and the local.

The spread of American audiovisual products does not necessarily entail the homogenization of a given culture or language or even techniques previously assumed by Danan and Plourde. Both France and Québec use American programs, their values and codes, as nodes from which to develop their own linguistic and cultural communities or identities; they produce adaptations that are not purely Americanized or “*francisées/québécoisées*”. The dubbing process and product in that sense is a “becoming” (Deleuze and Guattari 106), a process that is always in-between. Through the ‘hijacking’ of the dominant American models, through the featuring of a wide array of language varieties, the dubbing process is a “becoming-minoritarian” (106):

Becoming-minoritarian as the universal figure of consciousness is called autonomy. It is certainly not by using a minor language as a dialect, by regionalizing or ghettoizing, that one becomes revolutionary; rather, by using a number of minority elements, by

connecting, conjugating them, one invents a specific, unforeseen, autonomous becoming. (106; my emphasis)

The dubbing product/process acts as a rhizome opposed to an arborescent model structured around fixed points of access and powers. It shines a new light on power relations since dubbing is a process or a becoming:

Becoming is a rhizome, not a classificatory or genealogical tree. Becoming is certainly not imitating, or identifying with something; neither is it regressing-progressing; neither is it corresponding, establishing corresponding relations; neither is it producing, producing a filiation or producing through filiation. Becoming is a verb with consistency all its own; it does not reduce to, or lead back to, 'appearing,' 'being,' 'equaling,' or 'producing'. (239)

The rhizome connects heterogeneous elements within the dubbing process. These connections are immanent and, despite its heterogeneity, the rhizome remains a unified multiplicity. The various cultures and languages represented in both versions of the TV series are part of the same rhizome: they represent different variations on cultural and linguistic elements. Within the rhizome the linguistic varieties and the cultures represented are not set against one another but are instead continuous.

The French version of both TV series fosters a fluid identity on a par with its hybrid language and culture: it creates a third norm within a third language that is neither French nor American but instead something "interstitial" (Olson 114), difficult to pinpoint let alone define. The French version of *The Flintstones* offers a language that does not abide by either written or spoken language norms: it obeys its own norms instead. The culture represented in both French and Québécois adaptations is also its own culture, belonging neither to the US nor France/Québec: it blurs its points of origin and destination.

Within the dubbing process between cultures and languages, “the Other (be it the French people, the Anglophone or the immigrant) is no longer the Stranger against whom the Same is opposed, but it’s now a relative with whom we share something without letting the nature of such familiarity become as transparent as national belonging in the most political meaning of the word”<sup>311</sup> (Rao 128). While Québec fosters a political sense of nationhood and community through its dubbing technique and industry, it also pairs it with an opening onto the global in *The Simpsons*. Both Québec and France recreate their own culture in the dubbing process by negotiating the American codes and values of the original TV series.

Over the course of the present research, we have seen that despite being designed as a regulatory measure and a domestication tool, the dubbing technique, in its negotiation of the global, foregrounds the contact zone between languages and cultures. Both France and Québec are protective of their respective languages and cultures and the decision to dub goes beyond mere economic motives (Danan 1991) since it includes cultural and ethical ones. Dubbing, and translation in general, is considered an art of the shadow around which a discourse of invisibility exists. The invisibility of the process is internalized by its agents and the industry itself. However, despite this lack of recognition, dubbing is subjected to intense fights and regulations for visibility and official recognition. In economic terms, dubbing is a powerhouse in both France and Québec and

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<sup>311</sup> “L’Autre (qu’il s’agisse du Français, de l’anglophone ou de l’immigré) n’est plus l’Etranger qui s’oppose au Même, mais plutôt le prochain avec qui l’on partage quelque chose sans que la nature de cette familiarité ne soit aussi transparente que pourrait être l’appartenance nationale au sens le plus politique du terme.”

governmental institutions have understood its impact. Both French and Québécois adaptations put their distinctive “spin” (Altarac) on the dubbing industry in a fight for visibility. The assumption that globalization is a phenomenon leading towards the standardization of techniques shows some limits. This standardization does not apply to the dubbing industry in either France or Québec, not only in terms of the techniques used, but also in terms of the status of its dubbing industry. France has an efficient system protecting and promoting its dubbing industry through innovations such as the *bande rythmo*, showing that practices are not standardized in an era of globalization. As a consequence of France’s protective regulations, Québec must fight against the invisibility of the dubbing industry notably through a vocal campaign and the creation of public websites to inform the audience about recent happenings. By hiring prestigious actors, Québec increases the visibility of dubbing while fostering a sense of community in an already small market, which is paired with a strategy for reaching out to the global. Québec imposes its ‘brand’ on the dubbing industry which is forced to develop creative means in order to be heard and seen by American studios. The invisibility/visibility dynamics at the core of the dubbing industry and process is a concept that also applies to the micro-structural levels.

The contact between the national and the global within dubbing and, more broadly, the audiovisual industry, is to be found at the micro-structural level. In terms of the language(s) used in dubbing, the Québécois version becomes a heteroglossic entity featuring a symphony of voices. The adaptations stress the interconnections between the different varieties of the French language present in

Québec in order to mirror its society and foster a “sense of community” (Von Flotow 2010: 41), not only through the use of its vernacular, but also its standard variety: *joual*, *standard Québécois*, *international French*, *the sociolect of the Parisian haute bourgeoisie* and *accented French* are all featured in the Québécois versions. In *The Flintstones*, the choice of *joual* is clearly a political one that is reinforced by references to Québec’s linguistic identity. This is also reflected by the will to provide a visible and absurd translation within the contact zone between verbal and visual dimensions. The linguistic repertoire available to the characters foregrounds their geographical and social ‘mobility’ concomitant with the sense of community heightened by Québécois cultural references in both shows. Both versions insist on foregrounding Québécois society as it was at the time the shows aired. They inscribe the TV shows within a specific cultural, social and political context. While the use of *joual* in *The Simpsons* acts more as an “affectiolect” (Dargnat 61) than a political tool, the translation remains political. The Québécois version of *The Simpsons* acknowledges its dubbing cast with a certain sense of self-deprecation which once again reinforces a sense of community: “Laughter, derision, fundamentally have to do with self-assertion, the distancing from powers that be, self-thinking: these are all values that allow communities to bond, communities of those who laugh and make fun, those who are sarcastic about the human condition and institutionalized powers”<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> “Le rire, la dérision renvoient fondamentalement à l’affirmation de soi, la prise de distance à l’égard des pouvoirs, l’autonomie de pensée: autant de valeurs qui permettent de souder des communautés de pairs, celles des rieurs et des railleurs, celles qui portent un regard sarcastique sur la condition humaine et les pouvoir institués.”

(Dagnaud 259). Beyond the Québécois community, the Québécois dubbed shows feature their openness towards the global community or “village” (McLuhan)

Although for some theoreticians the dubbing technique works towards the domestication of the visuals, the contact zones between the American remainder and the Québécois/French voices gives rise to discrepancies and disjunctures. It prevents any possible suppression of the alterity of the dubbed product and generates an entity functioning within a Third Space of translation. The visibility/invisibility conundrum and the will of the Québec industry to become visible is evidenced further in the contact zone between the visual and the verbal where two cultures and two dimensions collide. The Québécois version of *The Flintstones* provides an absurd translation that does not take itself seriously and instead focuses on a ‘laughter’ community which is then further enhanced in *The Simpsons* where the translation clearly plays on the visual remainder.

Ultimately, “the readings of transparent text are indigenous, but the images and sounds are transplanted. Over time, these new images become familiarized, naturalized, and ‘real,’ just like those they replace. The result is something new, something interstitial, but not something American or Americanized” (Olson 114; my emphasis). The Québécois version becomes a contact zone drawing upon Québécois, American and French cultural references. It becomes the mirror of Québec, which, although at the crossroads between France and the US, keeps a distinct identity by inserting subtle Québécois political references in *The Flintstones* and a meta-commentary on the state of translation in Québec and its relative invisibility in *The Simpsons*; it also adopts a

self-derisive approach fostering a sense of community. Through its cast coming from *téléromans* and through references to its dubbing actors, both Québécois version inscribe the shows within the *téléroman* network to mirror Québécois society. In the Québécois version, a new type of entity emerges from the site of dubbing, a hybrid at the crossroads between nationalistic tendencies and a rhizomatic entity connecting characters from different social classes and countries and erasing differences. Ultimately, through the language(s) and cultural references the Québécois version displays its *américanité*, its North-American roots and experience, while engaging with its unique history. Through the *téléroman*, Québec rereads its history and its North-American roots, its *américanité*, to become uniquely Québécois.

There is a clear evolution from *The Flintstones*, dubbed in the 1970s, and *The Simpsons*, dubbed in the 1990s. In that sense, the notion of evolution does not imply a rupture but a transformation or a “becoming” (Deleuze and Guattari 106), which is a process that is in perpetual motion. The dubbed versions revisit Québec’s historical, cultural and linguistic paths through subtle touches. Through the different cultural and linguistic connections, the TV series become a rhizomatic entity claiming its *américanité*, its *Québécoisité* and, to a lesser extent, its *Européanité*, as well as its belonging to a global village.

The French version is also marked by a certain evolution in both its linguistic and cultural approach to the original TV shows. It embodies a Third Space characterized by different tensions between domesticating and nationalistic tendencies and one reaching out to the global blurring identities.

In *The Flintstones* it tries to create a patchwork of “-lects” (rural French, *provençal*, accented French) that are sparse in the face of the artificial language it offers, also known as “synchronian” (Von Flotow 2009: 86), a Third language obeying a third norm that is neither the one found in the source or target language but is instead a norm of its own. It becomes the norm for its unreal ‘fantasyland’ in *The Flintstones*. In that sense, *synchronian* is equated to *international French* only as long as the latter is understood as a language out of nowhere and belonging nowhere, a language nobody speaks and that presents a ‘navigating particle’ without any roots. This third limbo language in *The Flintstones* is balanced by a language that is heavily ‘Flintstonized’ compared to both the original and the Québécois versions. It creates a lexis based on neologisms featuring stones and prehistoric animals that serve a dual purpose: to compensate for its lack of idiomacity and artificiality, but also to enforce the idea of a Third or a limbo world using a shell currency targeted to the children’s imagination. This language in search of its voice matches the ‘taming’ of the discrepancy between the visuals and the verbal, the contact zone between the verbal and visual dimensions in *The Flintstones*. The French version provides a voice of reason in contrast to the Québécois version’s voice of the absurd creating a visible/audible discrepancy while, in *The Simpsons*, the visual seems to be subordinated to the verbal. The French version tries to constrain the foreign character of the show featuring a fantasyland, whose visual remainder is clearly foreign but domesticated through explicitation techniques. The stripping of most cultural references

from the OV strengthens this visual fantasyland. It also features an imaginary currency—shells—matching its artificial language to a space between cultures, neither belonging to one or the other, but set up in the interstice.

However, there is a clear evolution with *The Simpsons* in terms of the cultures and languages represented. The French version of *The Simpsons* features a resolutely more contemporary, ‘authentic’ speech, not only through the extensive use of youth lingo and colloquialism, but also through the keeping of American original references combined to an “international” (Vigouroux qtd. in Altarac 94-5) approach. This represents a rhizome indiscriminately drawing upon various elements from different cultures to become a limbo land. This new space is not necessarily seen in a negative light but refuses to be firmly anchored and prevents binary oppositions between cultures: one culture is not privileged over another in *The Simpsons*. It becomes a rhizome connecting various elements in order to blur origins: the French version uses the American cultural references present in the original version as a node in its cultural fabric. Although different from the Québécois rhizome, the French one is connected to it by presenting a different variety of languages and cultures. While the Québécois version practices self-derision and a self-reflexive approach to its history, dubbing industry, language and culture, both adaptations hijack the American codes and values to create something different, neither French, nor Québécois.

### **Future Research**

Delving into the translation of humour, which has been a main topic of interest for researchers such as Labate, Martínez-Sierra and Chiaro, would be an interesting research field. The translation of humoristic elements or “verbally expressed humour” (Chiaro 2005) could offer leads in unveiling the reasons behind the choice of translational techniques and their effect on the audience. It could also tackle “untranslatability” issues that effectively highlight the irreducibility of languages and the notion of *différance* in Derrida.

Another useful research path would be comparing synchronian in the dubbed shows to the languages used in in-house sitcoms like Romero-Fresco (2009) or Valdéon (2011) have done. A comparison between the features of the language used in the French dubbing and the one used in French sitcoms such as *Scènes de Ménages* for France or to *téléromans* in Québec, which has been touched upon in chapter 5, could also help determine the variation within the orality of languages used on screen. Exploring other genres could also yield more conclusions; I focused on TV shows that are fairly similar since both *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons* feature a nuclear family—albeit an unconventional one in *The Simpsons*—and both are prime time animation. Focusing on a different genre could back up the present findings along the three axes under study.

Taking into account reception theories, a crucial element within media studies, would also provide valuable insights. This could be greatly beneficial to the understanding of the three axes presented and to what extent they are negotiated by different types of viewers in terms of age, sex, and ethnicity, cultural, economic and linguistic backgrounds. Viewers belong to a specific

context but also evolve within a society that turns them into multi-layered individuals: "...multiple social identities [are] being overlaid in the individual subject..." (Sinclair et al 26). According to TV program directors, tastes and viewer's expectations are still largely unpredictable.<sup>313</sup> Thanks to the mobility of people and the multiplication of travels, individuals have a better understanding and knowledge of the world around them. Studies of the reception or of the active reading of audiovisual works reveal their heterogeneous nature. For instance, in *Watching Dallas* (1985), Ang analyzes the reasons behind the success of the American TV series *Dallas* in Germany. Her observations lead her to believe that the popularity of the TV series, its display of American notions of consumerism and its representation of the *Texan way of life*, does not entail a simplistic adoption of these values by international viewers. After reading letters from viewers' reaction to the TV series, Ang notices that the audience is ambivalent towards the cult TV show. What we have is a hybrid reading and reader situated at the confluence of the social and the cultural: "... viewer reception is a dynamic process governed by the cultural identities of audiences and the 'sedimentation of other social practices' (Silj 1998: 40 qtd. in Sinclair 18). This observation mirrors Appadurai's assessment of globalization: according to him there is an identity crisis within the globalization phenomenon in which the individual defines him/herself in relation to the media. The identity process is an overlap of personal and collective experiences as well as immediate and mediated experiences.

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<sup>313</sup> See the section "L'absence/présence de la notion du public chez les producteurs" (126-31) in *Les artisans de l'imaginaire* by Dagnaud.

Another interesting path would be a comparative study of the subtitled and dubbed versions in order to focus on the oral and written codes. More comparative and corpus-based research certainly needs to be done and the creation of a database comprised of transcripts of episodes in both Québécois and French would be undoubtedly useful. Still in terms of comparative studies, a possible focus would be a diachronic comparison of *dubbese* in Spanish, French and English paired once again with different genres.

A sociological approach to dubbing can lead to multiple connections with descriptive studies (Toury 1980). They can complement each other, especially within an intercultural perspective of translation. Since the early 2000s, an increasing number of theoreticians advocate the value of an approach that would combine a sociological approach with descriptive studies such as Meylaerts (2008), Gouanvic (1999) and Díaz-Cintas (2004). Such approaches would highlight not only a given culture or social place, but also the intercultural space whose principal agent is the translator. While Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1991) can be too prescriptive or reductive, as well as lacking some concrete examples, its pairing with sociology can help redefine the translational activity by taking into account every translational aspect: the text itself as well as economic, political and cultural fields regulating its production and reception. Gouanvic (1999) studies the translation of American science-fiction and realistic novels in France and their place within the French industry. He tackles the reception of the translated word as well as the field of production through the analysis of different techniques used by different translators of American sci-fi. For Gouanvic,

translation is a product of literary institutions, or fields, and the translators' habitus (Bourdieu 1980: 88). With sociology, we are moving away from systems and rigid structures towards a less schematic approach.

In *Translations and (their) Norms* Meylaerts contends that a sociological and descriptive approach to translation can: "... reveal how intercultural actors interiorize the normative structures not only of the source and target fields, but also of their mutual intersections" (91). She considers translation as an intercultural process paired with the concept of "habitus":

Intercultural actors develop perceptions and practices partly through cross-cultural habituses. By integrating the translators' intercultural habitus in its framework, translation studies can offer a much needed correction to Bourdieu's theory, which is still more national than intercultural in nature. This should turn the habitus concept into an intercultural construct valid for less homogeneous situations. (94)

Finally, Derridean concepts in audiovisual translation could be useful to the study of voice-over, this technique imported from documentaries to reality TV in France with MTV TV series such as *The Simple Life* or *Next*. Voice-over—a technique that consists of the superimposition of the dubbing actor's voice on the character's and the decreasing of the volume of original voices—is strangely echoed in Gentzler's take on Derrida's works: "... Derrida's play of the trace belongs not to a translation which carries identifiable meaning across boundaries, but to a movement along an absent road, one that has disseminated or evaporated, of a voice which tells but cannot be captured, an echo disappearing as it is heard"(161). The character's voice, barely heard, becomes barely audible when covered by the authoritarian voice of the voice-over actor.

Finally, the present research could also extend to other prime-time animation, considered direct descendants of *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*:

*Family Guy* and *American Dad*. While Labate studies the former's intertextuality, the TV show has also been dubbed into *international French*—not standard French from France—in Québec before switching to *joual* in later seasons. A close study of this switch would most likely provide invaluable insight into the changes of the characters' idiosyncrasies and especially the differences and connections between varieties of French. The question would be whether *international French* can be further delineated through the a study of the dubbing of these TV shows in comparison with *standard French*. Finally, *American Dad* and its criticism of blind American patriotism as well as the issue of ethnicity addressed in *The Cleveland Show*, a spin-off of *American Dad*, would surely provide exciting research fields.

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## Appendix A: The Dubbing Casts

### *The Flintstones*

<b>Character</b>	<b>OV</b>	<b>QV</b>	<b>FV</b>
<b>Fred Flintstone</b>	Alan Reed	Paul Berval	Roger Carel
<b>Wilma Flinstone</b>	Jean Vander Pyl	Denise Proulx	Evelyne Grandjean
<b>Barney Rubble</b>	Mel Blanc	Claude Michaud	Gérard Hernandez
<b>Betty Rubble</b>	Gerry Johnson/ Bea Bernaderet	Monique Miller	Laurence Crouzet
<b>Mr.Slate</b>	John Stephenson	Jacques Brouillet	Roger Carel
<b>The Great Gazoo</b>	Harvey Korman	Claude Préfontaine	Roger Carel
<b>Grand Poobah</b>	John Stephenson	Serge Turgeon	Roger Carel
<b>Grandma Slaghoople</b>	Janet Waldo	Janine Sutto	Laurence Crouzet
<b>Pearl Slahgoople</b>	Verna Felton	Béatrice Picard	Evelyne Grandjean

### *The Simpsons*

<b>Character</b>	<b>OV</b>	<b>QV</b>	<b>FV</b>
<b>Homer Simpson</b>	Dan Castellaneta	Hubert Gagnon	Philippe Peythieu
<b>Marge Simpson</b>	Julie Kavner	Béatrice Picard	Véronique Augereau
<b>Bart Simpson</b>	Nancy Cartwright	Johanne Léveillée	Joëlle Guigi/Nathalie Bienaimé
<b>Lisa Simpson</b>	Yeardley Smith	Lisette Dufour	Aurélia Bruno
<b>Abraham Simpson</b>	Dan Castanellata	Hubert Gagnon	Philippe Peythieu
<b>Mr.Burns</b>	Harry Shearer	Edgar Fruitier	Michel Modo/Gérard Rinaldi/ Xavier Fagnon
<b>Principal Skinner</b>	Harry Shearer	Mario Desmarais	Michel Modo/Gérard Rinaldi/ Xavier Fagnon
<b>Ned Flanders</b>	Harry Shearer	Bernard Fortin	Patrick Guillemain/Pierre Laurent
<b>Moe</b>	Hank Azaria	Benoît Marleau/ Sébastien Dhavernas	Roland Timsit/Michel Modo/Gilbert Levy

<b>Lenny</b>	Harry Shearer	Benoit Rousseau	Roland Timsit/Michel Modo/Gilbert Levy
<b>Barney</b>	Dan Castanellata	Yves Massicote	Patrick Guillemain/Pierre Laurent
<b>Chief Wiggum</b>	Hank Azaria	Bernard Fortin	Michel Modo/G�rard Rinaldi/ Xavier Fagnon
<b>Smithers</b>	Harry Shearer	Jean-Louis Millette/Alain Zouvi	Patrick Guillemain/Pierre Laurent
<b>Reverend Lovejoy</b>	Harry Shearer	Bernard Fortin	Patrick Guillemain/Pierre Laurent
<b>Patty</b>	Julie Kavner	Chantal Baril	V�ronique Augereau
<b>Selma</b>	Julie Kavner	Johanne Garneau	V�ronique Augereau
<b>Krusty</b>	Dan Castanellata	March Labr�che. Gilbert Lachance	Michel Modo/G�rard Rinaldi/ Xavier Fagnon
<b>Otto</b>	Harry Shearer	March Labr�che/ Patrick Chouinard	Philippe Peythieu
<b>Apu</b>	Hank Azaria	Jean-Louis Millette/Alain Zouvi	Patrick Guillemain/Pierre Laurent
<b>Milhouse</b>	Harry Shearer	Chantal Baril	Aur�lia Bruno
<b>Edna Krappabel</b>	Maria Wallace	Louise R�my	Martine Meiraghe/R�gine Teyssot
<b>Nelson</b>	Nancy Cartwright	H�l�ne Lasnier	R�gine Teyssot
<b>Ralph</b>	Nancy Cartwright	Johanne Garneau	R�gine Teyssot
<b>Mrs.Hoover</b>	Maggie Roswell	Marie-Andr�e Corneille	R�gine Teyssot

## Appendix B: Accented French

### Rockollini (S01E06: 2''06')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Rockollini</b>	No accent	no accent	C'est <u>un</u> [un] scénario fantastique Mr.Gravillon. Nous sommes prêts à tourner notre nouveau film d'horreur à petit <u>budget</u> [u] en <u>une</u> [u] journée Et quel joli <u>titre</u> [titər], le monstre des puits de <u>goudron</u> [gudru]. Et quelle belle intrigue! Le monstre surgit des puits de goudron et tombe aussitôt amoureux d'une fille ravissante. Dans <u>un</u> [un] mois la terre entière il l'aura vu



Fig. 40. Rockollini (to the left)

### Pseudo-Japanese: Professor Rockimoto (S01E14: 5''02')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Professor Rockimoto</b>	Ha so, ha so	Taltant, taltant	Ha oui, oui
<b>Betty</b>	And I don't think he's the refund type	Et pis j'pense pas qu'il [i(l)] soit le genre à rembourser	Et puis je n'pense pas qu'il soit du genre à rembourser ses clients
<b>Prof</b>	That for sure	Ca c'est <u>certain</u> [seltē], oh, ça c'est <u>certain</u> [seltē]	Ha non ça c'est sûr, ça c'est sûr
<b>Betty</b>	Maybe one lesson is all you need	Pt'êtr ben qu'une leçon c'est tout c'qui t'faut	Peut-être que ça va t'suffire une seule leçon
<b>Betty</b> <i>(after Wilma is sent flying by the prof)</i>	No, I guess you'll need more	Nan j'pense ben qui t'en faudra plus	Nan, je crois qu'il t'en faudra plus
<b>Prof</b>	So very sorry	Oh moi êtes <u>très</u> [tlɛ] navré, <u>très</u> [tlɛ] navré	Hahaha, je suis humblement et profondément désolé
<b>Betty</b>	So is she! <i>(to Wilma)</i> Save me a seat, I'll be back in a minute	Pis elle aussi. <u>Garde</u> [ga(r)də] -moi une place, j'vais r'venir tout suite	Ho ça elle aussi. Garde-moi une place j'en ai pour minute
<b>Prof</b>	So now you are ready for lesson number one	Comme ça vous êtes toutes <u>prêtes</u> [plet] pour leçon <u>numéro</u> [nymelo]	Ha je vois, vous êtes enfin prête à prendre votre leçon numéro un

		un	
<b>Betty</b>	Ready but not willing	Heu <u>je suis</u> [ʃyi] prête mais pas vaillante	Ha prête mais pas très pressée
<b>Prof</b>	Ha so	Ha si	Ha je vois
<b>Betty</b>	Here we go	On est prêtes	C'est parti
<b>Wilma</b>	One thing about judo, you take a polite beating	<u>Tu sais ce qu'il y a de fin</u> [sekijatydfɛ̃] au judo c'est qu' tu t'assoies poliment	C'qui a de bien dans l'judo c'est qu'on apprend à faire des courbettes
<b>Wilma</b> <i>(after the prof makes incomprehensible judo noises and Betty is sent flying landing next to Wilma)</i>	Does it hurt?	Ça fait-tu mal?	Est-ce que ça fait mal?
<b>Betty</b>	Only when I'm sitting. What hurts more is that I paid for 10 lessons	Simplement quand <u>je suis</u> [ʃyi] assise. C'qui m'achale le plus c'est qu'j'ai déjà payé mes 10 leçons	Seulement quand je m'assois après. Ce qui fait l'plus mal c'est que j'ai déjà payé pour 10 l'çons
<b>Prof</b>	That's for sure. That for very dang sure	Ça c'est <u>certain</u> [seltɛ̃], ça c'est <u>très, très</u> [tlɛ̃] <u>certain</u> [seltɛ̃]	Ha, ha ça c'est sûr, ça, c'est vraiment, vraiment très imprudent
<b>Prof</b> (13''29')	Yes, is very good for families to taking judo lessons. Yes, it makes for togetherness	Confucius dit ça c'est <u>très</u> [tlɛ̃] bon pour famille <u>apprendre</u> [aplãd] le judo ensemble. Lui dis ben bon <u>pou éviter chicane</u>	Ha oui ça s'ra bon vraiment que des familles viennent prendre des cours de judo. Ha oui alors. Ça renforce encore plus les liens
<b>All except Fred</b>	Hai yeah!	Ha chi!	Ha oui!
<b>Wilma</b> <i>(nudging Fred)</i>	Fred?	Fred?	Fred?
<b>Fred</b>	Sukiyaki	Sukiyaki	Aligato à la crème
	First, I you recommending ten easy bronze medal family plan. Very cheap. That for sure	Moi, vous commander médaille de bronze <u>sur</u> [sy] plan familial d' <u>abord</u> [abol]. Lui pas <u>cher</u> [ʃɛ̃], lui pas <u>cher</u>	Ha d'abord je vous recommande à tous le programme de bronze spécialement étudié pour les familles. C'est très

		[fɛl]. Ça c'est <u>celrain</u> [seltɛ]	bon marché, très, très bon marché. Ça c'est sûr.
<b>Wilma and Betty</b>	That's for sure	C'est certain	Ha ça c'est sûr
<b>Prof</b>	Next, move into additional 20 silver medal lessons. Special discount prices, big bargain. Then for a few more measly dollars you are eligible for gold medal, diamond medal, etcetera, etcetera	Ensuite gagner avec beaucoup, beaucoup leçons médaille d'argent. Ça bon les bas <u>prix</u> [pli], <u>grosse</u> [glos] aubaine, <u>grosse</u> [gros] aubaine. Ha si. Ensuite <u>pou très</u> [tle], <u>très</u> [tlɛ] peu d'argent vous <u>méritez</u> [melite] une belle médaille d'or, plein de diamants, <u>etcetera</u> [etcetela] <u>etcetera</u> [etcetela]	Après nous enchaînerons par des cours supplémentaires dits de la médaille d'argent, avec un petit rabais sur les prix. Ça s'ra pas très cher, pas très cher du tout. Ha non! Après, pour quelques misérables pièces d'or en plus vous pourrez essayer de remporter une médaille d'or, puis une médaille de diamant, <u>acetera</u> , <u>acetera</u> , <u>acetera</u> .
<b>Prof</b>	Excuse please, sounds like a new customer	Moi fais excuses, moi dis le nouveau client	Excusez-moi je vous prie. On dirait que je vais avoir un nouveau client
<b>Prof</b> ( <i>talking to new customer</i> )	Yes, please, what can I do for you?	Oui vous <u>pli</u> , en quoi moi vous <u>être</u> [etl] utile ?	Oui, monsieur que puis-je faire pour vous ?
<b>Customer</b>	( <i>hesitation</i> ) I want to sign up for some private judo lessons. A prowler's got to learn to protect himself if he's going to stay in business these days, right?	Je suis [fyi] v'nu m'enroller pour des l'çons privées de judo là. Un voleur faut qu'ça apprenne à s'défendre tout ça si ça veut rester en affaire de nos jours, pas vrai?	Et ben je voudrais m'inscrire pour prendre quelques leçons particulières de judo. Un voleur doit apprendre à s'protéger lui-même s'il a envie de rester dans les affaires de nos jours, pas vrai ?
<b>Prof</b>	That for sure	Oh c'est <u>certain</u> [seltɛ], c'est <u>certain</u> [seltɛ]	Ça c'est sûr, ça c'est sûr



Fig. 41. Professor Rockimoto

**Alvin Brickrock/Alfred Brickrock (Alfred Hitchcock) S02E04: 5''45'**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Alvin</b>	Good evening. Mister. Flintstone I presume?	Bien le bonsoir [swa:R], Monsier... euh... Caillou, je	<u>Bonsoir</u> [bõ:swar] ! Mr. Pierrafeu je suppose ?

		<u>présume</u> [pwesym]?	
<b>Fred</b>	Hi! We were just talking about you, neighbour. Looks like you got hit with a guided missile. I bet I ought to see the other guy	Allô, c'est-y drôle, on parlait d'vous-autres voisins, Ça a l'air que tu t'es fait [t] frapper par un missile. Pis j'gagne pas d'voir l'autre	Ha bonsoir. Nous parlions justement d'vous cher voisin. Vous vous êtes battu avec une armoire à glace ? J'aimerais bien voir votre musculature
<b>Alvin</b>	This? I cut myself shaving	Euh, oh ça, j'me suis [sui] coupé en <u>me rasant</u> [mwazã]	Ha oh ça? c'est oh non. Je me suis coupé en me rasant
<b>Fred</b>	Sure, What can I do for you?	Ben sûr, ben sûr. Ben qu'est-ce que j'peux faire pour vous?	C'est ça, c'est ça. Que puis-je faire pour vous?
<b>Alvin</b>	Hum do you have a spade?	Euh avez-vous une <u>pelle</u> [pe:l]?	Euh, est-ce que vous auriez une pelle?
<b>Fred</b>	A spade? You should have been here a half hour ago. I was holding seven spades. Seven spades. You get it? We were playing bridge.	Une pelle? Vous auriez dû v'nir y'a une demi-heure. Tantôt j'avais des piques mais pas d'pelles. Quand on travaille aux piques et pas d'pelles. Vous la comprenez ?	Une pelle ? Vous auriez dû venir beaucoup plus tôt. J'ai pris une sacrée pelle au bridge. Ce sont les femmes qui nous ont battus. Euh vous connaissez ça d'ailleurs ?
<b>Alvin</b>	Nevertheless, I wonder if I might borrow a shovel	Néanmoins, j'aimerais <u>emprunter</u> [ãwõte] une de vos pelles	Euh je ne joue pas au bridge. Je me demandais si vous auriez une <u>pelle</u> [pe:l]
<b>Fred</b>	Of course. I'll get it	Ben sûr. Attendez	Bien sûr. Je vous l'apporte
<b>Betty</b>	Why, Mr. Brickrock, how nice. Are you folks all settled in your new home?	Mais Mr. Brickrock, c'est-tu gentil. Etes-vous bien installé chez vous?	Je suis ravie de vous connaître Mr. Brickrock. Vous êtes bien installés dans votre nouvelle maison ?
<b>Alvin</b>	I'm afraid it's unsettled, Mrs. Flintstone. I've been transferred to another territory	Oh j'ai bien peur qu'on n'soit jamais bien installé Mme. Caillou. Ils vont m' <u>transférer</u> [trãsfewe] dans un autre territoire	Tout est à nouveau sans dessus-dessous dans la maison hélas. Nous partons. J'ai été nommé dans une autre région
<b>Wilma</b> ( <i>pointing at Barney</i> )	Moving again? What a shame. You've only been here a little while. Do you know the Rubbles?	Vous déménagez? Hum c'est dommage. Vous venez juste d'arriver Euh vous connaissez les Laroche?	Vous redéménagez? Ho quel dommage! Vous êtes restés si peu d'temps ici. Vous connaissez les Laroche?
<b>Barney</b>	We've never met, but I've admired your	Heu j'le connais pas mais j'ai admiré son jeu	On n's'est jamais parlé mais j'ai pu plusieurs fois

	footwork many times	d'pieds ben des fois	admirer votre jeu de jambes
<b>Betty</b>	Hum, hum, heu We've been trying to drop in on your wife. Now it looks like we'll just have to meet her to say goodbye	Euh on voulait bien aller rendre visite à <u>votre</u> [vot(r)] femme mais là ça a l'air on va juste la rencontrer pour lui dire au r'voir.	Oh Barney! Nous espérions sympathiser avec votre femme mais je crains que c'la ne se résume désormais qu'à lui dire au revoir
<b>Alvin</b>	I'm afraid that won't be possible. I had to send Agatha off ahead of me. She didn't like the idea of leaving. She fights moving	Oh j'ai bien peur que ça n'soit pas possible. J'ai demandé à Agatha de me <u>précéder</u> [pwesede]. Elle aime pas ça l'idée de s'en aller. Elle se déménage mal	Je suis navré, ce n'est pas possible. Elle est déjà partie Agatha parce qu'elle n'aimait pas l'idée de s'en aller d'ici mais il fallait qu'elle parte quand même



Fig. 42. Alvin Brickrock

#### Doctor at police headquarters (S02E15: 8''12')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Doctor</b>	No accent	No accent	Oh, oui, oui, ça veut dire que Monsieur Pierrafeu il est atteint de dinopipoune en plaques.
<b>Policeman</b>			La dinopipoune en plaques? C'est grave ça?
<b>Dr.</b>			Et bien ce virus il est bénin chez les dinosaures ma si un <u>humain</u> [umê] il l'attrape, oh la, la <i>mama mia</i> je préfère ne pas y songer pis j'ai carrément les chocottes. Houhou
<b>Policeman</b>			Est-ce qu'on en guérit docteur ?
<b>Dr.</b>			Bien <u>sûr</u> [sur] mais le patient il doit rester éveillé pendant 72 heures. Le virus du dinopipoune en plaques meurt de frustration, il n'attaque le patient que quand il est endormi

#### André the hairdresser (S02E26: 14''35')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>André</b>	French accent	Parisian bourgeoisie, see Annex 5	<i>Por favor señoritas</i> , voulez-vous passer à côté s'il vous plait? <i>Señoras</i> , s'il vous plait mettez-vous

			sous le casques? <i>Gracias</i> . Allez-y mes jolies. Descendez les <i>casquas</i> . Tout doucement, parfait. <i>Hasta luego</i> mesdames!
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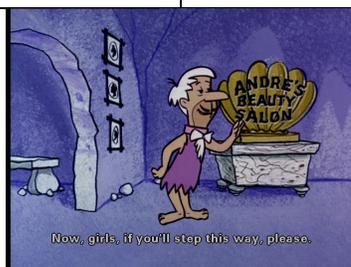


Fig. 43. André the hairdresser

**Roberto Rockollini/ Roberto Rockellini (S02E31: 5'10')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Roberto</b>	<i>Bona sera carissima. Io te vollo tanto bene</i>	<i>Buena sera carissima. Io te vollo tanto bene</i>	<i>Buena sera carissima. Io te vollo tanto bene</i>
<b>Roberto</b> (5'40")	<i>Arrivederci carissima</i>	<i>Arrivederci carissima</i>	<i>Arrivederci carissima</i>
<b>Wilma</b> (5'55" to Fred asking for his dinner)	<i>Qué voi?</i>	<i>Ha, qué vollo?</i>	<i>Qué voi?</i>
<b>Fred</b>	<i>My dinero, remember? Foodo? Me-o?</i>	<i>Mon souper tu t'rappelles pas. Mangeo mio</i>	<i>Mon dinero, nourrituro por mio</i>
<b>Roberto</b> (6'40")	<i>But chérie, non poder di aventura</i>	<i>Oh cara mia, non poder di ventura</i>	<i>Volo solo machua mi camira</i>
<b>Wilma</b>	What does he say, what does he say?	Qu'est-ce qui dit, qu'est-ce qui dit?	Qu'est-ce qu'il dit, qu'est-ce qu'il dit?
<b>Betty</b>	I don't know but I sure like the way he said it. Look!	Je l'sais pas[po:] mais j'aime ça la manière qu'il le dit. Oh r'garde!	Oh j'en sais rien mais j'adore la façon dont il le dit. Oh regarde!
<b>Wilma</b>	He's taking her in his arms	Il la prend dans ses bras	Oh il la prend dans ses bras
<b>Anna</b>	No, no, no, Roberto	Oh no Roberto	No, no Roberto
<b>Roberto</b>	<i>Si, si, si Hanna</i>	<i>Si, si Hanna</i>	<i>Si, si, si Hanna</i>



Fig. 44. Roberto Rockollini (to the left)

**Russian ballet professor Miss Cobblehov/Mme Chiquitaef/ Mlle. Cobblehov (S03E04: 13”23’)**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Prof</b>	<p>We have a new pupil with us, darlings...Mr. Flintstone. He wants to get his bowling form back in a week. We will do our best to help him and here he is. <i>(Fred comes in with a tutu)</i> Mr.Flintstone, come out darling. Now Mr. Flintstone, watch a few ballet steps. See how graceful Natasha is. <i>(ballet dancer dancing)</i></p>	<p>Nous avons un nouvel élève avec nous, mes choux, un monsieur Caillou. Il veut retrouver [ʁ] sa forme de quilleur en moins d’une semaine. Nous f’rons de notre mieux pour l’aider. Et le voici...Mr. Caillou entrez mon chéri. Oh Mr.Caillou vous observerez les autres. Comme c’est gracieux comme pose n’est-ce pas ?</p>	<p>Nous accueillons un nouvel élève parmi [ʁ] nous, mes chéries [ʁ]...Mr. Pierrafeu. Il veut retrouver [ʁ] le rythme pour participer [ʁ] à un championnat de bowling. Nous ferons [ʁ] de notre mieux pour l’aider. Je vous en prie, entrez Mr. Pierrafeu, personne ne vous mangera. Cher Mr. Pierrafeu je vous propose d’observer nos ballerines. Le ballet demande d’être extrêmement gracieux.</p>
<b>Fred</b>	<p>Why, I couldn’t do anything like that, Miss Cobblehov</p>	<p>Oh j’pourrais jamais faire de tout ça Mme Chikitaeff</p>	<p>Oh, jamais je n’serais capable de faire ça Mlle. Cobblehov</p>
<b>Prof</b>	<p>Of course not, Freddie-boy. You will have to limber up first. Stretch the muscles on the bar. <i>(he tries)</i> Stretch <i>(he tries)</i> Stretch. <i>(he tries)</i> Okay now Freddie-boy. Now putting down the leg. <i>(he tries)</i> You’re getting cramp in the leg? That’s nothing, <i>bublishka</i>. I’ll fix it. <i>(she tries to bring it down)</i> Easy, easy <i>(she manages to</i></p>	<p>Bien sûr que oui mon cher Fred. Mais vous devez vous assouplir [ʁ] les muscles. Tendez les muscles à la barre. C’est c’la <i>boblishka</i>. Tendez, tendez. Parfait <i>Fyodor</i>. Bon abaissez donc votre jambe. Vous avez des crampes dans la jambe. C’la n’est rien <i>bublichka</i>. Je vais arranger ça. Doucement, doucement, bien ça y’est</p>	<p>Bien sûr que si mon petit Freddie, Vous allez commencer par vous échauffer. Etirez vos muscles en vous aidant de la barre. Parfait <i>bubulasha</i>. Continuez de vous étirer. Mieux que ça.Très bien <i>Fredolushkaya</i>. Vous pouvez poser votre jambe à présent. Vous avez une crampe à la jambe? Ohlala ne vous faites pas de souci. Je vais arranger ça. Doucement, doucement. Voilà c’est réglé</p>

	<i>push his leg down</i> ). There, it's down		
<b>Prof (18"05')</b>	Congratulations, Freddie-boy. You have learned to ballet in a week. You will have no trouble with your bowling now, I bet you	Félicitations <i>Frederovic</i> , vous avez appris le ballet en une semaine. Vous n'aurez plus de problèmes avec les quiles, je vous l' <u>promets</u> [ɸ]	Toutes mes félicitations mon petit Freddie. Vous avez appris [ɸ] le ballet en une semaine. Vous n'aurez plus aucune difficulté avec le bowling, vous pouvez me croire [ɸ]



Fig. 45. Russian ballet professor

**Gina Lollobrickida (S03E17: 10"21')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Gina</b>	Ha <i>grazia, grazia</i>	Oh, <i>grazie, grazie</i>	<i>Si grazie signora, grazie</i>
<b>Gina (10"50')</b>	That's a terrible singing	C'est terrible [ɸ] <u>cet</u> chant	Mais <u>je</u> [je] yama <u>is</u> <u>entendu</u> [ãtãdu] une cacophonie pareille
<b>Gina (11"10')</b>	Oh I can no stand it	<i>Mama mia</i> , c'est top affreux ça	Mes pauvres oreilles, <u>je</u> [je] <u>ne</u> [ne] peut pas <u>supporter</u> [supoʁte]ça
<b>Wilma</b>	Don't you like music, Lollobrickida?	Vous n'aimez pas la musique Lollobrickida?	Vous n'aimez pas la musique Lollobrickida?
	Only good music. That's why I turn off TV. I no can stand bad singing. Last year, I quit two jobs just for this	Oh si, <u>seulement</u> [søləmã] la <u>bonne</u> [bonnã] musique et c'est pour ça que <u>je</u> [je] la ferme la TV. <u>Je</u> [je] <u>ne</u> [ne] <u>peux</u> [pe] souffrir <i>el mal canto</i> . L'an dernier j'ai quitté deux emplois <u>juste</u> [just] pour ça	Oh si, <i>ma</i> seulement quand il s'agit de bonne <u>musique</u> [muzik]. Alors c'est pour ça que j' <u>ai</u> [ye] éteint la télévision. <u>Je</u> [je] <u>ne</u> [ne] <u>peux</u> [pe] pas <u>supporter</u> [supoʁte] d'entendre de mauvaises chansons. D'ailleurs, l'année dernière j' <u>ai</u> [je] quitté deux emplois rien que pour ça
<b>Wilma</b>	That won't happen here	Heu ça s'produira pas ici	Rassurez-vous, cela n'arrivera pas ici
<b>Gina</b>	I hope not	<u>Je</u> [je] l'espère bien	Ha ça, on ne peut <u>jurer</u> [zuke] <u>de</u> [de] rien
<b>Wilma</b>	That must be Fred	C'est sûr'ment Fred	Ha tiens, ça c'est sûrement

<i>(hearing Fred pulling over)</i>			Fred
<b>Gina</b>	<i>Signorina</i> I will put dinner on the table	<i>Signora</i> je [je] <u>vais</u> [ve] mettre le <u>repas</u> [ʁ] <u>sur</u> [suʁ] la table	Si le <i>signor</i> est là, je [je] <u>vais</u> [ve] apporter le dîner
<b>Gina</b> (12''31')	Oh <i>buon giorno signorina</i>	Oh <i>buon giorno signorina</i>	Oh <i>buon giorno signorina</i>
<b>Wilma</b>	I'll be right back. I'm just going next door. Mr. Flintstone's still sleeping	Je r'viens tout suite. J'veis voir la voisine. Mr. Caillou est dans sa chambre	Si vous avez besoin de quoi que ce soit, je serai dans le salon. Et Mr. Pierrafeu, quant à lui, n'est pas encore levé.
<b>Gina</b> (15''00')	<i>Grazia signor, grazia</i>	<i>Grazie signor, grazie</i>	<i>Grazie signor, grazie</i>
<b>Fred</b>	I almost forgot. We're having company for dinner tonight. My boss. Would you tell my wife?	Oh j'ai complè'tement oublié ça. On va avoir d'la compagnie pour souper à soir. Mon patron. Dites-le donc à ma femme.	Ouh j'ai failli oublier. Nous allons avoir un invité ce soir pour dîner. C'est mon patron. Voulez-vous l'dire à ma femme?
<b>Gina</b>	Ha <i>si, si</i> I tell her but Mr. Flintstone, about your singing, I cannot...	Oh si, si. Je [je] le lui dis. Mais Mr. Caillou à propos [ʁ] de votre chant, je [je] ne peux...	Ha <i>si signor</i> . Je [je] <u>le</u> [le] dirai. Mais à propos de votre <i>canción</i> de [de] tout à l'heure, je [je] voudrais que vous sachiez que je [je] <u>ne</u> [ne] peux pas...
<b>Fred</b>	I know you can't tell me how much you like it. Well you just keep cooking the way you've been cooking and I will serenade you day and night. <i>(starts singing)</i> Oh Lollobrickida, your food I'll take...	Je l'sais combien vous aimez ça. Ben vous vous faites <u>votre</u> [vot(r)] cuisine aussi parfaitement qu'avant pis j'veis vous sérénader jour et nuit. Oh Lollobrickida j'aime beaucoup ta <i>pasta</i> ...	Oh vous n'pouvez pas m'dire à quel point vous l'avez aimée. Je sais. Et bien je vous promets Lollobrickida si vous continuez à cuisiner comme vous l'faites je vous pousserai la chansonette jour et nuit.
<b>Gina</b>	He is going to sing day and night. Oh no. That I could not stand	Il va chanter comme ça jour et nuit ? Oh non ! Ça <u>non, non possible</u>	Ha <i>mama mia</i> je [je] <u>vais</u> [ve] devoir entendre <u>jour</u> [juʁ] et nuit [nui]? Oh non. Je [je] <u>ne</u> [ne] resterai pas <u>plus</u> [plu] longtemps dans cette maison



Fig. 46. Gina Lollobrickida (to the left)

**English robber Baffles Gravel/ Philippe de Gosheur (S04E11: 8"39')**

Character	OV	QV	FV (Barney's voice)
<b>Baffles</b>	By Jove, this looks like a jolly good shop	Pardonnez, cela fait boutique de grand <u>luxe</u> [luks]n'est-ce pas	<u>Mine God!</u> Voilà c'que j'appelle une devanture chaleureuse
<b>Fred</b>	Yeah, yeah jolly good	Hein? Ha oui, oui, très grand luxe	Ha oui, ha oui oui oui, très chaleureuse
<b>Baffles</b>	Have to hurry with my shopping. Nearly tea time, you know. Cheerio	Il faut me dépêcher. Je suis [sui] très près de l'heure du thé. Au r'voir	Ha il faut que j'aille faire mes emplettes. Bientôt c'est l'heure du thé, vous comprenez. Bonjour chez vous
<b>Baffles</b> (9"34/8'59)	Not quite Mr. Hotrock, not quite. I want something a little more, shall we say, valuable?	Vous n'y êtes pas Mr. Duroc, en fait pas tout à fait. J' <u>aimerais</u> [emøreɜ] quelque chose d'un peu <u>plus</u> [plu]... comment dire... beaucoup plus cher	Ce n'est pas exactement ça Mr. Duroc, pas vraiment. Je voudrais un objet un peu <u>plus</u> [plys], si je puis me l'permettre, <i>exceptional</i>
<b>Mr.Hotrock</b>	Of course, sir. I have just the thing. A flawless white pearl in the original oyster ( <i>taps on the oyster</i> )	Oh mais bien sûr monsieur. J'ai exactement l'article. Une perle blanche sans défaut, encore dans sa coquille	Bien sûr! J'ai exactement ce qu'il vous faut. Une magnifique perle de nacre dans son huitre d'origine
<b>Oyster</b> ( <i>opens</i> )	All right. Can't a guy get a little sleep around here?	Correct. Y'a pu moyen d'faire un somme ici?	Mais prenez-la et gardez-la au lieu de m'déranger toutes les deux minutes
<b>Mr.Hatrock</b>	What do you think?	Alors qu'en dites-vous?	Qu'en dites-vous?
<b>Baffles</b>	Well, if you've nothing more expensive	Hum, bien pas mal si vous n'avez rien de <u>plus</u> [plu] dispendieux	Mon <i>sir</i> , si vous n'avez rien qui ait <u>plus</u> [plys] de valeur que ça
<b>Mr.Hatrock</b> ( <i>pulls out an expensive looking necklace</i> )	More expensive? Wait, how is this, sir?	Plus dispendieux? Mais... alors voici	Qui a plus de valeur? Mais attendez! Que pensez-vous de c'la?

<b>Baffles</b>	I say, quite, may I inquire...	Fort bien, très bien. Puis-je m' <u>enquérir</u> [âkewir]...?	<i>My God! Perfect!</i> Auriez-vous l'amabilité de me donner...
<b>Mr.Hotrock</b>	\$252,00 sir. But that includes gift-wrapping and a card	C'est \$225,000 monsieur avec l'emballage fantaisie et la carte	1 million 200000 coquillages monsieur mais ça comprend le paquet cadeau et le ruban
<b>Baffles</b> (10''13/9''54', <i>noticing the policemen outside watching him</i> )	Oh drat, the fuzz. This calls for some ingenuity	Oh <u>zut</u> [zyt] je <u>suis</u> [swi] suivi. Il va falloir faire <u>preuve</u> [pwœv] d'ingéniosité	Quel dommage! 2 crapeaux. Voila qui va exiger un doigt d'ingéniosité
<b>Baffles</b> (11''03/10''40')	Hum may I?	Heu <u>puis</u> [pwi]-je voir c'la?	Puis-je l'admirer?
<b>Fred</b>	Of course. I'd appreciate the opinion of a connoisseur	Oh mais bien sûr, j'aim'rais ça avoir l'opinion d'un vrai connoisseur	Oh mais avec plaisir j'apprécierais avoir l'opinion d'un connoisseur
<b>Baffles</b>	Hum, perfectly charming. I'm sure your spouse will adore it	Hum parfaitement charmant. Je <u>crois</u> [cwa] que votre épouse va adorer c'la	<i>Absolutely charming.</i> Je suis persuadé que madame votre épouse sera ravie
<b>Fred</b>	Hey, nice to have made your acquaintance	Ravi d'avoir fait vot'connaissance	Merci et content d'avoir fait votre connaissance
<b>Baffles</b>	We'll meet again, I assure you, Cheerio, old boy	<u>Oh mais nous allons nous voir. A bientôt mon vieux.</u> Cheerio	Je vous garantis que nous nous reverrons bientôt. Bonjour chez vous!
<b>Baffles</b> (15''05)	I say, what luck. All I have to do is pluck my little bracelet from its hiding place	Ho mais quelle chance. Il me <u>suffira</u> [sufira] de <u>pendre</u> [pwâdr] mon p'tit <u>bracelet</u> [bwasle] à l'endroit où moi j'lai mis.	Alors moi je dis quelle chance! Il me reste <u>plus</u> [plys] qu'à retirer discrètement mon bracelet de sa cachette improvisée



Fig. 47. Baffles (to the right)

Mexican hat seller (S04E17:9''54')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Barney</b>	Pardon me <i>señor</i> . Do you have hats?	Pardonnez-moi <i>señor</i> . Avez-vous des chapeaux?	Excusez-moi <i>señor</i> . Est-ce que vous avez des sombreros?
<b>Hat seller</b> (sleeping)	I will...look <i>señor</i> (falls back asleep)	<u>Je</u> [je] <u>vais</u> [ve] regardez... <i>señor</i>	Je vais jeter, <u>un</u> [uno], <u>un</u> [un] oeil <i>señor</i>
<b>Barney</b>	I'll take these three sombreros	J'vais prendre ces trois sombreros	Je vais vous prendre ces trois sombreros
<b>Seller</b>	<i>Sí, señor</i>	<i>Si, señor</i>	Bien <i>señor</i>
<b>Fred</b>	I'll see you around	<i>Nothing is said</i>	<i>Adios amigos</i>



Fig. 48. Mexican hat seller

**Professor Freudstone/ Professeur Freudpierre (S06E01: 12"24')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Prof</b> <i>Choppy, staccato prosody.</i>	Is <u>zis</u> where the <u>vhiz</u> kids live?	<u>Est</u> [st] ici que les fameux enfants demeurent?	C'est ici qu'habitent les surdoués de la chanson?
<b>Wilma</b>	Oh, hello, Professor. I'll have the children ready in a minute	Oh allô professeur. J'vas préparer les enfants dans une minute	Ha bonjour professeur. Les enfants seront prêts dans un instant
<b>Fred</b>	Who is that guy?	Qui <u>c'est</u> [se] ça c'gars là?	Non mais attends qui c'est celui-là?
<b>Wilma</b>	That's Professor Freudstone. He's going to find out why Pebbles and Bamm-Bamm sing like they do	C'est l'professeur Freud Pierre. Il va trouver pourquoi Bou-boum et Agathe chantent comme ils le font	C'est le professeur Peter Sigmund. Il vient observer Pépité et Bam-Bam pour comprendre l'origine de leur talent
<b>Fred</b>	Oh, yeah? And what about me?	Ha oui? Pis <u>qu'est-ce que tu</u> [kesekty] fais d'moi?	Ha oui? Et qu'est-ce que je deviens moi?
<b>Prof</b>	Sorry. You're too old. <i>Und</i> now let us with the experiment begin (looking at the	Vous [fu] êtes bien trop vieux. Maintenant, <u>allons vite les expériences</u>	<u>Désolé</u> [desole] vous êtes trop vieux. Et maintenant il faut commencer par un examen <u>approfondi</u>

	<i>kids</i> ). <i>Zey</i> seem like nice normal, healthy children. I think first we will the reflexes testing. Just relax the knee little fella ( <i>Bam bam kicks him</i> ) Unbelievable! A regular Stuperstone! Now we test the vocal chord. All togezer now, <i>zay</i> ah ( <i>they do it</i> ). Argh <i>zat's</i> beautiful. <i>Und</i> now I have the answer	[ekspeRjãz] <u>commencer</u> . Hum, ils <u>semblent</u> [zãbl] être très normaux et en bonne santé les enfants. Je crois que <u>premièrement allons-nous les réflexes tester</u> . Pouvez-vous releaxer le genou petit <u>bonhaume</u> [bõnom] ? Un véritable superhéros. Maintenant les tests des cordes <u>vocales</u> [focal]. Tous à l'unisson, dites "ha". Ha ça c'est <u>merveilleux</u> [mærfejø] et j'ai [je] la réponse	[aprofõdit] Hum ce sont deux enfants qui sont tout à fait normaux. Nous allons commencer par un petit test de réflexe psychomoteur. <u>Détendez</u> -toi bien mon petit bonhomme. Parfaitement incroyable, une tonicité hors du commun. Et maintenant nous allons observer les cordes <u>vocaux</u> . Attention tous les deux, en même temps disez "oh". Oh ça c'est <u>magnifique</u> [magnifique] Très bien. J'ai la réponse
<b>Fred</b>	Well, what is it?	Pis qu'est-ce que c'est?	Bon alors expliquez-nous
<b>Prof</b>	A simple case of mass-media-transectional hypnosis	Un simple cas de la mass media transectionnelle hypnotique	C'est un simple cas d'hypnôse téléviso-transactionnelle du premier âge
<b>Fred</b>	What does that mean	<u>Kose ksa</u> veut dire?	Ha oui qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?
<b>Prof</b>	It comes from <u>watching</u> [v] TV	C'est dû à <u>qu'on</u> regarde trop la TV	Causée par le fait de regarder la télévision
<b>Wilma</b>	But Professor, they're only babies	Mais professeur, c'est rien qu'des bébés.	Mais professeur, ce n'sont encore que des bébés
<b>Prof</b>	Exactly and because they are no one ever told zem they are too young to do what zey are doing zo zey do it. Simple isn't it?	Exactement et parce qu'ils sont <u>petits</u> [peti], personne jamais ne leur a dit qu'ils sont trop jeunes pour faire ce qu'ils font donc ils <u>le</u> [le] font. C'est simple n'est-ce pas?	Exactement et parce que ce sont des bébés, personne ne peut jamais leur dire qu'ils sont trop jeunes pour le faire alors ils le font en conséquence. Vous avez compris?



Fig. 49. Professor Freudstone (to the left)

**The Who (S12E02: 16"25')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Daltrey</b>	British English	Mais qu'est-ce que vous faites pour l'amour ?	No accent
<b>Bart</b>		Ben j'saccage la chambre	
<b>Townshend</b>		Mais on a promis [w]à la réceptionniste qu'on s'rait fin	
<b>Daltret</b>		Oh oui, on veut pas qu'ils coupent l'accès [s] à le piscine	
<b>Homer</b>		Si on veut. L'important c'est que c'est moi Homer Simpson	
<b>Daltrey</b>		La maire de la nouveau Springfield?	
<b>Homer</b>		Exact	
<b>Entwistle</b>		La fou qui est l'maire de la nouveau Springfield?	
<b>Homer</b>		Exact pis j'vous supplie de v'nir faire vot' concert chez nous à place. Jouez pas dans le vieux Springfield ou comme on l'appelle dans l'métier <i>Sun City</i>	
<b>Moon</b>		Mais on a fait une entente verbale avec un promoteur de spectacle. Ca c'est sacré comme contrat [w]	



Fig. 50. The Who

**Nobel Prize (S15E01: 6"17')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Nobel</b> <i>(on the phone)</i>	Sir I am honoured to inform you that you've won the Nobel Prize	Mozieur j'ai le bonheur de vous informer que vous avez remporté le prix Nobel de physique [əɪ]	J'ai l'honneur de vous informer [ʁ] que l'on a décerné à vous le prix [ʁ] Nobel
<b>Homer</b>	<i>(surprised)</i> The Nobel Prize? <i>(then angry)</i> Finally! So it's for what? My whole deal?	Le prix Nobel de physique? Vous en avez pris du temps. faque c'est pour quoi? Toute	J'ai eu l'prix Nobel? Et ben c'est pas trop tôt. Euh c'est pour quoi? Le physique?

		ma patente?	
<b>Nobel</b>	This is Professor John Frink isn't it?	Je parle bien au professeur John Frink n'est-ce pas?	Vous êtes professeur John Frink n'est-il pas?
<b>Homer</b>	If I say no, do I still win?	Si j'vous dis non j'vais-tu gagner pareil?	Si j'dis non j'l'aurais quand même?
<b>Lisa</b> (grabs the phone)	I'll tell Professor Frink he's won (speaks Swedish)	J'vas l'dire au professeur Frink <u>tut</u> suite	Je vais prév'nir le professeur Frink
<b>Nobel</b> (surprised)	Jumping Jiminy!	Ca parle <u>au</u> maudit!	Saperlipopette!



Fig. 51. Nobel prize president

#### Ukrainian mafia boss (S23E01: 13"13')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Boss</b> (surfing the Web)	Crazy man attacks boss. (recognizes his enemy) It's him! American agent who caused the death of everyone I love	Un débile attaque son patron Je l'ai retrouvé. L'espion américain qui a causé la mort de tous ceux que j'aime	Un fou furieux attaque son patron. C'est lui! [lwi] Un agent américain qui a causé la mort de tous ceux que j' <u>aimais</u> [jeme]
<b>Goon</b>	You want to give it zero stars?	Vous voulez attribuer zéro étoile?	<u>Voulez lui</u> donner zéro étoile?
<b>Boss</b>	No! We will go to Springfield America and kill this man but first... (finishes watching the video)	<i>Niet.</i> Nous irons à <u>cette</u> Springfield en Amérique et nous tuons cet espion. Mais d'abord...	Non, nous allons allés à Springfield en Amérique et tué cet <u>homme</u> [closed o]. Mais d' <u>abord</u> [closed o]...
<b>Homer</b> (hosing dog poop and signing)	Washing out the dog's poop sure beats picking it up. Flanders' driveway is my goal	Otez l'caca d'chien au boyau c'est mieux qu'd'le ramasser. J'vas toute le mettre chez Flanders	Lavez l'caca du clebs c'est mieux qu'd'le ramasser. L'allée de Flanders c'est le but d'mon jet
<b>Boss</b> (pulls up his car in front)	I am looking for a man named Wayne	S'il vous plait. je veux trouver un homme du nom de Wayne	Je suis à la recherche d'un <u>déno</u> mmé [closed o] Wayne

<i>of Homer's and talks to him)</i>			
<b>Homer</b>	Oh he's gone. I don't know where he went	Heu <u>je</u> [je] parti pis ché pas où il est	Heu il est parti. <u>Ché</u> pas où il est
<b>Boss</b>	Are you a friend of his?	Etes-vous ami de Wayne?	Etes-vous un ami à lui?
<b>Homer</b> <i>(closed face and serious)</i>	He has no friend	Wayne a aucun ami	Lui il a pas d'amis
<b>Homer</b> <i>(as they drive away)</i>	Except me	Excepté moi	A part moi
<b>Boss</b> <i>(pulls up in front of Homer)</i>	Ha I see you're tight like <i>borscht</i> and beets?	Ha vous êtes <u>inséparables</u> [əl]. Comme betteraves et borscht?	Ha je vois que vous êtes aussi lourd qu'un borscht à la betterave



Fig. 52. Ukrainian mafia boss (to the right)

#### Carl (S12E02: 4'20')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Carl</b>	I'm not sure which one is better. The 6 is closer to the 3 so you got a convenience there but then the 9 has less to do with Satan which is a plus in this religious world of us	Chuis pas sur lequel est l' <u>mieux</u> [miu] moi. Le 6 est à côté (closed [o]) du trois ça c'est assez <u>coumode pou'</u> le 3 mais le 9 a rien à voir avec Satan. <u>Fait qu'ça</u> c'est un plus dans un monde religieux comme le nôtre	Je me <u>demande</u> [dəmwãd] lequel est l' <u>mieux</u> . Le 6 est <u>plus</u> [plu] <u>près</u> [pwɛ] du 3 que le 9. c'est bien <u>pratique</u> [pwatik]. <u>Par</u> [pa] contre c'est le chiffre du diable c'est un peu gênant pour ceux qu'y'ont la foi
<b>Homer</b>	But what really burned me up is that they didn't give us one word of warning	Moi c'qui m'met en bout à <u>voir</u> [vwer] c'est qu'ils nous ont <u>jamais</u> [jama] averti une seule fois	C'qui m'met hors de moi c'est qui nous ont pas dit un mot pour nous prévenir
<b>Carl</b>	What do you mean? They ran those TV commercials about it and that big radio campaign	Voyons Homer, ils ont fait une grosse campagne à la télé à propos d'ça, pis même à la radio ça a pas arrêté	Comment ca? Y'a eu toute une campagne d'information à la télévision
<b>Lenny</b>	Don't forget the leaflet they dropped	N'oublie pas l' <u>pamphlet</u> qui nous v'nait d'la	Et les dépliant lancés depuis la navette spatiale et

	from the space shuttle and the two weeks we spent at the area codes camp	navette spatiale puis les deux s'maines qu'on a passées au camp des codes régionaux	les quinze jours de séminaire qu'on s'est farci
<b>Homer</b>	Not a single word of warning	Ils ont rien dit pour nous avertir	Pas un seul mot pour nous prévenir



Fig. 53. Carl (to the right)

**Bumblebee Man (S07E21: 13"00')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Bumblebee Man</b>	<p>Que día miserable a trabajo! (<i>fades to him on the beach disguised as a palm tree</i>) Primero, el ataque del woopeckero loco (<i>a woodpecker attacks him</i>). Luego, un desastro de electricidad. (<i>at a restaurant, a man plugs his appliance and Bumblebee man gets electrocuted</i>) Y finalmente, una catastrophía con una pelota de baseball (<i>he gets hit in the face by a baseball at the baseball game</i>) Tiempo parar relaxar en paz y quieto (<i>at home, he opens his cupboard ando ranges fall on his head</i>) Ay naranjas en la cabeza (<i>he falls on the ironing board which creates a succession of events where he ends up hanging by the ceiling light</i>) Ay una candelabra</p>	<p>Que día miserable a trabajo! Primero, el ataque del woopeckero loco. Luego, un desastro de electricidad. Y finalmente, una catastrophía con una pelota de baseball. Tiempo parar relaxar en paz y quieto. Ay naranjas en la cabeza. Ay una candelabra precariosa!</p>	<p>Ha quelle journée miserable j'ai passée au boulot. <i>Primero</i>, il y a eu l'attaque de ces pics-verts <i>locos</i>. <u>Ensuite</u> [ãswite] il y a eu ce désastre électrique. Et <i>finalmente</i> una catastrophe avec <u>une</u> [un] balle <i>de</i> [de] baseball. Ha ça va pas faire <i>de</i> [de] mal un peu de repos et de <i>tranquilidad</i>. Ha <u>une</u> [un] avalanche d'oranges sur la <i>cabeza</i>. Ha on m'a <u>jeté</u> [zyte] <u>un</u> [un] sort, <u>je</u> [3e] suis maudit</p>

	precariosa! ( <i>the light gives in along with the whole house collapsing</i> )		
<b>Wife</b>	Ha! Mira que cosa tan terrible, yo no puedo entender algo como esto...como puedo vivir con un hombre tan irresponsable. ( <i>shows divorce papers entitled "divorcio"</i> ). No, no, no, no, no, no! ( <i>she leaves with her suitcase</i> )	Ha! Mira que cosa tan terrible, yo no puedo entender algo como esto, como puedo vivir con un hombre tan irresponsable. No, no, no, no, no, no	<u>Tu</u> [tu] es la <u>plus</u> [plu] grande <u>déception</u> de ma vie. C'est fini <u>je</u> [je] demande le divorce. <u>Tu</u> [tu] n'es qu' <u>un</u> [un] irresponsable. Non, non, non, non, non, non
<b>Bumblebee Man</b>	( <i>shaken</i> ) Donde esta mi tequila?	Donde esta mi tequila?	Ay où est-ce qu'elle a mis ma tequila?



Fig. 54. Bumblebee Man

#### Luigi Risotto (S05E21: 16"40')

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Burns</b>	<i>Bravissimo</i> Luigi! Bring us your finest bottle of <i>vino</i>	<i>Bravissimo</i> Luigi. Apportez-nous votre meilleure bouteille <u>de</u> [de] <i>vino</i> !	<i>Bravissimo</i> Luigi! Apportez-nous votre meilleure bouteille de <i>vino</i>
<b>Luigi</b>	Hey, you trust- <u>ah</u> Luigi, huh? He knows- <u>ah</u> what for to make- <u>ah</u> really nice <i>amore</i> ( <i>leaves for the kitchen</i> )	Ay faites confiance à Luigi. Il <u>sait</u> [se] ce qu'il faut faire quand il a devant lui une vrai <i>histoire d'amore</i>	Hey vous faites [ə] confiance à Luigi! Il a une <u>petite</u> [e] merveille qui est très bon pour l'amour!
<b>Ma Bouvier</b>	Oh, Monty, I've never been to a more romantic restaurant!	Oh Monty. J'ai jamais été dans un restaurant aussi <u>romantique</u> ! [ʁ]	Oh Monty, je n'ai jamais connu restaurant aussi romantique!
<b>Luigi</b> ( <i>from the kitchen</i> )	Hey, Salvatore! Break out the cheap hooch for Mr. No-Tip and the dried-up- <u>ah</u> zombie he's- <u>ah</u>	Hey Salvatore! Apportele <i>vino</i> le plus cheap pour le vieux gratteux et pis la vieille momie qu'il s'est ramassée	Hey Salvatore! Tu me sers le tord-boyaux pour le <u>le</u> [le] vieux radin et la zombie desséchée qu'il a <u>capturée</u> [u]

	captured!		
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Fig. 55. Luigi (to the left)

**Kim Jong II (S23E01: 20"00')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Kim Jong II</b> ( <i>in a play</i> )	Pardon me sir. Can you tell me <u>where</u> palace is?	Milles excuses monsieur, pouvez-vous me dire <u>où</u> palais se trouve?	Pardon monsieur, pouvez-vous me dire où est le palais?
<b>Man in uniform</b>	What business do you have at the palace?	Mais pourquoi est-ce que vous, vous iriez au palais?	Qu'est-ce que vous avez à faire au palais?
<b>Kim Jong II</b>	Why some day I'm going to be dear leader	Parce qu'il se pourrait bien que je devienne le cher dirigeant	Un jour je vais être [ə] le cher leader
<b>Man</b> ( <i>laughing</i> )	You? You're too benevolent to be dear leader	Vous? Vous êtes trop bienveillant pour devenir notre cher dirigeant	Vous? Vous êtes trop bienveillants pour être cher leader
<b>Kim Jong II</b>	Let's see what <u>they</u> [de] think? ( <i>gestures to curtain behind him opening on to a chorus</i> )	Si on voyait ce qu'ils en disent?	Voyons ce qu'ils en pensent



Fig. 56. Kim Jong-II

**Rainer Wolfscastle (S06E18: 5"20')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Rainier</b> ( <i>interview</i> )	My new film is a mix of action and comedy. It's called [closed o:] <i>MacBain</i> Let's get silly	Mon nouveau [f] film est un mélange d'action et de <u>comédie</u> [closed o:] qui s'appelle <i>MacBain</i> action et comédie	<u>Mon</u> ( <i>pronounced English way "mine"</i> ) nouveau [f] film est <u>une</u> [un] mélange d'action <i>und</i> de comédie <u>z'</u> intitule <i>MacBain</i> soyons douce idiote

<b>Rainer</b> ( <i>on a standup comedian stage</i> )	Did you ever <u>notice</u> [closed o:] how men <u>always</u> [v] leave the toilet seat up? ( <i>waits expectantly</i> ) That's the joke	Avez [f]-vous remarqué comment les hommes laissent toujours le banc des toilettes levé? C'était ça la <u>blague</u> [p]	Vous avez [t] remarqué que les hommes laissent toujours le siège des toilettes relevé? C'est ça la <u>blague</u> [ə]
<b>Invisible man in the audience</b>	You suck MacBain	T'es <u>pourri</u> MacBain [teɛ]	T'es nul MacBain
<b>Mac Bain</b> ( <i>gets an ammo gun and fires in the invisible crowd: people scream</i> )	Now my Woody Allen impression: "I'm a neurotic nerd who likes to sleep with little girls"	Maintenant mon imitation de Woody <u>H</u> allen: "je suis un <u>n</u> iaiseux <u>n</u> évrosé qui aime coucher avec les petites filles"	Mainten <u>a</u> nt [ə] mon imitation de Woody Allen: "je suis un <u>i</u> ntello <u>n</u> évrosé qui aime beaucoup les petites filles"
<b>Invisible man in the audience</b>	Hey that really sucked ( <i>Mac Bain throws a grenade</i> )	Hey ça c'était vraiment [ã] <u>pourri</u>	Ha t'es vraiment nul hein?
<b>Rainer</b> ( <i>back to the interview</i> )	The film is just me in front of a brick wall for <u>and</u> [d] hour and a half. It <u>cost</u> [closed o:] 80 million dollars	Le film c'est seulement moi devant un mur de briques pendant une heure et demie. Le tournage a coûté 80 millions de <u>dollars</u> [trill r]	Le film c'est moi devant un mur pendant une heure et demie. Il a coûté 80 millions de dollars



Fig. 57. Rainier/MacBain

**Dr Nick Riviera (S04E21: 1'00')**

<b>Character</b>	<b>OV</b>	<b>QV</b> ( <i>staccato rhythm</i> )	<b>FV</b>
<b>Nick</b> ( <i>walks on stage</i> )	Hello <u>T</u> roy! [R] Hi everybody!	Salut Troy! Salut tout l' <u>m</u> onde!	Bonjour [ʁ] Troy! Salut tout <u>l</u> e [le] <u>m</u> onde! [ə]
<b>Audience</b>	Hi Dr. Nick!	Salut Dr Nick!	Bonjour docteur Nick!
<b>Nick</b> ( <i>goes to the table in front of Troy</i> )	<u>T</u> roy [ʁ] would you like a glass of orange juice?	Troy, aimeriez-vous un bon jus d'orange?	Troy, voulez-vous <u>un</u> [un] verre de <u>jus</u> [jus] d'orange?
<b>Troy</b>	I sure would. But why do we have to pay those outrageous grocery store prices for something the	Mais certain' <u>ment</u> [ã] mais devons-nous payer le prix exorbitant que nous chargent les épicerie <u>s</u> pour un produit	Mais comment donc! Alors nous allons devoir payer le prix exorbitant pratiqué par les commerçants pour un

	farmer probably spit in?	qui a peut-être servi d'crachoir aux fermiers ?	produit dont on est pas sûr qu'on est pas craché d'dans?
<b>Nick</b> (close-up on the appliance on the table)	Not... anymore! [ʌ] All thanks to the new juice loosener	Non! Plus maintenant. Et ça grâce au tout nouveau "laisse aller ton jus"	Oh <u>plus</u> [plu] maintenant. Et <u>c'est</u> [se] grâce à mon invention: l'écono <u>ju</u> s [jus]
<b>Troy</b> (after Nick has turned it on the machine makes a din)	(shouting) Doctor, are you sure it's on? I can't hear a thing	Dr. êtes-vous certain qu'il est branché? C'est tout à fait silencieux	Docteur, vous êtes sûr qu'elle marche? Je n'entends rien
<b>Nick</b>	It's whisper quiet	On pourrait entendre voler une mouche, non?	Ecoutez ça ce n'est qu'un doux murmure
<b>Troy</b> (after the machine has produced one single drop of juice)	You got all that from one bag of orange juice?	Vous avez pu obtenir tout ce jus d'un seul sac d'orange?	Oh vous obtenez tout ce jus avec un seul filet d'orange?
<b>Nick</b>	That's right. Order now and you'll also get <i>Sun and run</i> , this suntan lotion that's also a laxative	C'est exact. Commandez-le maintenant et vous recevrez <i>Tan et Scram</i> , la lotion de bronzage qui est aussi un laxatif	Et oui, commandez-le dès maintenant [ə] et vous recevrez en cadeau un tube de <i>Gogo Soleil</i> , <u>une</u> [une] crème solaire qui a des propriétés laxatives



Fig. 58. Dr. Nick Riviera (to the left)

**Apu (S05E13: 2"09')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Homer</b> (pointing an accusing finger at Apu)	Your old meat made me sick	Ta viande avariée m'a rendu malade	Ta bidoche m'a rendu malade
<b>Apu</b> (pulls out a pail full of shrimp)	Oh I'm so sorry. Please accept five pounds of frozen [trill r] shrimp	Oh mais je suis désolé. Je vous offre 500 boîtes de crevettes surgelées	Oh <u>je</u> [ʃ] suis [swi] désolé. Tenez, prenez ces trois kilos de crevettes congelées
<b>Homer</b> (sniffs them)	This shrimp isn't frozen and it smells funny	Ces crevettes-là sont pas surgelées pis en plus i puent <u>le diable</u> ! [lYabl]	Elles sont pas cong'leées tes crevettes et puis elles sentent bizarre

<b>Apu</b> (puts a second pail on the counter)	Ok 10 pounds	Un kilo, ca <u>va-ti</u> ?	D'accord 6 kilos
<b>Homer</b>	Woohoo!	Woohoo!	Woohoo!
<b>Homer (5"45')</b> (spying on Apu with a huge Texan hat on his head concealing a hidden camera)	Don't be alarmed Apu. Just go about your daily routine like I'm not wearing the hat	Occupe-toi pas d' <u>m</u> oi Apu. Fais ton p'tit train quotidien pis fais comme si l'chapeau existait pas	Fais pas attention Apu. Continue à faire c'que t'as à faire comme si j'portais pas d'chapeau
<b>Apu</b>	Your head gear seems to be emitting a buzzing noise sir. Perhaps you have a bee in your bonnet	Votre couvre chef semble émettre un bruit étrange <u>m</u> osieur. peut-être avez-vous une abeille dans l'bonnet ?	Votre truc là <u>sur</u> [ʃyʀ] la tête, il fait un drôle de bruit monsieur [ʃ]. Il y a peut-être une abeille là-dessous
<b>Homer</b> (throws the hat on the floor, stamps on it and runs away)	Bee? Haaaa!	Une abeille? Haaa!	Une abeille? Haaaa!
<b>Apu (6"45')</b> (cut to Apu being filmed by the hat left on the floor)	Lalalala (carrying a tray of old dogs), well time to replenish the hot dog roller. Lala.. (drops a sausage on the floor that is covered with dust and insects) Oops. Oh it is incrustated with filth. Oh well let's sell it anyway. (blows the filth away and puts it in the rolller). (to the hat) Now it's just between me and you smashed hat	Lalalala, bon <u>il</u> [i] faut que je remplisse ma vitrine de hot dogs. Lala... oups. Oh non la pauvre saucisse elle est toute sale. Et ben tant pis je vais la vendre quand même. Ca c'est entre toi et moi petit <u>é</u> crabouillé [w]	Lalalala, je vais réapprovisionner [ʃ] le plateau à hot dog [closed o]. lala... Oh la <u>sa</u> leté [ʃ] s'est incrustée dedans. Oh ben ça fait rien je vais quand même le vendre! Ni vu ni connu. C'est pas ce vieux chapeau qui me dénoncera hein?



Fig. 59. Apu (to the left)

**Server (S12E05: 17"05')**

Character	OV	QV	FV (Portuguese accent)
<b>Server</b> (to Homer)	No accent	No accent. Standard.	Excusez-moi [ku] monsieur, votre <u>car</u> te [trill r] de crédit a été refusée



Fig. 60. Server (in the middle)

**Unknown Scottish woman (S04E20: 3''05')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Scottish woman</b> <i>(after seeing Willie petting and kissing his tractor)</i>	Now that's a lonely man. I'm new in town. Be there a cool <u>loch</u> where a <u>lass</u> could wash her long red hair?	Joual	Oh j'aperçois <u>un</u> [un] pauvre homme tout seul. Je viens d' <u>arriver</u> [awive] en ville, Où trouverais-je les eaux froides d'un lac où laver mes longs cheveux <u>roux</u> ? [wu]
<b>Willie</b>	Neh, but there's a pool at <u>me</u> apartment complex. There was a <u>rat</u> [ɾ] in the deep end but we got him		Y'en a <u>pas</u> [paU] mais y'a une piscine dans ma <u>résidence</u> [ɾ]. Y'avait un <u>rat</u> crevé au fond mais on l'a enlevé
<b>Woman</b>	Ha lead on!		Ha allons-y!



Fig. 61. Unknown Scottish woman

**Unknown Scottish man (S04E20: 18''45')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Bart</b>	People of Springfield, whacking day is a sham. It was started in 1924 as an excuse to beat up the Irish	Joual	Habitants de Springfield. la journée d'la raclée est une imposture. Ca date de 1924 pour justifier les tabassages d'Irlandais
<b>Scottish man</b>	'Tis true. I took many a lump, but t'was all in good fun		C'est <u>vrai</u> , [w] j'en ai pris des torgnoles mais c'était dans la bonne humeur



Fig. 62. Unknown Scottish Man

**Dog trainer (S02E16: 10"31')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Trainer</b>	<i>(examines one of the dog's handwriting)</i> What lovely handwriting, <i>(to the owner)</i> Have a toffee. <i>(examines another one)</i> Such a neat dog. Well done. <i>(examines Santa's Little Helper's handwriting)</i> . Now if I could borrow Satan's Little Helper	Standard Québécois	Oh voilà une belle écriture [w]. Caramel? Ca c'est du beau travail [w] et prenez [w] en-un . Excellent! Puis-je t'emprunter [w] Petit Caca Noel?
<b>Bart</b>	Santa's Little Helper		Papa Noël, Petit Papa Noël
<b>Trainer</b> <i>(takes the dog in front of the audience and starts petting him)</i>	Ladies and Gentlemen most of you already know that with a little love and compassion, any puppy will grow up to be a little bundle of joy. <i>(becomes angry)</i> Stop this nonsense taught by charlatans and learned by bloody twits. Let me tell you the two most important words you will ever hear in your life: <i>(close up on a choke chain she's holding)</i> choke chain!		Mesdames et messieurs, vous savez déjà, pour [powr] la plupart d'entre vous, qu'avec un peu d'amour [wr] et d'attention n'importe quel toutou grandira [w] et deviendra un petit coeur avec du poil autour. Et bien tout ça n'est que foutaises enseignées par des charlatans à des gogos. Laissez-moi vous dire [diwr] les deux mots les plus importants que vous entendrez dans votre vie: chaine d'étranglement!



Fig. 63. Dog trainer (to the left)

**Mr Schindler (S02E18: 8"10')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Mr Schindler</b> <i>(looking at Marge's portrait of Ringo Starr)</i>	No accent	Standard Québécois	Oh non pais encore un portrait de ce braillard [ε] de Liverpool
<b>Marge</b>			Mais Mr Schindler...
<b>Mr Schindler</b>			Non un autre aurait utilisé cette toile [twel] pour faire un chef d'œuvre une fois [fwe] alors que vous, vous l'avez souillée à jamais <i>(moves on to a clown's</i>

			portrait) Alors ça oui, c'est de l'art!
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Fig. 64. Mr Schindler (in the middle)

**Ringo Starr (S02E18: 16''00')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
<b>Ringo</b>	British accent	Chère Sally, en réponse [w] à votre lettre du 12 décembre 1966, ma couleur préférée est le bleu et mon vrai prénom est Richard. Merci pour la photo, vous êtes un bel oiseau. <u>Amour</u> [uwr] Ringo. <u>P.S.</u> excusez le retard de ma réponse [w]	Chère Sally, en réponse à votre lettre du 12 décembre [w] 1966, ma couleur c'est le <u>bleu</u> et mon véritable prénom [w] c'est <u>Richard</u> . Merci pour votre photo, vous êtes un joli petit lot. <u>Love</u> Ringo. <u>P.S.</u> : pardon pour le <u>le</u> lenteur de ma réponse
<b>Butler</b> (comes in with a tray)		Monsieur Starr, thé ( <i>International French</i> )	Monsieur Starr, des biscuits
<b>Ringo</b>		Posez-ça là ( <i>gestures to his other desk</i> )	Oui posez ça là
<b>Butler</b>		Monsieur, pardonnez mon impertinence de vieux britannique mais votre dévotion pour vos admirateurs est fort remarquable	Pardonnez un vieux britannique son impertinence mais votre dévouement à vos fans est tout à <u>fait</u> [fwɛ] remarquable
<b>Ringo</b>		Vous savez <u>Wetherbuy</u> ils ont pris la peine de m'écrire et quand bien même je devrais mettre encore 20 ans j'ai l'intention de <u>répodnre</u> [w] à toutes ces lettres ( <i>gestures to piles of letters and finds an interesting-looking package</i> ). Hello! Qu'est-ce que c'est? De Springfield <u>U.S.A.</u> ( <i>he opens it: it's Marge's portrait of himself</i> ) Wow!	Vous savez <u>Wetherbuy</u> , ils ont pris [w] la peine de m'écrire alors même si ca doit me <u>prendre</u> [w] 20 ans de plus, je tiens à répondre à tout le monde personnellement. Oh qu'est-ce que c'est qu'ça? Ca vient de Springfield <u>U.S.A.</u> <u>Super!</u> ( <i>pronounced the English way</i> )



Fig. 65. Ringo Starr

**Sarah Ferguson/Fergie (S10E06: 17"49')**

Character	OV	QV	FV
Fergie	Scottish accent	Willie, viens me combler	Willie j'ai besoin de toi
Willie		Saint Patron des Ecosais!	Oh non d'une pipe!
Fergie		Viens <u>plus</u> [plys] proche!	Oh plus <u>près</u> [w]



Fig. 66. Sarah Ferguson

## Appendix C: *Provençal*

### **Charlie (S01E03: 17"47')**

*Charlie*: Demandeu-leur d'attendreu uneu secondeu! Je vais finir en deux petits coups  
(*he hits the ball*)

*Man on the phone*: Charlie arrive tout de suite

*Charlie*: Un dernier coup de canne et c'est bon  
(*on the phone*)

*Charlie*: Et oui. Ha bonjoureu Fred! Que je te rende un service?

*Fred*: Oui, écoute, je veux faire une blague à un voisin. Tu t'rappelles le déguisement que tu portais au carnaval?

*Charlie*: L'uniforme de policier? (*laughs*) Oui, ha oui. Tu veux que je vienne l'accuser de perturber l'ordreu public? Ha oui? Plus de réceptions où je te fais coffrer c'est ça? Et ben oui.

*Fred*: Non personne ne te reconnaîtra. Tu n'auras qu'à mettre ta fausse moustache et ton gros nez. On va s'offrir le fou rire du siècle

[...]

### **22"20'**

*Charlie*: Fred?

*Fred*: Oui Charlie?

*Charlie*: J'ai égaré ma tenueu de policier

*Fred*: Mais ça n'fait rien Charlie (*realizing he just pushed a real policeman in the pool*). Charlie?! Mais, mais... que.... qui est dans la piscine? Oh c'est Dédé...oh mon dieu !

### **King of the Water Buffalo association/Le roi du cercle des bœufs buveurs d'eau (S02E11:4"22')**

*King*: Bienvenus chers amis Buffles buveurs d'eau. Notre réunion de ce soir est vraiment une des plus importanteu. En tant que roi des buffles buveurs d'eau je suis content que la totalité du troupeau est présente. Et manteunant la voilà grandeu nouvelle. Ici même au palais des buffles buveurs d'eau nous allons bientôt organiser un superbe concours de beauté.

*Fred*: Yahooo! Yabba-dabba-doo

*Barney*: Oh yabba-dabba-doo!

*King*: Pour cela nous allons avoir beusoin de juges. (*cheering*). Attendez, attendez! Vous ne pouvez pas tous être juges. Il faut que chacun de vous ait sa chance. Alors je vais tirer des noms au hasard de ce bonnet à poil (*pulls out a paper*). Le premier nom venu est Fred Pierrafeu.

*Fred*: Yahoo! Chabba-dabba-dou!

*King*: Et l'autre juge va être [trill r] Barney Laroche!

*Fred*: Yabba-dabba-doo!

*Member*: Bien joué majesté!

*King*: Oui ils ne pouvaient pas perdre puisqu'il n'y avait que leurs noms dans le bonnet. Il nous fallait deux juges et tous les autres étaient trop malins pour accepter un tel poste.

*Member*: Oui, il faut dire que pour accepter de juger un concours de beauté dans sa propre ville il faut avoir la tête trouée comme une passoire.

### **Plumber (S02E14:6"20')**

*Plumber*: Voyons voir [trill r] ça. 4 coudes, 2 joints, une paire de valves. Ca vous fera 200 coquillages.

*Barney*: 200 coquillages?

*Plumber*: C'est ça. Bien sûr si vous m'aviez appelé tout de suite...

*Barney*: Ha oui je sais. Heu rendez-moi service, quand vous enverrez la facture n'en mettez que la moitié. Je paierai la totalité mais c'est pour euh...

*Plumber*: Ha vous voulez mentir [trill r] à votre femme. Une question. Vous avez déjà réservé une chambre d'hôtel?

*Barney (stammers)*: L'hôtel? Pour quoi faire?

*Plumber:* Eh ben va falloir que je coupe l'eau, que j'arrache le plancher, que je remplace les tuyaux. Ca va bien me prendre 4 ou 5 jours. Comment vous allez expliquer ça à votre femme?

**Policeman (S02E19: 8''45')**

*Policeman:* C'est vrai, volés. V-E-D-O-B, enfin volés. 45 coquillages se sont envolés.

*Wilma:* Ça fait des s'maines et même des mois que j'économise pour t'ach'ter un cadeau.

*Fred:* Un cadeau à moi?

*Wilma:* La s'maine prochaine c'est ton anniversaire. J'avais t'offrir une nouvelle boule pour jouer au bowling

*Fred:* Oh c'est...c'était...tu...tu...veux dire que tu voulais m'acheter...

*Policeman:* Votreu femme a déclaré que vous étiez resté à la maison.

*Fred:* Ha oui, oui, oui, c'est exact oui mais y'a rien d'anormal. Chuis juste passé à l'épic'rie au bout de la rue pour acheter une boule de Padouard. Tiens Barney prends la boule de Padouard.

*Barney:* Avec plaisir Fred (*drops it on his feet*) Aïe, oh que c'est lourd !

*Fred:* Oh ben oui hein, c'est...la croûte est très épaisse

*Policeman:* Cette affaire est un vrai casse-tête mais nous ferons de notreu mieux pour trouver le voleur.

**S02E30: 6''50'**

*Policeman:* Ha, ha ouais, exactement ce que je pensais.

*Fred:* Quoi, quoi?

*Policeman:* Travaileu d'amateur, très drôleu ma fois.

*Fred:* Très drôle? Je suis fou d'rage. Alors qui a volé mes affaires?

*Policeman:* Ce n'est pas le travail d'un pro. Un vrai pro ne dérouberait pas le genre de choses que vous m'avez décrit.

*Fred:* Ha ben attendez...

*Policeman:* J'ai trouvé: c'est le travail d'un kleptomanu. C'est tout à fait caractéristique.

*Fred:* Un klepto quoi?

*Policeman:* Un kleptomane. Une personne qui a l'impulsion de commettre des vols. Un de vos [o:] amis malades peut-être Mr.Pierrafeu, mais alors vraiment malade.

**Music sponsor (S05E01: 15''21')**

*TV:* Qui est cette femmeu?

*Ann's friend:* C'est votre star.

*TV:* C'était magnifique [a:]. Tout à fait adorubleu. Je suis fier de vous avoir dans le spectacle. Très fier. Ma maman me chantait cetteu chanson pour m'endormir. (*sees Pebbles*) Quelle magnifique enfant. Qui est-elle?

## Appendix D: Rural French

### The Hatrocks/ Les Rochedures (S04E18: 1"15')

*Priest:* La cérémonie est finie à présent. Vieil oncle Pierrafeu est retourné à la terre, sa vie bien remplie aura duré quelques 101 ans.

*Peasant woman:* Vous voulez dire 102.

*Priest:* Vous êtes sûre?

*Woman:* Et comment que je l'sais. Il est plus jeune que moi de six années. C'est pas vrai maman?

*Mother:* Si ma chérie.

*Priest:* Peu importe. Finalement le vieil oncle Pierrafeu est mort. C'était le dernier représentant de cette famille.

*Peasant:* 'Gadon' [regarde donc] un peu ceux-là, ils ont pris la nouvelle très à cœur on dirait. *(The Hatrocks are crying)*

*Peasant 2:* Ca pour pleurer i' pleurent hein. Mais j'ai toujours cru qu'ils détestaient les Pierrafeu.

*Peasant 1:* T'as raison. Ils les haïssaient. Ces deux familles se sont détestées et se sont querellées pendant plus d'90 ans.

*Peasant 1:* C'est vrai? Alors pourquoi pleurer?

*Hatrock mother:* C'est pas juste. Pourquoi qu'y'a fallut qu'cet imbécile d'oncle nous quitte. Quelle idée d' monter dans un arbre aussi fragile. Il aurait dû s'douter qu'il finirait par câsser.

*Peasant father:* Oh il l'a fait par mesquinerie. Il savait qu'ça mettrait un terme à nos affrontements car on n'aurait plus de Pierrafeu sur qui tirer *(cries)*

*Mother:* C'est honteux c'qu'il a osé nous faire. Le dernier Pierrafeu s'est éteint. Toi t'étais là ?

Pourquoi qu't'as pas essayé de l'rattraper hein?

*Hatrock Father:* J'ai pas pu. J'étais occupé à tirer sur lui Ma. Quel drame pour le p'tit *(kid crying)*. I'connaîtra jamais la joie de tirer sur un d'ces enquiquineurs. Pauv' gamin va!

### The Hatrocks/ Les Rochedures (S05E19: 4"35')

*Mr.Hatrock:* Content t'revoir vieux chacal.

*Mr.Hatrock:* Comment tu vas Fred, mon vieux compagnon?

*Mr.Hatrock* Ben j'pars pour le festival de Rockstock et chuis juste passé pour t'dire bonjour mais j'peux pas m'attarder.

[...]

**5"15'**

*Mr Hatrock:* C'est ben vrai ça?

[...]

**6"03'**

*Mr.Hatrock:* C'est Crément [ɛ] Tête-de-pierre, le fameux troubadour chantant d'la télévision

[...]

**7"10'**

*Mr Hatrock:* Dépêche-toi [we]



Fig. 67. The Hatrocks family (S04E18)

**Cletus (S18E14: 7"32')**

*Cletus (upon seeing Lisa lying in the mud):* Hey r'gardez c'que l'bourricot a débusqué dans la boue! (to his children). Les jeunes, cette fille-là est v'nu du pays des fées pour vous faire [x] l'école. Si vous avez besoin d'moi, je s'rai sous le porche entrain de boire du vernis à bois.



Fig.68. Cletus (to the left)

## Appendix E: Joul in *The Flintstones*

### Animals used as commodities

*Turtle cart* (S02E13: 13''00'): Mes vieuxx! Hey, je peux [ʃpø] pas voir ça [ɔ:].

*Hedgehog comb* (S04E01: 0''10'): Bon diable [dYab]! Il a [ja] les ch'veux comme d'la laine d'acier.

*Turtle washer* (S02E29: 2''53'): Fermez l'couvert. Cet air [stɛr] là c'est froid [ʁ] après qu'on a passé tout un cycle.

*Octopuss dishwasher* (S06E06: 7''35'): Qu'est-ce qu'il [koseki] reste à faire?

*Ostrich mop* (S06E06: 13''10'): Chuis [ʃyi] pas r'gardable. Il faut que j'trouve mes guenilles.

### Mr. Boulder (S01E04: 10''22')

Hé Laroche qu'est-ce que je vais [kosekva] faire? Asteur ma balle est pognée dans l'trou d'sable.

### Keen-teen producer (S01E15: 14''00')

*Producer*: Ti Blanc Roc'chard, oublie tous les autres. Trouve c'gars [ɔ:] là pis vite. J'ai rajouté d'la musique derrière sa voix pis c'gars [ɔ:]-là... Trouve-les. Ça passe à la régie canadienne, la TV, la radio, tout [tYt]. Faut faire l'monde complet vite.

### The police (S02E07: 13''30')

*Police officer*: Où c'est qu'vous pensez vous allez? Au feu?

*Fred*: Mr. l'agent on est en service officiel. V'là ma carte. Si jamais j'peux vous aider... et n'hésitez pas à m'app'ler.

*Police officer*: Tiens, merci bien. (*looks at the card*) Caillou et Laroche agence d'investigation. Disponible tous les soirs d'la semaine. Si c'est pas [pɔ:] gentil. Moi mon nom c'est Auclair pis v'la ma carte bacquet (*hands him a ticket*)

*Fred*: Oh merci m'sieur l'agent. (*notices it's a ticket*) Hey c't'une contravention ça.

*Police officer*: C'est ça [ɔ:], ça fait que [fak] soit sûr d'être disponible demain matin...en cour. [...]

### 16''30'

*Police officer* (*comes around after being knocked out*): Ha ma tête [taEt], qu'est-ce qui [keski] s'passe? (*looks around and sees Fred and Barney*) Ha c'est vous-autres. C'est donc ça vos affaires officielles.

*Fred*: C't'une erreur.

*Policeman*: Ben chu [ʃy] d'accord, on va descendre à l'station pis là [ɔ:] vous vous expliquerez. (*at the station*)

*Police chief*: (*shows a picture*) C'est-tu un des bandits?

*Fred*: Non m'sieur, j'ai jamais vu c'gars [ɔ:] là avant.

*Police chief*: Es-tu sûr? C'est la dernière photo qu'on a [ɔ:]. On aura l'reste des photographies d'bandits demain matin. Vous êtes mieux d'vous en v'nir à huit heures pour les r'garder.

*Barney* (*looks at some more pictures*): Hey v'là un des portraits qui r'semblent à un des bandits.

*Police*: C'est l'quel ça?

*Barney*: Celui qu'y est derrière vous, celui qu'y est accroché au mur.

*Police*: Espèce d'idiot c'est l'directeur d'la police. Sacrez vot' camp ou j'vous enferme pour imitation d'détectives.

### Hollyrock producer GoGo Ravine/Denis Rocand (S05E25: 4''35')

*Denis*: Allô, j'veux parler [ʁ] à m'sieur Pierre Beauroc si vous plaît. Denis Rocand [ã] à l'appareil. Allo bébé, c'est Denis Rocand [ã]. J'appelle à propos d'mon nouveau film à succès. Comment qui s'appelle...vite vite [I]?

*Assistant*: Hercurock et les vestales.

*Denis:* Ha ouais [wɛʒ], un vrai beau sujet. Envoie [wæ] -moi le meilleur acteur que t'as. Son cachet? J'en fais une vedette, faut pas trop ambitionner. Y'a raccroché [ʁ].

*Assistance:* C'était le dernier agent.

*Denis:* Les agents on s'en [ɑ̃] passe. Avant qu'Rocpierre soit [swaj] Rocpierre, qui est-ce qu'il était [kisekjetɛ]?

*Assitant:* Alex Mur-de-Pierraille, patron.

*Denis:* Et où est-ce qu'on l'a trouvé Alex Mur-de-Pierraille?

*Assitant:* Dans une carrière patron.

*Denis:* Pis ben qu'on cherche un aut'Rocpierre où est-ce qu'on va r'garder?

*Assitant:* Dans un mur de pierraille.

*Denis:* Mes vieux! Si j'avais pas besoin d'toi [twe] pour écrire les scripts, je te [ft(ə)] ... viens-t-en.

### **Judge (S04E04: 22"30')**

*Judge:* Ouais [wæ], qu'est-ce qui va pas?

*Fred (gesturing at his daughter):* Cette [st(ə)] enfant là mange pus. Elle s'morfond d'chagrin parce qu'elle a [ka] perdu son ami.

*Judge:* Es-tu sérieux?

[...]

### **23"15'**

*Judge:* C'est vot' chien [ɛ̃]. Ok j'retire l'accusation pour vol de chien [ɛ̃] pis ça va coûter 60 pièces [a] pour excès d'vitesse et avoir troublé [ʁ] la paix.

### **Joe Rockhead (S01E07: 19"37')**

(*walking home drunk*) Tout un parté d'bureau. J'ai dit [dsi] au patron ce que je pensais [kesekʃpɑ̃sɛ] d'lui. Oh pis la pt'ite Crocmont d'secrétaire, elle s'en v'nait de plus en plus aguichante. "Tu m'plais toi [twe] Joe Tête-de-pierre", c'est ça qu'elle a dit. "Tu m'fais penser à Poohba". (*notices his front door is open*) Hey! Ma porte d'entrée est défoncée. Ca doit être un voleur. J'men vais t'pogner la main dans l'sac.

### **Pearl Slaghoople (S2E26: 4"16')**

(*to Wilma*) Mon bébé [bɛjbe]. Oh ma pauvre 'tite fille. D'après c'que j'peux voir, je suis [ʃyi] arrivée juste à temps. Mon doux, t'as l'air pâle [paU].

### **Mr. Slate/Mr. Miroc (S02E08: 10"37')**

*Mr. Miroc:* Caillou!

*Fred (waking up):* Moi [mwe] m'sieur chuis [ʃyi] un ver de terre.

*Mr. Miroc:* Correct, juste t'excuser [eskyze] c'est ben assez.

*Fred:* Merci m'sieur.

*Mr. Miroc:* Caillou, j'ai noté un certain chang'ment [ɑ̃]chez [twe].

*Fred:* J'ai ben changé m'sieur Miroc.

*Mr. Miroc:* Mouais, tout ce [stə] marmonnage dans ton sommeil, tes yeux pochés, as-tu pris d'la boisson?

*Fred:* Non m'sieur.

*Mr. Miroc:* Ben ou ben t'es claqué ou paqu'té.

### **Sam Stone (S03E05: 3"36')**

*Sam Stone:* Des pinottes Fred mon vieux camarade, j'ai ce qu'il te faut [skitfo].

*Fred:* Je l'savais j'pouvais compter sur toi.

*Sam Stone:* Fred tout l'monde sait ça qu' Sam Stone y'a l'cœur à la bonne place pis Sam va t'avoir une vraie vedette pour des pinottes.

## Appendix F: Joul in *The Simpsons*

### Dolph, Jimbo and Kearney (S12E02: 10”20’)

*Dolph*: Hey, regardez [r(ə)ga(R)de] c’que j’ai trouvé [truvaε], un disque [I] volant [ã] nouveau genre [ã].

*Bart*: C’est à moi [mwe]. C’est mon disque [I] volant [ã] nouveau genre [ã].

*Dolph*: T’es dans l’vieux Springfield asteur. Les affaires [aε] qui s’trouvent de notre [not] bord du parc c’est à nous-autres.

*Kearney*: Hey, ces pantalons sont sur l’bord d’la clôture.

*Jimbo*: On l’pogne.

### Willie\* (S12E07: 17”40’)

*Willie*: Vous pouvez pas faire ça [ɔ] à Willie!! Je suis [jyi] pas [pɔ] coupable que j’vous dis

*Marge*: Ils [i(l)] disent toujours q’ils[ki] sont innocents. Je [J] trouve que ca devient énervant [ã]

*Bart*: Pa’, Willie s’est fait [fet] arrêter à cause de nous

*Bart*: Ben c’est sûr mon gars [gaU], c’est un voleur fini. Bon, on va tout [tut] se coucher.

[...]

### 18”12’

*Willie*: J’étas tout seul dans ma cabane, c’est un [stɛ̃] terroriste! J’vous jure qu’ j’ai rien à voir [avwɛr] avec un vol d’auto.

### Miss Krappabel (S21E09: 1”22’)

(*looking at the mirror, drowsy*) Ca va être une bonne journée, ça va être une bonne journée, ça va être une bonne journée!

[...]

### 1”47’

(*singing along*) C’est juste [ɔ] une autre [ot(r)] journée.

*Students*: Ha ça s’peux-tu? Cette vieille folle-là chante une vieille tonne plate d’y’a 1 millions d’années.

[...]

### 2”02’

*Edna (to herself)*: Correct [korɛc] Edna. Oublie pas: si tu peux enseigner une affaire à un enfant ta journée d’tavail va être réussie

(*fade in to the classroom where all the children are playing with their phones*)

*Edna*: Les enfants [ã], les enfants! Les enfants, si vous plait, on écoute [ɔ]!

[...]

### 2”40’

*Edna*: Voulez-vous m’dire [dzir] pourquoi des enfants [ã] ont besoin [ɛ̃] d’un cellulaire?

*Milhouse*: En cas [kaU] d’danger.

*Nelson*: En cas d’danger.

*Jimbo*: En cas d’urgence.

*Kearney*: Pour faire nos recherches.

*Edna (sighs)*: Pouvez-vous les mettre sur vibration au moins [ɛ̃]?

(*they do and all the phones are buzzing at the same time*)

*Edna*: C’est assez! Mettez-moi ça dans la [(l)a] boîte. J’veux plus [py] d’bébelles dans la classe [klaUs]. Ca s’en va tout [tut] dans l’tiroir avec les grenouilles d’biologie.

### Miss Hoover (S02E19: 00”30’)

*Miss Hoover*: Les enfants j’resterai [rɛstɛrɛ] pas longtemps parmi vous. Je viens de chez l’docteur et j’ai la maladie [dzi] de Lahm [laUm]. Le directeur Skinner va vous faire la classe en attendant le suppléant.

*Ralph*: C’est quoi la maladie de Lahm?

*Skinner (to Hoover):* Euh laissez, je m'en occupe. *(to the class)* La maladie de Lahm est transmise par de petits parasites qu'on appelle le tique. Quand une tique s'accroche à vous et commence à vous sucer le sang elle sécrète de vilains spirochètes qui attaquent votre système sanguin, puis la moelle épinière, et finalement le cerveau.

*Hoover:* Le cerveau [sɛrvo]! Mon Dieu !

**Sideshow Mel\* (S15E16: 4"30')**

*Coudonc,* y'en a pas d'épouse tremblante pantoute ou [ut] encore de soupirants. Y'en a pas de mariage d'icitte!

**Smithers (S02E18: 10"35')**

*Smithers:* Non monsieur, je dois vous rappeler que... que l'inauguration de l'aile Burns au musée aura lieu dans quinze [ã] jours.

*Burns:* Enfer et damnation Smithers! Votre idée de m'immortaliser dans un portrait était aussi inspirée que d'avoir des enfants [ãfã]. Smithers, trouvez-moi un artiste [ts].

[...]

**12"15'**

*Smithers:* Y'a quelqu'un aussi en bas [baU] monsieur

**Moe (S20E01: 7"30')**

OK, elle a dit [t] qu'elle s'rait ici [isit] exactement [ã] à 8 heures du soir. *(looks at the clock showing 8:03pm).* *(threatening the clock)* Tu traites-tu ma blonde de menteuse? Je crois bien [krebjẽ] qu'elle viendra pas [pɔ]

**Ned Flanders (S17E14: 14"15')**

*Ned:* Oh Marge, écoutez, je suis [jyi] loin d'êt(r)e sûr que j'en ai besoin [ẽ]. De voir ça [sɔ] tous ces purs étrangers s'googler les uns les autres [aU]. Moi ca m'fait faire d' l'urticaire [ts]

*Homer:* OK Tais-toi [twe] pis mets-les juste en arrière dans l'coffre.

*Marge:* Ned c'est trop généreux. Mais y'a ben quelque chose [kɛkfoz] que j'peux faire en échange?

*Ned:* Ben c'est toujours utile [ts] d'avoir de l'aide quid proquo par une pro. La convention des gauchers arrive en ville alors en tant que fournisseur principal d'accessoire de patte gauche, ben c'est sûr que c'est [kse] une priorité. Pourriez-vous gardez à l'œil mes ptits [ts] kitis?

[...]

**7"17'**

*Ned:* Allô Marge. Rod pis Todd font-tu leur p'tit dodo?

*Marge:* On a fait [fet] toute sorte d'affaires. C'est des jeunes très bien élevés

*Ned:* Hey vous êtes la bienv'nue pour garder les ptits [ts] nommes quand [kã] vous voulez.

**Chief Wiggum (S12E07: 15"45')**

*Homer:* Chef! J'voudrais faire peur à mon p'tit garnement. J'pourrais-ti lui montrer une vraie cellule?

*Wiggum:* Certain. J'vas vous donner la suite Eric Pointe, parfait pour des boys.

**Krusty the clown (S12E03: 10"00')**

*Krusty:* Ok tite fille, l'eau est là [laU], bourre-toi [twe] la fraise.

*Daughter:* Oh ouais [wej] papa, viens on va jouer dans les vagues pis on va surfer sur la bédaine.

*Krusty:* Ben écoute ben tite fille. Je suis [jyi] pa l'genre de pa' qui fait [fej] des affaires ou qui dit des choses ou qui te r'garde mais l'amour [ɔ] est là

[...]

**12"26'**

*Krusty*: J'pense que j'viens d'trouver mon mentor. Tu sais [tse] Homer, moi j'ai pensé toute ma vie à faire rire les enfants mais j'viens juste de m'rendre compte que j'connais rien d'eux-autres, rien pantoute.

**Duffman (S09E01: 2"00')**

*Duffman (walking in Moe's bar)*: Y'en a-ti qui veulent une Duff?

*Bar crowd*: Yeah!

*Lenny*: Hey c'est l'homme [aU] Duff, en costume [lax u] qui nous sensibilise [ã] à la Duff.

*Duffman*: L'homme Duff va organiser un parté pour votre ami qui vous fait parvenir 10000 litres de la bière Duff. C'est pour cette raison qu'chuis icitte.

**Selma and Patty Bouvier (S20E15: 13"10')**

*Patty*: Attends [ã] qu'il [ki] s'aperçoive qu'la [kla] clé c'est pas une vraie. C'est juste [o] d'la sauce plus piquante [ã].

[...]

**17"20'**

*Selma*: On d'vrait peut-être [ptɛt] le libérer.

*Patty*: Pas [paU] avant qu'Marge le laisse [laɛs] tomber pour de bon [baɔ̃].

[...]

**18"16'**

*Selma*: Pauvre [pov(R)] gars [gaU].

*Patty*: Dans l'fond l'aime beaucoup.

*Apu*: Excusez-moi mais y'a déjà plus de 45 minutes que j'attends que vous m'donniez mon permis.

(*Selma pulls out a "closed" sign*)

*Selma*: Fermé! [ɸ]

*Apu*: Ok, vous êtes bannies à jamais de mon magasin. Vous devrez magasiner au Kwik-E-Mart juste en face du mien, celui qu'y est plus [plys] nouveau et mieux organisé. Bonjour à vous!

**Agnes Skinner (S09E02: 14"41')**

*Agnes*: Un poignard! Un poignard me transperce le coeur [coœr].

*Skinner (wants to grab her)*: Oh laissez-moi vous aider mère.

*Agnes (pulls away her hand)*: Surtout touche-moi pas [paU]!

*Real skinner*: Maman [ã] j'ten prie.

*Agnes*: Toi [twe] aussi l'étranger!

*Real Skinner*: Mais chu ton fils

*Agnes*: Je n'ai pas d'fils!

*Homer*: Bon ben écoutez là [laU]. Y'en a sûrement un qu'y est vot' fils.

*Agnes*: Non [naɔ̃], y'en a un qu'c'est un étranger (*pointing at the real Skinner*) pis l'autre [aU] un imposteur (*to Skinner*).

*Real Skinner*: Calme-toi [ɛ] maman [ã] (*he holds her*)!

*Agnes (pushes him away)*: J'ai dit d'pas m'toucher! T'es sourd?

*Skinner*: Vaut mieux obtempérer. Elle a l'épingle rapide.

[...]

**13"30'**

*Agnes*: J'vous ai poché un poisson pour le voyage monsieur Camfaitrien. Oub(l)iez pas qu'c'est plein de p'tites arrêtes [ɸ]alors faites attention.

*Skinner*: Oh oui mère hum... Madame Skinner.

[...]

**17"01'**

*Agnes (angry at the new Skinner)*: Seymour y'est 7h30. Où c'est qu't'étais passé? [paU]

*Skinner*: Au bar maman [ã].

*Agnes*: J'ai aucune idée de c'que ça peut être mais l'vendredi tu dois rentrer directement à maison.  
A soir on joue aux silhouettes alors viens t'assir.

### **Comic book guy (S02E21: 14"30')**

*Ralph*: Pouvez-vous me l'laisser pour 40 dollars?

*Comic*: 40 piasses? Es-tu fou? Tu m'fais lever d'mon tabouret pour ça [ɔ]

*Raphl*: Mais c'est tout c'que j'ai. J'ai vendu des graines. J'ai visité ma tante à l'hôpital psychiatrique, j'ai tiré 10 cents du fond des égouts, allez-vous bien me l'vendre?

*Comic book guy*: Pas question. (*to Bart*): Qu'est-ce que tu [kesekty] veux?

*Bart*: J'peux l'avoir pour 35?

*Comic book guy*: Non, non, non. 'Coutez les p'tits, j'ai pas juste ça à faire [ʁ] moi. J'ai une maîtrise en folklore pis en mythologie populaire.

### **New York businessmen (S09E01: 10"11')**

#1 (*screaming at the businessman in the other tower from his window*): Hey quand t'auras [aU]terminé, j'ai quelque chose [kekfoz] su(r) laquelle tu pourras mordre [aU].

#2: Hey tu [tsy] pourrais être poli espèce de grosse boule de pus (*to Homer*). Mon vieux tu [tsy] dois téléphoner au numéro su(r) le sabot. Fais-toi en pas avec lui, y'enferment tous les imbéciles dans la tour numéro 1.

#1: D'ailleurs j'vais t'parler dans a face.

#1: Oh ouais fais donc ça... j'ai justement quelque chose [kekfoz] pour toi [twe].

#2: (*talking at the same time*): Hey j'men vais t'caresser...

#3: Vos gueules gang d'imbéciles [lax i]!

### **Dr. Monroe (S02E09: 12"50')**

*Dr*: Oh et ben Kent, les espiègleries de quelques personnages de bandes [baUnd] dessinées sont bien pâles [paU] en comparaison des problèmes émotivement destructeurs qu'un psychiatre rencontre quotidiennement [ã]. J'pense en particulier à ces femmes qui aiment trop, à la peur de gagner, au sexaholisme et à tout ce genre [ã] de choses.

*Kent*: Vous n'avez donc aucune objection professionnelle à l'égard d'*Itchy et Scratchy*?

*Dr*: Non, pas du tout. En [ã] fait un d'mes p'tits plaisirs culpabilisants est de m'écraser avec un gros sceau d'pop corn au beurre, baisser la lumière et r'garder *Itchy et Scratchy* et rire comme un fou. Oh pis qu'est-ce qu'y'a d'mal à ça là d'dans [ã]?

### **Snakes (S09E08: 1"30')**

*Homer (at the police station)*: J'viens chercher mon gros bateau avec un beau moteur!

*Snakes (elbows him)*: Hey pousse-toi [twe] bonhomme. (*to Wiggum*): Où est-ce qu'il est [skije] mon bateau le smatte?

*Wiggum*: Juste derrière la porte [paUrt].

*Snakes (after going in the backroom, he gets beaten up by policemen)*: Ayoye c'est d'la brutalité policière ça!

*Lou*: Ben oui.

### **Ma Bouvier (S02E07: 7"15')**

J'ai une layngite [larɛʒIt] pis ca m'fait mal quand [kã] j'parle. Ca fait que j'vais dire [dzir] c'que j'ai à dire [dzir]: tu fais jamais rien [rjɛ]d'correc(t)!

[...]

### **7"50'**

*Abe*: Pas une façon d'alimenter l'feu ça [saU], ca t'prend du [dzy] p'tit bois.

*Homer (tries to set the fire on)*: C'feu là va ronronner dans un rien d'temps [tã]

*Selma*: Même les hommes des cavernes savent faire du feu.

(Homer groans)

Marge: V'nez souper! V'nez souper tout l'monde!

Homer (*giving up*): Bon ben l'feu ça s'ra pour une aut' fois.

Marge: Ok Lisa on est tous prêts pour ton milieu d'table.

(Lisa comes in with a sculpture)

Marge: Oh! (*admiring her work*) Lisa! Mon doux seigneur, c'est très impressionnant.

Homer: Oh ben! Tarbinouche, c'est le plus gros...euh la plus grosse de ces affaires-là que j'ai [kja] jamais vue.

Patty: Hum j'ai toujours dit [dzi] qu'elle avait du talent.

Selma: Oh c'est sûr que ça vient d'notre côté à nous-autres, hein m'man?

Ma: Toi achale moi pas!

### Capitol city citizens (S02E05: 19"45')

Woman: En fait ici c'est la section des ex-femmes de joueurs

#2: Ca fait qu'c'est là que j'ai découvert [æ] qu'pendant tout [tYt] c'temps là [laU] ben il avait sa poulette à Kansas City.

#1 (*screams at a player*): Garroche-les dans la tête [taæt]!

### Dan Hordo (S02E05: 6"45')

Bien l'bonsoir Springfield. Ici Dan Hordo au micro. Ce soir [ɹ] nos Isotopes rencontrent les désagréables Shelbybilliens de Shelbyville. Ce soir les Isotopes vont tenter de s'sortir de leur mauvaise tendance [ã] à perdre après une série de trente [ɹ] six défaites d'affilée

[...]

9"30'

Y'a un [è] tata du côté du champ droit [ɹ] qui s'est mis à danser

### Pilot (S15E18: 7"10')

Pilot (*to the passengers*): Vous êtes tellement un gang de malades qu'on va sauter [aU] les vérifications pis décoller rette de même!

[...]

7"18'

Hostess (*to Homer and Marge*): J'ai ben peur qu'on ait vendu [dzu] trop d'places sur ce vol-là [laU].

Marge: Oh, j'me disais ben qu'c'était trop beau pour êt' vrai.

Hostess: On vous offre d'aller en première classe [klaUs].

Homer: Y'a une première classe [klaUs]?

### Librarian (S21E13: 16"04')

Librarian: J'ai fait [t] le tour de tous les rayons, aucun volume qui parlerait d'Elisa Simpson.

Lisa: Mais faut que j'prouve que mon ancêtre [æ] ne s'est pas parjurée devant le colonel Burns.

Burns (*stepping from behind a shelf*): Le colonel Burns? Ca fait des années qu'j'ai entendu le nom d'mon père.

(Lisa cries)

Librarian: Tu peux toujours aller voir les films qu'on a dans la voûte.

Second librarian: On a une voûte nous-autres?

Librarian: Ben oui c'est là qu'on s'est envoyé en l'air pendant l'souper des fêtes [æ].

### Jewish walk of fame curator (S15E06: 6"16')

Curator: Bien sûr que vous méritez une étoile Krusty. Si vous voulez bien répondre a quelques questions. Nom et prénom?

Krusty (*looks at his dog*): Herschel Krustofsky.

*Curator*: Bien, parfait. Circoncis?  
*Krusty*: A planche.  
(the curator chuckles)  
*Curator*: Date de la bat mitzvah?  
*Krusty*: Oh ben ça [saU]...hum... à vrai dire...hum j'en ai jamais eu.  
*Curator*: Pas de bat mitzvah? Aux yeux de Jéhovah et du comité de la ligue des célébrités juives de Springfield vous n'êtes pas juif pantoute.

**Simon Cowell (S15E13: 2"30')**

*Cowell (a children auditioning for a prestigious preschool)*: Ok ça va faire. J'ai juste [Y] à r'garder la semaine verte n'importe quand [ã] si j'voulais savoir c'que les animaux disent. C'que j'dis moi tu sais [tse] c'est quoi? Je dis [dzi] "suivant"  
*Child*: T'es un monsieur bête.  
*Cowell*: Déjà langue sale? Tu vas finir humoriste [I].  
(Marge comes in holding Maggie)  
*Cowell (to Maggie)*: Comment tu t'appelles?  
*Marge*: Maggie.  
*Cowell (to Marge)*: J'vous d'mande pardon? Pourquoi est-ce que vous répondez pour elle?  
*Marge*: Maggie parle pas encore. C'est pour ça.  
*Cowell*: Po un mot?  
*Marge*: Oh non non, elle dit toutes sortes d'affaires de mots.

**Honest John's computers salesman (S12E05: 17"39)**

*Salesman (talking about the computer Homer wants to buy)*: Oh ben bon si vous voulez un presse-papier... parce que si vous prenez cette machine [I]-là vous allez payer cher pour un beau gros presse-papier.  
*Homer*: Mais un presse-papier ça s'rait pratique... mais c'est un ordinateur que j'aurais plus besoin. Qu'est-ce [kese] qu'vous dites de c'lui-là? (pointing at a computer)  
*Salesman*: Hum, celui qu'y'est là y'est sorti y'a 3 mois déjà, y'a rien qu'les têtoux pour en acheter un.

**Mr. Costington (S12E05: 17"15')**

*Mr. Costington*: Ben j'ai jamais vu une telle générosité d'ma vie. Vous êtes le Saint Nicolas moderne.  
*Homer*: J'essaie tellement d'me sortir d'un abyme de honte.  
*Mr. Costington*: J'comprends [ã]. J'fais moi-même une fixation sur les souliers pour dames. Le troisième étage m'est interdit [ɛ]. Monsieur Simpson j'viens d'avoir [avwer] une idée...

**Texan man (S17E04: 8"34')**

*Texan man*: Une bonne bouteille de bourbon. Y'ai reçu un nouveau foie, ça fait qu'on va l'tester.  
(starts drinking)  
*Homer (dressed as a geek and speaking with a lisp)*: Je vous prie de m'excuser [s] monsieur le tenancier, pourrais-je avoir une ginger ale sans [s] sucre et sans bulles s'il vous plaît. Nos papilles supportent pas les bulles.  
*Texan man*: Beau gang d'affaires! Quel genre de sorte de fifi qu'on a d'avant nous?

**Court bailiff (S15E12: 18"00')**

*Court bailiff*: C'est l'huissier m'sieur. Chu v'nu prendre vos pantalons.  
*Kirk Van Houten*: Pas d'avant mon garçon, siouplait.  
*Court bailiff*: Dites-moi po qu'vous êtes un père [paer] vous?  
*Kirk Van Houten (dejected)*: Oui ok?

*Court bailiff*: Misère!

**Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger (S10E05:6"20')**

*Kim (after Homer has literally crashed on her bed)*: Oh mais c'est quoi ça [o]?

*Homer*: Désolé madame. (*startled*) Han j'veus connais! Vous êtes Kim Basinger! Non, ben seigneur...oh mon dieu! Chu un d'vos plus grands fans au monde madame Basinger.

*Kim*: Merci euh écoutez pourriez-vous vous tasser un peu par ici?

*Homer*: Ben chuis quand même un homme marié.

*Kim*: Vous êtes entrain d'écraser mon mari.

(*Homer rolls on his side and Alec Baldwin pulls the blanket off his face*)

*Alec Baldwin*: Chuis Alec Baldwin, débarquez d'ssus moi!

**Hollywood trainer (S21E01: 9"47')**

*Trainer*: Homer as-tu une idée de pourquoi tu manges?

*Homer*: Parce que j'veux avaler mes frustrations et mes désappointements

*Trainer*: Des affaires plates t'arrivent pis toi tu compenses en allant t'bourrer 'a face de beignes

[...]

**10"47'**

*Trainer (on the phone)*: Tobey mon œuf de Dieu toi [twe] (*to Homer*): C'est une vraie moumoune.

## Appendix G: Standard Québécois in *The Flintstones*

### Race commentator (S01E08: 17"40')

Et c'est un départ, *Fossile* a pris les d'avants, *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge* est deuxième, *Tas d'pierre* est troisième. *Volcan* et *Tas de caillou* se disputent la quatrième. *Butte de sable* est cinquième suivi de *Roxinante* [ʁ]. Ils arrivent devant l'estrade, *Fossile* mène toujours d'une patte mais *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge* le talonne. *Volcan* tient [ê] bon en troisième, *Tas d'caillou* est en quatrième puis suivent *Tas de Pierre*, *Butte de Sable* et *Roxinante*. Arrivé à l'avant-dernier droit, *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge* défie *Fossile* et voilà qu'il prend les d'avants.

[...]

### 18"35'

C'est *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge* qui mène toujours suivi de *Fossile* par deux longueurs. *Volcan* est troisième mais attendez une minute, *Roxinante* [ʁ] fait une poussée du tonnerre de l'extérieur

[...]

### 19"00'

En entrant dans le dernier tournant c'est toujours *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge* qui mène, *Fossile* qui suit, *Roxinante* [ʁ] en troisième, *Tas d'pierre* quatrième, *Volcan*, *Tas d'caillou* et *Butte de sable*. Voici le dernier droit. *Roxinante* [ʁ] mène le p'loton suivi de *Fossile*, de *Granit* [ʁ] *rouge*, de *Tas d'pierre*, de *Volcan*, de *Tas d'caillou* et de *Butte de Sable*. Huitième poteau, c'est *Roxinante* [ʁ] de deux poils, *Fossile* puis *Granit rouge* en troisième place. Et la lutte est chaude pour les meneurs. On arrive au fil [I], et c'est *Roxinante* qui mène le bal. Et voilà qui arrive, surtout regardez bien, et le gagnant c'est *Butte de Sable*

[...]

### 20"15'

Attention s'il vous plaît, le résultat est disputé. On verra sur la photo le résultat officiel dans quelques instants. Voici la photo. La photo est entre les mains du juge [Y:]. Nous aurons les résultats officiels de la course. Le vainqueur...c'est *Roxinante* [ʁ]

### Dagmar (0S2E07: 3"13')

*Dagmar*: Dites, votre enseigne dit "détectives"

*Fred*: Oh ouais, ouais. C'est nous-autres Messieurs Caillou et Laroche.

*Dagmar*: Qui est Mr. Caillou et qui est Mr. Laroche?

*Fred*: Je suis [jy] Fred Caillou pis l'p'tit bouf [t] c'est Arthur Laroche mon partenaire.

*Barney*: Ouais, comment allez-vous mamzelle?

*Dagmar*: Je m'excuse mais je suis pressée alors je parle vite.

*Fred*: Oh ok on va écouter vite.

*Dagmar*: C'est strictement confidentiel mais je représente une banque.

*Fred*: Une banque? Vous êtes [vuet] tombée sur la bonne place madame. Garder la confiance des banques c'est notre spécialité.

*Dagmar*: C'que j'vous propose c'est une ben grosse job. (*realizing she slipped back in joul*) Ha euh... vous êtes mariés?

*Barney*: Non, on est juste des amis.

*Fred*: Arthur espèce de cave! Laisse-moi parler, veux-tu. Oui est marié mais nos femmes sont à maison

*Dagmar*: La seule raison que j'vous d'mande ça [a:], c'est que vous devez être disponibles en tout temps, de jour ou de nuit.

*Fred*: Oh ça, c'est rien, comptez sur nous-autres.

*Dagmar*: Bien, si on parlait d'prix? Est-ce que ça vous va 5 par jour?

*Fred*: 5 billets par jour? C'est parfait madame.

*Dagmar*: Entendons-nous, je parlais de 500 piastres par jour. Rendez-vous à la banque d'économie demain, pas plus tard que 2h30 et parlez au président. *Arrivederci* vieux.

### Dr. Granroc (S02E15: 8"40')

*Doc:* Oh oui, oui ca veut dire que cet [st(ə)] homme-là Fred Caillou a un microbe dinopectique. C'est un microbe de dinosaure qui leur est inoffensif mais si un humain l'attrape, j'aime mieux pas en parler. C'est assez pour qu'un docteur se sente mal.

*Policeman:* Ca peux-tu s'guérir doc?

*Doc:* Oh oui en effet si l'patient s'tient éveillé et actif pendant 72 heures le microbe dinopectique meurt de frustration car il ne peut attaquer que si le malade dort.

### **Gilles Martelain (S02E25: 3''50')**

*Gilles:* Je m'demande si je n'peux pas vous prier de m'aider?

*Barney:* Faut qu'on prie pour que tu flottes?

*Gille:* Non faites-moi une faveur. Puis-je vous d'mander du feu pour ma dernière cigarette?

*Fred:* Ben sûr, j'ai un briquet dans l'auto. Ha, tu dis que t'arrêtais d'fumer?

*Gilles:* Une manière de parler oui, merci. J'ai besoin d'une couple de témoins.

*Fred:* Pourquoi?

*Gilles:* Tiens donc ça une minute [Y] mon ami.

*Barney:* Avec plaisir.

*Gille:* Merci.

*Barney:* Hé, j'veux pas rien dire pour lui faire peur, pauvre [pov(r)] gars mais Fred si il [i(l)] s' imagine qui va flotter avec ce caillou-là, il [i(l)] va s'ramasser au fond.

*Fred:* Oh non tu pognes pas? C'est une émission sur la TV dans l'genre *les Indolents d'une caméra*. Pis on est déjà su les ondes. (*waving at camera*) Salut Délima!

*Barney:* Non y'a pas d'caméra d'cacher.

*Fred:* Hé r'garde Arthur, il [i(l)] cherche quelque chose [kekfoz] dans c'matériel.

*Barney:* Oh je l'sais, c'est un vendeur d'assurance. Hey ils [i(l)] t'en font des détours pour te faire signer.

*Gilles:* Oh nous y voilà messieurs. Je m'demande si vous pouvez être mes témoins?

*Barney:* Tu vois là? Signe pas avant d'avoir tout lu Fred.

*Gilles* Mon cher je veux qu'tu lises toi aussi.

[...]

### **4''25'**

*Gilles:* Pour que je puisse distribuer tout ce que j'ai en ce monde imparfait et brutal à diverses sortes d'étrangers. Aux p'tits enfants je lègue les fleurs et les oiseaux, le murmure des p'tits ruisseaux et le sable chaud dont ils feront des châteaux.

*Barney:* Hey c'est beau.

*Gilles:* Chuuut! Et aux jeunes amants je lègue les astres du firmament et les baisers dans le parc puis le doux refrain de la musique.

*Barney:* Hey c'est un long testament. Tiens la roche un bout d'temps veux-tu? (*gives him the rock*)

*Fred:* Certain Arthur.

*Gilles:* Aux amants mariés je lègue les plaisirs du foyer, les rires de leurs enfants, la compagnie de bons amis.

*Barney:* C'est-tu pas merveilleux Fred?

*Fred:* Ouais C'est à ton tour de le tenir [d(l)ət(ə)nir] Laroche. (*hands him the rock*)

*Gilles:* Et à ceux qui ne sont plus très jeunes, je lègue le crépuscule des ans et leurs souvenirs pour qu'ils puissent revivre ces années d'or encore et encore pour toujours et toujours.

*Barney:* Tiens ça Fred. (*hands him the rock*)

*Fred:* Ouais Arthur.

*Fred:* C'était ben, ben beau.

*Gilles:* Hélas chers camarades je n'ai plus rien, voilà pourquoi je suis perché ici.

*Fred:* Tu veux dire qu'ya pas d'gammick, tu vas sauter pour vrai?

*Gilles:* Bien sûr.

*Fred:* Ben, écoute l'ami...

*Gilles:* Tu as bien dit l'ami? Oh mais tu sais pas d'puis quand j'ai pas entendu c'mot-là?

Monsieur...

*Fred:* Caillou.

*Gilles:* Vous essayez d'me convaincre de rentrer chez vous? C'est ça votre [vot(r)] patente?

*Fred*: Ben pas exactement.

*Gilles*: C'est bien ça, faut jamais laisser un étranger... jamais. C'est comme laisser entrer un chameau dans une patente.

**Miss Greta Gravel/ mademoiselle Greta Gravel (S2E18:14"57')**

*Waiter*: Vous désirez commander [ã] maint'nant monsieur?

*Greta*: J'aimerais commencer avec du champagne [ã].

*Waiter*: Du champagne pour vous deux et euh quelle marque monsieur?

*Fred*: Oh la plus dispendieuse.

*Waiter*: La plus dispendieuse?

*Greta*: Elle est très [ɛ] importante la cliente.

*Fred*: Et importé, soit sûr qu'il est importé.

*Waiter*: Oh oui monsieur.

*Fred*: Parce que moi [mwa] j'vois pas la différence.

*Greta*: Ha j'me souviens pas de m'être autant amusée. Que j'm'amuse ce soir! Mr.Miroc a raison [ra]. C'est vrai que t'as un formidable sens de l'humour.

*Fred*: Ouais, il m'appelle Fred le farçeur.

*Greta*: Appelle-moi Greta.

*Fred*: Oui Greta pis appelle-moi...

*Greta*: Certain! Chaque fois que j'serais d'passage.

*Fred*: Oui mais je suis, je suis [ʃy]...

*Greta*: C'est déjà pris d'avance naturellement. Il faudra que j'tente ma chance que tu sois libre. Oh est-ce qu'on danse?

*Greta*: Ben sûr Greta ça m'fait plaisir.

[

**16"36'**

*Greta*: Oh toi tu dances vraiment bien Fred. Et tu dis que tu n'as jamais pris d'leçons?

*Fred*: Ben faut croire que je suis [k(ə)Z(e)ʃyi] v'nu au monde avec du talent dans les [e] pieds.

*Greta*: Oh notre champagne est arrivé. Allons l'boire tout [tut] de suite, ça m'donne soif.

*Fred*: Bonne idée.

[...]

**17"19'**

*Greta*: D'avoir dansé ça m'a creusé l'estomac. J'ai envie d'commander.

*Fred*: Moi je vais [z(e)va] prendre le ptérodactyle mâché pis l'mastodonte chow meing.

*Greta*: Oh d'accord.

*Fred*: (*seeing his wife*) Oh ben bon diable [diɛbl]!

*Great*: Pardon?

*Fred*: C'est rien, c'est juste que j viens d'voir quelque chose [kɛkʃoz] qu'j'aime ben gros sur le menu.

*Wilma*: Greta? Greta Gravel?

*Greta*: Délima [ɔ:]? Délima Galet?

*Wilma*: Ha plus asteur vu que chuis mariée, chère.

*Greta*: T'es chanceuse. Hey Délima on s'est pas vues depuis qu'on allait à l'école. Oh, voici... ben ça a l'air qu'mon cavalier vient d'sortir. C'est un gars [ɔ] ben plaisant Délima. Tu devrais l'rencontrer. Doux, attentif [I] et bon danseur. Le genre de gars [ɔ] qu'une femme épouserait si on avait d'la chance. Mon gars va v'nir dans un moment [ã]. Assieds-toi pis jase un peu.

**Jean-Pierre Fou-à-lier (S02E29: 6"00')**

Hé bien bonsoir mesdames messieurs. Je vous appelle mesdames messieurs parce que j'ai oublié la plupart de vos noms. Merci et bienvenue à une autre émission de *Devinez le prix*. Maintenant rencontrons nos candidats. D'abord la grande gagnante de la s'maine passée, la p'tite institutrice à la r'traite et qui a gagné un total de \$14,000: Marie-Agathe Fréchette. Alors Marie-Agathe, vous vous sentez bien c'soir?

*Marie-Agathe*: J'me sens prête à gagner encore plus d'prix.

*J.P.*: Je vois. Et qu'est-ce que vous allez faire avec la p'tite auto d'sport rouge que vous avez gagnée?

*M.A.*: T'es pas malade? Je fais [ʃ(ə)fe]d'la course avec. J'ai gagné 3 drives à l'heure qui est. Les gens m'appellent Pèse-dessus-Agathe.

*J.P.*: Parfait! Je vous présente les deux autres concurrents choisis dans nos studios ce soir.

[...]

**6"15'**

*J.P.*: 2 cents [sent], les enchères sont fermées. Et voyons voir de quoi se compose cet équipement sportif complet. Ha ha ha. On est ti pas farceur. Ha ha ha!

### **Doctor (S03E12: 10"40')**

*Dr.*: Oh mais oui, oui cette dent est définitivement gâtée. Il faudrait l'extraire.

*Barney*: Ça f'ra pas mal docteur?

*Dr.*: Pas mal? Oh non pas du tout. Je n'emploie que les anesthésiques les plus modernes. Je vais vous donner du gaz. Vous sentirez absolument aucun mal dans une couple de seconde. Respirez profondément.

(telephone rings)

*Dr.*: Mon doux. C'est le téléphone. Heu excusez-moi je reviens de ce pas. Continuez de respirer. (on the phone). Oh allô chérie, oui je passe au marché ach'ter un pain? Oui, oui j'ai ça. Pas oublier le pain? Oui, oui, oui, oui vas-y. 2 douzaines d'œufs de dodo, des fruits d'mer, une pomme de laitue, 28 livres de lonces de brontosaures, et pis une boîte de biscuits, 4 gallons de crème fraîche, puis deux tartes et du thé. Dis-don chérie, si tu veux j'vais faire tes commissions cette semaine si tu fais mon travail.

### **Boxing match commentator (S03E25: 17"45')**

Enfin l'arbitre sépare les lutteurs, L'action a commencé pour vrai. Les lutteurs se portent des coups féroces. De vrais tigres. *La merveille* fait faire la toupie à *Mâchepierre* Il tourne, tourne [ʁ], où s'arrêt'ra-t-il? Personne ne l'sait.

[...]

**18"30'**

La foule devient très impatiente et elle veut d'l'action. Il projette la *Merveille masquée*. Hou cette-fois l'arbitre s'est mis dans les jambes. Il est assommé. Cela en fait deux sur le carreau et un debout. *Bronto Mâchepierre* va attaquer. Il veut gagner cette chute. *La Merveille* s'est ressaisie. Les deux sont résolus. Ils vont s'affronter. Le combat va devenir en mérite. Ils sont tombés tous les deux... en fait tous les trois. Il serait difficile de dire qui est le gagnant.

### **Ann Margrock (S04E01: 5"05')**

*Ann*: Oh n'est-ce pas merveilleux?

*Guy*: Non tu devrais t'esquiver. Trouve une place où t'es pas connue où tu pourrais te relaxer et t'préparer pour ton spectacle.

*Ann*: Mais ici c'est bien. J'aime ça ici.

*Guy*: Non, non, ça fait pas. Allons Ann! Tu peux t'sauver par derrière. Et n'oublie pas: je veux que tu t'détendes [ã].

*Ann*: Bien, comme tu insistes [I]. Bye!

*Guy*: Et appelle-moi dès qu't'auras trouvé une place.

[...]

**6"33'**

*Ann*: Ha, c'est bien [è] ma chance, une crevaision. (rings doorbell and Fred open) Excusez-moi puis-je téléphoner?

*Fred*: Oh ben sûr, ben sûr. Rentrez-donc.

*Ann*: Merci beaucoup monsieur. Mon auto est tombée en panne devant chez vous et... (she sees Pebbles). Oh qu'il est adorable ce bébé! Allô ma belle!

*Barney*: Ca c'est beau, la p'tite vous aime mademoiselle.

*Fred*: Ouais, c'est l'coup d'foudre. Heu le téléphone est là-bas mamzelle.

[...]

**7"15'**

*Ann (on the phone)*: Allô? Tout est parfait mon Guy, juste une panne d'automobile. Non, non j'ai pas d'endroit où habiter.

[...]

**7"30'**

*Ann*: Oui j'te rappelle [ʁ] dès qu'j'ai trouvé. Bye! (*hangs up*) Merci beaucoup monsieur.

[...]

**7"40'**

*Ann*: C'est certainement bien [ɛ̃] tranquille.

### **Quarry doctor: (S04E01: 3"35')**

C'est quand [ã] l'ouverture officielle?

[...]

**3"45'**

J'ai entendu [dʏs] parlé d'un spectacle télévisé.

[...]

**4"14'**

C'est pas mal du tout comme plombage même si c'est moi qu'il l'dit [dʏs]. Maintenant, ma signature.

### **Scout leader Pierre/Pierre le scout (S04E20: 10"05')**

*Pierre*: Il va y avoir [ʁ] des troupes [ʁ] de plusieurs coins du pays et même de plusieurs pays d'outre-mer. Tâchez d'bien vous amuser. Vous allez avoir la chance de faire la connaissance de scouts du monde entier. Chaque troupe amène sa mascotte. Heu... la nôtre est prête?

*Mascot*: Si Mr. Pierre-qui-roule

*Pierre*: Ok. C'est tout pour ce soir. Nous nous r'trouv'rons à l'aube.

[...]

**11"35'**

*Pierre*: Êtes-vous prêt? [ʁ] On s'en va à Shangri-la-deda. En avant marche [ʁ]!

[...]

**14"41'**

*Pierre*: Groupe, halte! Le restant des scouts devrait arriver ce soir. Il faudrait que nos tentes soient prêtes.

[...]

**15"40'**

*Pierre*: Shangri-la-deda, messieurs, a été cédée au mouvement scout il y a des années. Aussi, est-ce vous qui empiétez monsieur Caillou.

*Fred*: On l'savait pas [pɔ].

*Pierre*: Oh mais ça fait rien. Vous pouvez rester à titre d'invités des scouts.

*Barney*: Hé merci monsieur.

*Fred*: Ouais c'est ben fin d'votre part.

*Pierre*: En fait ça m'fait plaisir de vous avoir avec vos familles. Vous pouvez régler un problème qui s'pose?

*Fred*: Ben sûr, qu'est-ce que c'est [kesevot(r)] problème?

*Pierre*: Ben nous avons ce gigantesque *jamboree*. Au fond il n'y manquera qu'une chose. Ils ont l'habitude de faire une bonne action tous les jours. Vu qu'il n'y a personne à aider ici, qu'est-ce qu'ils vont faire?

[...]

**18"00'**

*Pierre*: Hé ben merci Mr Caillou et Laroche, vous êtes de bons scouts.

(*Barney growls*)

*Pierre (jumping in Fred's arms)*: Qu'est-ce que c'est [kesesa] ça?

*Fred:* Ça c'est mon ami qui vient lancer son rugissement d'son ancienne troupe.

**TV host (S04E06: 5"43')**

*TV host:* Voici le programme où on chante sans paroles pour les gens qui n'ont pas d'mémoire.

*Fred:* Tu parles si j'aime ça c'programme là. On se sent [(sə)sâ] plus intelligents. Hé Délima viens t'en! C'est *Fredonner avec André*.

*Wilma:* Fredonner? J'me dépêche. Le laisse pas commencer sans moi.

[...]

**6"12'**

*TV host:* "Les savons qui moussent", fabricants du savon qui mousse. C'est l'savon des vedettes.

[...]

**6"55'**

*TV host:* Une automobile importée [ɛ] avec moteur à l'arrière. Et pour les épouses des gagnants cet exquis manteau en mammoth pleine peau. Le gros lot comporte aussi ce sensationnel lave-vaisselle automatique. Et pour vous les golfeurs, un ensemble [ã] complet de bâtons, depuis le plus p'tit jusqu'au plus grand. Et pour les amateurs de musique le dernier électrophone stéréo avec changeur automatique.

*Wilma:* C'est pas croyable le modernisme [I]

*Fred:* Ouais, qu'est-ce qui vont inventer après ça?

*TV:* Et comme grand prix, de fabuleuses vacances au soleil. Les chanteurs gagnants et leur famille vont voyager par ptérodactyle aéronavette. *Ptérodactyles* vous emmènera sans escale jusqu'à St. Tropezan. St. Tropezan, romantique et glamourieux, ce qu'il y a de mieux en fait de natation, de voilier et de pêche.

**Dr. Len Frankenstone/Dr. Louis Frankenpierre (S05E02: 11"17')**

*Dr. Frankenstone:* Je suis content de vous voir docteur. Je vais vous montrer mon matériel expérimental. Il f'ra époque dans les annales d'la médecine [I] pré-gastondienne.

*Dr. Zéro:* Louis, Louis Frankenpierre, je vois que tu persistes. Tu n'sais pas qu'une pilule qui roule n'amasse pas d'mousse.

*Dr. Frankenstone:* Un démon intérieur me crie: "soit un méd'cin fou docteur, soit un méd'cin fou".

*Dr. Z:* D'accord, d'accord. C'est ta vie. Allons voir ça.

*Dr. F:* Allez, entrez dans mon laboratoire docteur. Nous allons visiter.

*Dr. Z:* Je n'aime pas ça Frankenpierre, je n'aime pas ça.

[...]

**12"03'**

*Dr. F:* Cette machine [I] me sert à transférer les personnalités. Observez attentivement docteur. Voyez ce qui se passe [skispas] quand je mets le courant.

(turns power on and personalities switch)

*Dr. Z:* Louis tu as échangé leur personnalité?

*Dr. F:* Oui qu'est que vous en dites [dsi] docteur Zéro?

*Dr. Z:* Qu'est-ce que j'en dis [dsi]? Va t'en à sa robe de Dieu qu' t'es pas bien! Accroche ton stéthoscope Louis avant qu'ça s'gâte.

*Dr. F:* Pas avant d'avoir tenté mon expérience sur un être humain.

(Barney knocks at the door)

*Barney:* Dr. Frankenpierre je présume? Mon nom c'est Laroche.

*Dr. F:* Dr. Zéro il s'rait parfait comme sujet d'mon expérience lui.

*Barney:* Docteur, j'ai un p'tit problème.

*Dr. F:* Rassurez-vous M'sieur Laroche. Votre [vot(r)] problème s'ra bientôt réglé. R'mettez-vous en à moi.

**Real estate agent (S05E09: 00"0')**

*Agent*: Le style [I] de maison que vous recherchez n'est pas facile à trouver. Il n'y a plus d'demandes pour des maisons hantées ma chère Mme. Laffreux.

*Mr. Gruesome*: Viens Croque-mitaine je crois [ʃ(ə)krwa] qu'on est mieux d'partir.

*Mrs. Gruesome*: D'accord [oU] Bizarre.

*Agent*: Hé juste une minute Mr. et Mme. Laffreux. Qu'est que vous diriez d'un manoir qui tombe en ruines?

*Mrs. Gruesome*: C'est en plein en c'qu'on cherche.

*Agent*: C'est l'ancien manoir tombal.

*Mr. G*: Ca a l'air répugnamment attrayant.

*Agent*: Voici une photo du manoir tombal.

*Mrs. G*: Oh c'est délicieusement morbide.

*Mrs. G*: Magnifiqu'ment délabré. J'espère qu'les voisins sont gentils.

*Mrs. G*: Nous avons eu des ennuis avec les voisins [ē].

*Agent*: Oh les gens d'à côté sont les Caillou, c'est du monde vraiment aimable.

*Mrs. G*: Tant mieux.

*Mr. G*: Nous la prenons.

*Agent*: Bien, j'vais écrire le contrat.

[...]

**1"07'**

*Mrs. G*: Son nom c'est Gobelin mais on l'appelle Gobby.

*Agent*: Ça lui va bien. Et ben bonne chance chez vous Mr. Laffreux.

*(The agent shakes hand with Mr. Gruesome who has slimy hands)*

*Mrs. G*: Mr. Laffreux a pas des mains comme tout l'monde.

*Mr. G*: Sont visqueuses, n'est-ce pas?

*Agent*: Du vrai foie d'veau Mr. Laffreux.

**Samantha (S06E06: 4"50')**

Votre chien adore les biscuits au chocolat. Allô je suis Samantha. Nous allons aller camper mais il faut d'abord que nous fassions un beau ménage. Quoi? Tu es trop p'tite pour ranger tes choses sur les tablettes. C'est vrai qu'elles sont un peu hautes [aUt] Mais je crois qu'il y'a moyen de voir à ça. *(uses her magic to tidy the room)* Là c'est beaucoup mieux. Tu peux les atteindre. Parfait pendant que vous ramassez vos jouets moi je m'occupe du linge. Oh ce sont probablement tes vêtements. Voyons s'ils pourront trouver leur place *(wiggles nose)*. Vous avez tout ramassé. Parfait il est temps de tout r'mettre en place. Oh t'as oublié ton nounours. Lui peut changer lui-même. Ta couchette maintenant. C'est pas très propre. Tous les draps sont défaits mais nous en viendrons à bout *(wiggles her nose)* Et maintenant il s'agit de vous décrotter tous les deux. Pour commencer il me faut une débarbouillette avec de l'eau et du savon, plus d'savon. Et bien au tour de Boum-boum. N'oublie pas les oreilles. C'est beaucoup mieux comme ça. Oh j'ai failli oublier votre linge. Voilà tout beau tout propre et bien peigné.

[...]

**8"20'**

Allô chéri. Tu m'excus'ras pour tous les tours de magie que j'ai faits tantôt.

[...]

**15"35'**

Pour cette pêche [paEʃ] là j'en ai pas besoin.

## Appendix H: *Standard Québécois in The Simpsons*

### **Brockman (S12E02: 1"35')**

*Brockman*: Pas surprenant que le nouveau Springfield, en faisant l'expérience de donner l'pouvoir aux chômeurs, soit une catastrophe.

*Homer*: Hey la télévision est entrain d'parler d'nous-autres!

*Brockman*: Les études ont montré que leur économie vacillante est le reflet de leurs piètres attitudes et de leurs produits frelatés.

*Homer*: Comment qu'y'on fait pour nous démasquer?

*Brockman*: Les scientifiques disent aussi qu'ils sont physiquement attirants et qu'au lieu de parler comme nous de façon distinguée, ils utilisent des expressions populaires comme "ayoye" et "viens icitte une minute"

### **Burns (S15E22: 3"14')**

*Burns*: Je suis vivant [ã]. (*As he tries to remove something from his ears, his very small brain falls out*) Oup là (*picks it up and places it back*), ça ça reste en d'dans.

*Smithers*: Monsieur vous êtes vivant [ã]! Mais comment s'fait-il?

(*flashback to Burns stuck underground in very tight tunnels*)

*Burns*: Grâce à ma silhouette élançée [ã], j'ai pu épouser les contours d'une poche d'air. (*we see him slithering underground and eating insects*) Je survécus en avalant quelque aliment qui s'offrait à moi.

(*cut to him eating bugs*)

Fort heureusement une taupe m'allaita comme son petit jusqu'à ce que je fusse assez fort pour continuer (*we see him drinking milk from a mole*).

### **Bill Clinton (S08E01: 2"00')**

*Bill* (*wakes up in a lab tube*): Oh non est-ce que chuis encore là? J'veux pas passer ma présidence [ã] tout nu à l'intérieur d'un tube [tsyb].

[...]

### **19"35'**

*Bill*: Vous savez sénateur ces quelques heures dans l'coma m'ont donné l'temps [ã] de réfléchir. La politique [tzi] partisane est entrain de déchirer l'pays.

### **Clark Gable (S21E09: 8"02')**

(*Abe reminisces about his childhood as a shoe wax man*)

*Abe*: J'ai jασé en masse avec toutes [tYt] les vedettes de cinéma qui sortaient s'dégourdir les jambes.

(*movie characters come out of a train*)

*Abe*: Jamais j'oublierai ma rencontre avec...

*Young Abe* (*upon seeing Clark Gable*): Clark Gable?

*Gable*: On dirait qu'un admirateur a vu mon travail de figurant dans *Dubarry femme de passion*.

*Young Abe*: C'est certain monsieur Gable. Comment ça s'fait qu'vous êtes pas encore une vedette?

*Gable*: Pour moi mes oreilles ont po la bonne grandeur. Hey qu'est-ce que tu [kesekty] lis là?

Oh ça s'appelle *Autant en emporte le vent*, j'vous l'laisse (*hands him his copy*). Tenez, y'a juste un gros mot pis il était pas trop bon.

*Gable* (*takes the book*): Autant en emporte le vent? (*opens it and leafs through it*). Regarde don' ça...rien de bon...rien de bon...rien de bon...ma réplique...rien de bon...rien d'bon...rien d'bon...ma réplique...Atlanta brûle...des belles robes...j'ai l'goût....

*Gable* (*grabs the train and to Abe*): Merci garçon. Raconte pas c't'histoire-là à personne avant 60 ans.

**Etiquette prof (S15E20: 7"45')**

D'ici la fin [ɛ̃] d'l'été je vous promets que vous marcherez toutes [tYt] comme des dames, vous parlerez comme des dames, vous supporterez l'alcool comme des dames. Levez l' menton, la tête droite, serrez les jambes, excellent (*gesturing to Marge*) Jeunes filles voyez comme Marge tient ses jambes inclinées. A côté d'elle une Jackie O a l'air d'une jument laitière aux pattes croches.

**Dr. Hibbert (S17E07: 3"34')**

*(Bart on a hospital bed surrounded by his family with Dr Hibbert)*

*Dr:* J'ai le malheur de vous annoncer que Bart est dans un coma profond dont je s'rais bien surpris qu'il puisse rev'nir.

*Homer:* On est quand même chanceux: il est pas mort, [maUr] c'est toujours ça.

*Dr.:* Chanceux c'est moi (*looks happy*) comme ça j'continuerai à facturer (*laughs*).

*Marge:* Bart réveille-toi (*holds a bike*) moman a acheté le bicycle que tu voulais (*rings the bell but Bart is still in a coma. She cries*)

*Dr:* Ecoutez Marge, si vot' Bart vous manque tellement qu'ça, z'avez juste à l'remplacer par un modèle comme ça (*shows a robot*)

*Marge:* Un robot?

*Homer:* Wow, et tit' gars un robot ca pourrait être au bout [but]. P't'être qu'on pourrait l'mélanger pour que sa tête explose (*makes robot face and speaks like a robot*) Ce que je dis est faux dans tous les cas. (*looks scared*) mais si tout est faux donc ça devient vrai mais si c'est pas faux donc tout va dev'nir Pou Pou Pou (*terrified*) Kaboum!

*Dr:* Y'a aussi qi'le robot va vous empêcher d'penser à votre fils décédé.

*Marge:* Ta l'heure vous disiez qu'y était dans l'coma.

*Dr.:* Au fond c'est pas mal la même affaire excepté comme ça je continue à facturer.

*Marge (angry):* Vous avez dit ça déjà.

*Dr. (angry):* Puis je sais qu'j'lai dit pis personne a ri!

**Judge (S21E07: 15"35')**

*Blue-haired lawyer:* Gwendolyn Clairdelune, avez-vous utilisé [ts]vos pouvoirs supernaturels pour aveugler la moitié [ts] d'cette ville?

*Gwendolyn:* On est juste [Y] des enfants [ã]. Mon vrai nom c'est même pas Gwendolyn Clairdelune, c'est Coralie, Coralie Le noir Satan [ã].

*(Assembly gasps)*

*(cut to Lisa)*

*Lawyer:* Or donc les défenderesses vous ont attirée vous une jeune fille innocente dans leur assemblée diabolique de sorcière?

*Lisa:* Sont pas diaboliques [I], elles défendent l'amitié sincère qu'y'est le respect d'la nature. Avec elles j'avais un sentiment d'appartenance.

*Bart:* Votre honneur! J'aimerais ajouter commentaire à c'témoignage.

*Judge Roy Snyder:* Etonnamment [ã] j'vais l'permettre.

**Lovejoy (S12E03: 3"54')**

*(At the book festival)*

*Milhouse:* Oyé, oyé! Un dollar de rabais sur tous [tYt] les livres de poésie.

*(gets swarmed by a crowd)*

*Milhouse (disheveled):* Oh leurs mains étaient tout [tYt] partout.

*(The Simpsons are walking)*

*Lovejoy:* Ha bonjour les Simpson! Ca vous dirait d'essayer un échantillon de mon nouveau livre [ɛ̃] de recette (*shows his book*) "y'a quelqu'un dans la cuisine avec Jésus"?

*(Marge tastes a muffin)*

*Marge:* Hum ces stigmates muffins sont à s'rouler par terre.

*Lovejoy*: Oh si vous les aimez vous devriez goûter à mes orgasmes de Marie Madeleine au chocolat.  
*Homer*: Ok.

**Stephen King (S12E03: 4"09')**

*Marge*: Alors Mr. King êtes-vous entrain d'nous écrire une autre histoire d'horreur bien à craindre?

*King*: Oh ces temps-ci [ã] j'ai pas l'goût d'écrire de l'horreur.

*Marge*: Oh c'est don(c) dommage.

*King*: Je travaille à une biographie de Benjamin Franklin. C'est un homme fascinant [ã]. Il a découvert l'électricité et s'en est servi (*ominous music starts playing*) pour torturer des p'tits animaux et révolutionnaires américains et cette clé qu'y est attachée au bout d'un cerf-volant (*thunder*) elle ouvrait les portes de l'enfer!!

*Marge*: Ben t'nez moi au courant si vous réécrivez d'l'horreur.

*Stephen*: C'est beau!

**Martin (S02E21: 3"03')**

*Martin*: Excusez-moi monsieur y'a pas quelqu'un qui aurait rapporté une oreille gauche de volcan [ã]?

*Comic guy*: Voyons voir (*rummages through a box*). J'ai une ceinture volante, 2 dématérialisateurs, le sabre de Sinbad...hum non désolé.

[...]

**14"25'**

*Martin (to comic book guy)*: Pouvez-vous me l'laisser pour 40 dollars?

*Comic book guy*: 40 piasses? Es-tu fou? Tu m'fais lever d'mon tabouret pour ça [cɔ]?

*Martin*: Mais c'est tout c'que j'ai. J'ai vendu des graines. J'ai visité ma tante à l'hôpital psychiatrique, j'ai tiré 10 cents.

**Olsen sisters (S15E10: 16"37')**

(*Homer is listening to an audiotape of Marge's book read by the Olsen sisters*)

*Ashley*: *Le cœur a ses harpons* par Marge Simpson. A toi Mary-Kate.

*Mary-Kate*: Une fois, c'était une jeune fille qui vivait à Nantucket. Son nom était Tempérance Barrows et son cœur était lourd d'émotions. A toi Ashley.

*Ashley*: Tempérance était emprisonnée dan un mariage sans amour.

*Mary-Kate*: Hein j'savais pas qu'le monde était malheureux dans l'temps [ã].

**Quimby (S17E16: 6"15')**

*Quimby*: J'ai le plaisir de vous présenter le commissaire de football: Monsieur Bob Armstrong (*he's not here*). Ca s'ra pas long. Il semblerait avoir un p'tit retard. J'veus ai-tu raconté à propos de notre rencontre à moi et Gilbert Siccote?

*Man in audience*: Y'avait trois ans à l'aéroport [aU].

*Quimby*: Oui mais quel aéroport?

**Skinner (S15E03: 16"26')**

(*Lisa just resigned as school representative and calls for a strike on Skinner's microphone*)

*Skinner*: Donne-moi ça (*grabs mic*). Tout étudiant pris à faire la grève sera sévèrement puni, si vous la faites pas tous ensemble, si c'est ça chuis fait.

(*we see students going outside screaming "la grève"*)

*Skinner (sees it)*: Lisa voudrais-tu m'aider à les ram'ner. C'était nécessaire c'que j'ai fait. Notre budget est plus serré que les pantalons d'sauna de mère.

*Agnes (she comes in office with sauna pants)*: Seymour, sers-toi [twe] pas d'moi dans tes analogies [I]!

*Seymour*: Très bien mère.

*Lisa*: J'veus avertis [tsi] monsieur le directeur, je r'fuse d'arrêter la grève si vous ram'nez pas la musique [I] pis les arts.

*Skinner*: Pis la gymnastique?

*Lisa*: Ben... (*doesn't look happy*)

*Seymour (goes in front of the shouting crowd)*: Oh pourquoi j'ai pas annulé les cours de pancartes et slogans de premier cycle? [I]

**Voice-over narrator (S21E14: 00"23')**

*(Opening scene with futuristic Springfield)*

Comment le Springfieldien du futur se déplacera-t-il [ɛ] dans la ville? Fera-t-il comme ce pauvre Bill (*we see a man in the rain*) qui attend l'autobus sous la pluie (*man sneezes*) ou fera-t-il [ɛ] comme notre [ɛ] ami Sam, coincé comme une sardine [dzi] dans un wagon du métro de Springfield (*we see commuters*), l'endroit idéal pour rencontrer ses collègues hommes d'affaires (*the train is overcrowded*) et échanger avec eux des germes mortels? [ɛ] (*we see men talking and germs being exchanged*)

Ces deux hommes pourraient tout aussi bien s'embrasser. N'y-a-t-il donc aucun moyen de se rendre au travail en tout confort, sécurité et avec style? [I]

*(we see a man driving)* Mais on dirait bien que Mel dans sa rutilante voiture ait trouvé la réponse: voyez-le circuler à 200 km/h dans son véhicule propulsé au plutonium sur les spacieuses autoaériennes de demain et le vaste coffre arrière accueillera à merveille les nombreuses emplettes de madame.

## Appendix I: *International French in The Flintstones*

### TV host (S01E10: 3"00")

Et voici maintenant, le dévoilement que vous attendez tous. Les gagnantes de notre concours pour *La belle jardinière* sont Mme. Bertha Laroche et Mme. Wilma Caillou de St.Granit. Mes félicitations mesdames pour votre excellent slogan.: "*La belle jardinière*, des boulettes à perdre la boule". C'est vrai mesdames et messieurs (*drops a meatball*) on la perd. Pour avoir [awer] soumis le meilleur slogan Mme. Laroche et Mme. Caillou gagnent un voyage pour deux à la capitale du cinéma et de la télévision: la ville d'Hollyrock.

### Voice-over narrator (S01E22: 2"22')

Voici St.Granit! Chef-lieu du comté du Calcaire. 200 pieds sous le niveau d'la mer. C'est une ville comme on en voit tant, peuplée de gens comme on en voit tant. Il y a le boucher, le pâtissier, le roi de la piza. Il y a une banque où certains travaillent plus tard pour se rattraper. Les plus chanceux rentrent tôt pour s'occuper aux besognes habituelles comme arroser l'gazon, tailler la haie. La plupart ont des activités très normales sauf notre ami Fred Caillou qui a vécu une journée assez mouvementée et dont le pire est encore à v'nir.

### Hollyrock actors/Child actor "Jacko"/ Jacquot (S3E1: 6"05')

(Dino watches Sassie on TV)

Jacko: Dis maman on est encore pris dans de très mauvais draps. Hein m'man?

Mom: Ça tu peux l'dire fiston.

Jacko: Si seulement Sassie pouvait arriver.

(Sassie comes)

Jacko: Dis m'man. Regarde. C'est Sassie. Tu n'échapp'ras pas le message hein Sassie? Tu nous amèneras du secours hein Sassie? Tu es brave hein Sassie? Intrépide et courageuse, hein Sassie? Va chercher du secours Sassie.

[...]

### 15"05'

Director: Jacquot voici Mr Caillou et son beau dino, Dino!

Jacko: Tu t'fous d'ma gueule, non?

Director: Dino a un p'tit rôle dans la série.

Jacko: J'm'en balance

Director: Il est fin, très, très fin.

[...]

### 16"30'

(they shoot a scene for the TV series)

Mom: Et je t'aime toi Jacquot et puis j'aime Sassie.

Jacko: Et je t'aime toi maman et puis j'aime Sassie. Regarde maman, Sassie nous aime aussi.

Director: Coupez

[...]

### 16"40'

(to the director)

Jacko: Mes grands [ã] sourires dans les [e] finales [I] vont dev'nir plutôt pincés [è] bacquet si j'ai pas ma part de gros plans[ã]

### Flight attendant (S03E10: 12"39')

Flight attendant: Bon voyage mesdames et messieurs. Nous allons arriver à Hawaï dans cinq heures. Durant le vol, si vous avez des questions à poser, veuillez vous adresser à moi

Barney: Ha j'en ai une question.

Attendant: Oui monsieur?

Barney: J'peux t *prendre votre [vot(r)] portrait?*

Attendant: Mais certainement monsieur.

[...]

**13"15'**

*Flight attendant:* Vos billets s'il vous plaît monsieur?

*Fred:* Caillou, Arthur VI Caillou. Je suis [j(ə)yi] vedette dans la TV. J'vous présente mon gérant Fred Laroche.

**Efficiency report agent, Mr. Rockhead/Mr. Rocdur (S3E13 3"11')**

*Mr. Rockhead:* Mr. Caillou, je vois par votre dossier que vous n'avez pas fini le secondaire.

*Fred:* Oui c'est vrai. (*aside*) Lui il [i(l)] m'inquiète. (*To Rockhead*). J'étais malade pendant les examens pis j'ai pas [pɔ] eu d'certificat.

*Mr. R:* C'est dommage Mr. Caillou.

*Fred:* Ouais, pourquoi?

*Mr. R:* Ben c'est la nouvelle règle. Chaque employé doit être muni de son diplôme. Sinon son emploi sera terminé.

*Fred:* Terminé? Comme une bibitte?

*Mr. R:* Non ça c'est "exterminé". Terminé veut dire qu'on vous met dehors.

*Fred:* C'est pas [pɔ] vrai. Mais encore deux s'maines pis j'l'aurais eu mon diplôme.

*Mr. R:* Les temps ont changé Mr. Caillou.

*Mr. Slate:* Hum...un p'tit moment Mr. Rocdur. J'aimerais causer avec vous.

*Mr. R:* Bien sûr Mr. Miroc.

**High-school principal (S03E13: 9"00')**

*Principal:* Oui Mr. Caillou, nous avons un bon groupe d'étudiants qui vous traiteront comme un des leurs pendant votre séjour.

*Fred:* Je l'apprécie beaucoup monsieur.

*Principal:* Tout ira bien. Rapportez-vous à Mlle. Diamant dans la salle des sciences.

**Miss Diamond/Mlle. Diamant (S03E13: 9"22')**

*Mlle. Diamant:* Bien l'bonjour les enfants.

*Kids:* Bonjour mamzelle.

*Fred:* Bonjour Mlle. Diamand.

*Mlle. Diamant:* Bonjour Fred. Je veux que vous vous sentiez chez vous.

*Fred:* Merci mamzelle Diamand. Hum chez nous c'était [eta] jamais comme ça.

*Mlle. Diamant:* Bon, d'abord la géologie. Qui sait de quoi est composé le sous-sol de la ville de St. Granit? Peux-tu répondre à ça Marco? André? Jeannette? Peux-tu répondre Fred?

[...]

**10"12'**

*Mlle. Diamant:* Mais c'est très, très bien Fred.

*Fred:* Merci mamzelle Diamand. J'ai gratté pour apprendre ça.

*Mlle. Diamant:* Et maintenant c'est la période de récréation. Tu peux partir aussi Fred.

**TV host (S04E09: 17"21')**

*TV host:* Voici le bulletin local. Le chef de la police a annoncé cet après-midi qu'un réseau de faux-monnayeurs s'est mis à l'oeuvre à St.Granit. Un certain nombres de billets de 100 et 500 dollars ont été passés dans des magasins et plusieurs billets de 1000 dollars ont été aussi passés. Tout ce dont la police dispose est la description d'une vieille dame très digne qui a fait le tour des magasins. La police est à la recherche de cette vieille dame très digne.

*Barney (to Betty):* Hey qu'est-ce qui va pas?

*Betty:* Il [i(l)] m'faut d'l'air.

*TV:* Quiconque connaît cette dame est prié de contacter le service de la police.

**TV host: Fernand Requin (S04E10: 4'00)**

*Fernand:* Bienvenue au *Poivre de la s'maine*. C'est un fait incontrovertible chers amis que nous, qui vivons la vie trépidante d'aujourd'hui, devons forcément, aux heures de loisir jadis consacrées aux acquisitions de la culture...

*Betty:* Oh il [i(l)] parle don [dõ] bien. Y'est tellement terre à terre.

*TV:* Le problème est celui-ci. Comment pouvons-nous éduquer, influencer si vous voulez, l'homme qui n'a ni le temps ni le goût d'écouter?

*Barney:* On n'a pas d'chance Fred. Ils [i(l)] r'gardent une émissions culturelle mon vieux.

*Fred:* Allons r'garder la boxe chez vous, sur la TV, Arthur. Ça m'tente d'avoir un vrai bon combat.

*Wilma:* Tu vas en avoir un vrai combat si tu continues à salir mon plancher.

*TV:* Notre invité de ce soir est un psychologue réputé: Dr. Terrenzo Fermar. Dr. Fermar (*blows smoke in the doctor's face*). Êtes-vous là? (*uses a fan to dissipate the smoke*) Ha vous voilà!

*Betty:* Mon Dieu quel air distingué pis savant cet [st] homme là!

*Wilma:* Je suis [fyi] ben sûr que sa femme passe pas à la vadrouille 24h par jour.

*TV:* Dr. Fermar, n'est-il pas vrai que les pouvoirs de la suggestion subliminale sont formidables?

*Doctor:* Bien, oui Fernand, en réalité...

*TV:* N'est-il pas vrai également que vous avez fait beaucoup de recherches sur l'enseignement pendant l'sommeil?

*Doctor:* Oui en effet...

*TV:* Euh nous avons très hâte de vous entendre parler de ce fascinant sujet.

*Dr.:* Bien, oui...

*TV:* C'est vrai, mesdames et messieurs, qu'une personne peut être éduquée pendant qu'elle est endormie

*Betty:* C'est-tu vrai?

*Wilma:* Wow! J'pourrais p't'être montrer à Fred à pas ronfler.

*TV:* Un dormeur est sans défense et donc on pourra l'influencer par de nombreuses suggestions, euh n'est-ce pas docteur Fermar?

*Dr:* Euh, c'est vrai...

*TV:* C'est exact, c'est exact. Le subconscient entend et enregistre tout quand même. Répétez la suggestion plusieurs fois à une personne endormie et à son réveil elle obéira à la suggestion.

*Betty:* Délima, est-ce que ça veut dire c'que j'pense que ça veut dire?

*Wilma:* Es-tu entrain d'penser c'que j'pensais Bertha?

*TV:* Une femme peut apprendre à épargner, un enfant peut apprendre toutes ses leçons et un mari peut apprendre à s'essuyer les pieds.

[...]

**6'03'**

*TV:* Merci de nous avoir parlé de l'enseignement pendant l'sommeil Dr. Fermar. C'est vraiment un fascinant sujet. La semaine prochaine un... (*Wilma turns the TV off*)

**Unidentified alien (S04E16: 5'11')**

*Alien:* Attention! Ici le commandant qui vous parle. Vous avez été conçus à l'image et à la ressemblance d'un Terrien. Afin d'assurer notre conquête de la planète Terre, vous avez également été pourvu d'une maîtrise complète de leur langage.

*Fred's clones:* Yabba-dabba-doo

*Alien:* Excellent. Voici maintenant vos instructions. En tant que Terriens vous vous mêlerez aux indigènes pour recueillir tous renseignements qui faciliteront l'invasion. Est-ce que c'est clair?

*Clones:* Yabba-dabba-doo.

*Alien:* Bien, en cas d'urgence, vous vous rassemblez à mon commandement et vous reviendrez aussitôt au vaisseau.

*Clones:* Yabba-dabba-doo.

*Alien:* Bon, en route vers votre mission.

[...]

**20'40'**

*Alien:* Attention! Écoutez-moi.

*(Fred appears on the spaceship's screen chasing a clone)*

*Fred:* Est plus drôle...votre [vot(r)] farce pis je sais [je] qui vous êtes.

*Alien:* La mission est ratée. Les Terriens nous ont découverts. Il nous faut nous échapper. Toutes les unités se retrouveront et reviendront immédiatement au vaisseau. Exécution!

[...]

**22"05'**

*Alien:* Attention robots. Notre plan a été découvert. Un Terrien s'est infiltré dans nos rangs. Nous sommes en danger et nous devons retourner à notre planète. Le vrai Fred Caillou aurait-il l'obligeance de s'identifier?

**Stoney Curtis (S06E03:4"43')**

*Stoney:* Silence Mesdames. Ne faites pas d' bruit pour une minute. Ecoutez, le metteur en scène Roger Carrière a une annonce à vous faire.

*Roger:* Pour célébrer le tournage du nouveau film *Fils d'esclave*, nous allons donner une nouvelle sorte de concours. Le gagnant va avoir Stoney comme son esclave privé pendant une journée.

*Stoney:* Remplissez vos cartes à l'hôtel mesdames et bonne chance.

[...]

**8"44'**

*Stoney (shaking hands with Barney):* Ravi d't'avoir connu Arthur.

*Arthur:* Euh moi d'même Mr. Stoney. Ça m'a fait plaisir. A d'main matin, Fred.

*Fred:* Salut vieux.

*Stoney:* Chic gars hein?

*Fred:* Oh ouais pis j'peux t'dire quelque [kek] chose Curtis c'est pas un faux j'ton. Bon est-ce qu'on rentre en d'dans?

*Stoney:* Oui mais on aurait peut-être dû appeler ta femme pour l'avertir.

*Fred:* Pourquoi? Y'a rien de si spécial. Allez! Hé Délima c'est moi!

*Wilma:* J'arrive Fred. Le souper est quasiment (*opens the door and see Stoney Curtis*) prêt là...

*Stoney:* Mes hommages Mme. Caillou, je suis Stoney Curtis. Je suis votre esclave.

*Wilma:* Stoney Curtis? Stoney Curtis! Yaaaahhh!

[...]

**9"50'**

*Wilma:* Oh tiens bonsoir Frédéric.

*Fred:* Frédéric?

*Wilma:* Et Mr. Curtis? Quelle agréable surprise!

*Fred:* Grouille don' [dõ] pas une minute toi [twe]. Qu'est-ce que tu as [kosek(ə)ta] à parler d'surprise? Tu viens d'nous voir ici y'a une minute à peine.

*Wilma:* Oh c'était sûrement la bonne. Entrez Mr. Curtis, entrez.

*Stoney:* Merci Mme. Caillou.

[...]

**10"19'**

*Stoney:* Jolie maison qu'vous avez là Mme. Caillou.

*Wilma:* Oh mais ce n'est rien, vraiment.

*Fred:* Quoi?

*Wilma:* Oh vous plairait-il de manger des hors d'œuvres?

[...]

**12"06'**

*Wilma:* Franchement Stoney je suis [j(ə)yi] ben embarrassée. Fred fait exprès pour faire la mule.

*Stoney:* Je n'me plains pas. J'avais accepté d'être un fils d'esclave.

*Wilma:* Mais Fred lui charrie un p'tit peu trop fort et j'veux plus qu'vous travaillez Stoney.

*Stoney:* C'est vrai? Je peux arrêter d'être esclave?

*Wilma:* Oui.

*Stoney:* Et bien alors je n'ai plus qu'à faire changer d'avis à votre gros Fred.

*Wilma:* Comment?

*Stoney:* Là d'ssus, fiez-vous à moi Délima.

[...]

**12"33'**

*Stoney*: Mille millions d'pardons mon maître. Quelle hauteur faut-il construire le mur?

*Fred*: Oh ça a pas [pə] d'importance. 2, 3 pieds pis c'est OK.

*Stoney*: A vos ordres maître. (*walks away and comes back running*). Juste une minute. Redites donc c'la.

*Fred*: J'ai dit juste 2,3 pieds pis c'était OK.

*Stoney*: Magnifique! Quelle diction! Evidemment vous êtes déjà monté sur une scène?

[...]

**20"30'**

*Fred*: J'te dois des excuses Stoney. T'es pas un pourri d'pas bon. T'es un mosus de bon gars, pis moi je suis [f(ə)yi] pas acteur.

*Stoney*: Merci Fred. J'voulais pas qu'on t'magane tant qu'ça.

*Fred*: Ben ça m'a bien aidé. Ça m'a r'mis le cerveau d'aplomb. Tout c'que j'souhaite c'est d'ravoir mon emploi et r'devenir le vieux Fred Caillou d'avant pis d'vivre ici à St. Granit.

*Wilma*: J'ai bien peur que tout ça soit pas aussi facile que ça, Fred.

*Fred*: Hein?

*Wilma*: Un monsieur vient d'ach'ter la maison aujourd'hui. Il pense am'ner sa femme en fin de soirée pour qu'elle la r'garde.

*Stoney*: Il [i(1)] peut pas faire ça.

[...]

**13"40'**

*Stoney*: Salut! Ben, on va s'voir dans les p'tites vues hein?

### **The Great Gazoo/ le Grand Gazou (S06E07: 3"47')**

*Gazoo*: Doucement crétins! Vous m'donnez le mal de terre. Trouvez l'antenne bleue.

*Fred*: La... la bleue? Oui, oui elle est là.

*Gazoo*: Juste en d'ssous, il y a un loquet rouge.

*Fred (pointing at it)*: Euh ici?

*Gazoo*: Bien, bien. Ouvrez le loquet.

(*Fred opens it*)

*Gazoo*: Bon appuyez sur le bouton rond et éloignez-vous.

*Fred*: Correct. R'cule-toi Arthur.

(*He presses the button and the Great Gazoo comes out*)

*Gazoo*: De l'air frais. Ha! L'air est irrespirable à la longue là d'dans. Alors là, je suppose que certaines gestes de politesse sont de rigueur? Moi je suis le Grand Gazou. Je vous remercie de m'avoir sauvé.

*Barney*: Ha ha ha, aye Fred, as-tu vu c'que j'ai vu?

*Fred*: Hé, hé, hé, j'ai vu ça mais j'y crois pantoute. Gazou hein?

*Gazoo*: Oh écoutez ces abrutis. Vous deux, ça vous est déjà passé par l'esprit que la nature vous a mal traités? Vous êtes-vous bien vus? Trop d'embonpoint, bien trop gros, d'une couleur complètement dégoûtante à voir. Comment est-ce que vous vous appelez?

*Fred*: Heu, moi je suis Fred Caillou.

*Barney*: Pis moi je suis [f(ə)yi] Arthur Laroche.

*Gazoo*: Caillou et Laroche (*laughs*). Et vous trouvez mon nom bien comique hein? Gazou le premier des maîtres scientifiques de la planète Zeta.

*Barney*: Hey... la quoi de quoi?

*Gazoo*: La planète... oh laissez faire. Bon, où m'ont-ils envoyé? Où suis-je?

*Fred*: Oh vous êtes à St.Granit.

*Gazoo*: Je ne parle pas de la localité. En quelle ère sommes-nous? 14<sup>ème</sup> siècle ou 15<sup>ème</sup>?

*Barney*: As-tu compris un seul mot de c'qu'il dit Fred?

*Fred*: Non mais fais pas d'farcas, il est [jɛ] p't'être ben dangereux.

*Gazoo*: Oh non, non, ça ne se peut pas. J'ai d'la peine à y croire.

(*a mammoth is walking by*)

*Gazoo*: On dirait un... oh non, c'est impossible. Il va falloir y regarder de plus près.

(*he flies to the mammoth and freezes it with the snap of a finger*)

*Barney*: As-tu vu ça Fred? Il l'aurait assommé raide que ce s'rait pareil.

*Gazou*: C'est ça. Un mastodonte préhistorique. Ils m'ont envoyé jusqu'à l'âge de pierre. (*he cries*).  
C'est pas juste.

[...]

**6"35'**

*Gazoo*: Hier encore j'étais le plus grand scientifique qu'il fût sur Zeta.

## Appendix J: *International French in The Simpsons*

### Sideshow Bob (S17E08: 6"49')

*(The Simpsons walk into the mayor's office of a small Italian town)*

Marge: Excusez-moi monsieur l'maire [aε], on nous a dit que vous parliez français?

Sideshow Bob (*rotating his seat to face them*): Et on avait raison.

*The whole family (scared)*: Sideshow Bob!

Sideshow Bob (*distraught*): Les Simpsons!

All: HAAAA!

Bart: Sideshow Bob? Il a fallu que de toutes les *regione (imitating Italian accent)* et de toutes les villages et de *tuta la bella Italia*, tu t'sois ramassé dans cette ville précise-là?

Sideshow: Veillez-vous assurer que je suis au moins aussi désolé de vous voir que vous

Lisa: Et comment vous êtes venu ici?

Homer: Mouais racontez-nous vot' histoire [I] mais y'est mieux d'avoir un début, un milieu pis une fin pis j'vous avertis vous êtes mieux d'nous faire prendre pour l'protagoniste.

Sideshow: Mon histoire prend racine après que j'ai encore une fois tenté de faire la peau à Bart.

Homer: Ok jusqu'à maintenant un point pour vous.

### Kang and Kodos (S10E04: 19"00')

Kodos: Amorcez le processus de fertilisation.

*(Marge and Kang sitting on a couch)*

Kang: Oh vous êtes ravissante ce soir. Avez-vous diminué de masse?

Marge (*voice off*): J'ai essayé de résister mais ils employaient de puissantes techniques de persuasion.

Kang: Regardez là-bas (*points somewhere behind her. As she is looking he scans her*)  
Insémination terminée.

Marge: Déjà [o]? Ca m'a paru pas mal vite.

Kang: Qu'insinuez-vous?

Marge: Mais rien, rien.

Kang (*looking at his watch*): Oh wow, mais r'gardez l'heure. J'aimerais rester mais j'ai un rendez-vous tôt demain matin. Vous êtes vraiment une fille super. Je vous appellerai à l'occasion.

### Golf commentator (S02E06: 19"48')

*(Bart competes at a gold competition against Rod Flanders)*

Golf commentator: Si on cherchait le mot courage dans le dictionnaire illustré on pourrait trouver en vignette la photo de ces deux jeunes gladiateurs. Ils approchent du trou final à l'ombre du grand libérateur d'esclaves inextricablement égaux. Bientôt, l'un des deux hommes triomphera: rien d'autre que du champagne pour le vainqueur tandis que l'autre goûtera l'amertume de la défaite dans ce jeu cruel.

### Roger Myers (S02E09: 6"14')

*(Marge writes a letter to the producer of the Itchy and Scracthy show. The letter is voiced-over)*

Cher pourvoyeur de violence gratuite. A première vue ca va peut être vous paraître idiot (*cut to Krusty reading it*) mais je pense que les dessins animés que vous montrez à nos enfants influencent leur comportement de façon négative (*he crumples it and throws it away. Cut to the writer of the show crumpling it*) je vous prie d'adoucir cette violence (p)sychotique (*cut to the producer*) dans votre programmation, qui est très bien par ailleurs. Sincèrement vôtre, Marge Simpson.

Myers: Prenez en note Mademoiselle Hyte. Chère et précieuse téléspectatrice, merci de l'intérêt que vous portez à notre dessin animé *Itchy et Scracthy*. Vous trouverez ci-joint une photo du couple de chat et souris préféré des Américains personnellement autographiée pour votre collection. En ce qui a trait aux commentaires spécifiques que vous faites à propos de l'émission,

nos recherches indiquent que ce n'est pas une seule personne qui y changera quelque chose et ce aussi emmerdeuse qu'elle puisse être. Permettez moi don(c) de terminer en vous conseillant (*cut to Marge reading it aloud*) d'aller jouer dans votre plate bande.

**Narrator (S09E03: 2"24')**

*Narrator:* Les Simpson a été enregistré devant public.

*(Homer drinking a beer and Bart in front of TV)*

*Homer:* Hey tête de noeux kece k'tu r'gardes là?

*Bart:* Hum rien d'important [ã], j'pitionne c'est tout [tYt].

*(the show starts)*

*Narrator:* Le télécinéma de l'année, "Krusty histoire d'un clown: Boissons, drogues, armes, mensonges, chantage et rire!" En vedette Yves Massicotte dans Krusty le clown.

**Narrator (S10E07: 5"10')**

L'océan est rempli de créatures qui inspirent la terreur mais aucune n'attaque sa proie avec autant de fureur que le féroce requin des algues. La bataille est de courte durée.

**Mysterious Island owner (S12E06: 17"50')**

*Island owner:* Avez-vous r'marqué que les vaccins s'donnent toujours juste avant les fêtes?

*Homer:* C'est ben sûr, c'est si simple ça, même le nom c'est pas vrai, c'est inutilement compliqué non?

*Owner:* Oui c'est vrai. Faut pas que vous vous mêliez de tout foutre en l'air n'est-ce pas Homer?

*Homer:* Non monsieur.

*Owner:* Là vous m'faites plaisir. Prenez donc une crème glacée. Bon appétit!

*Homer:* Ecoutez, droquez-moi tant que vous voudrez mais ma famille lâchera pas [paU] avant d'avoir trouvé mon cadavre défiguré.

*Owner:* Je n'me fierais pas là-dessus numéro 5. D'après c'que votre famille sait, Homer Simpson doit rev'nir à la maison je dirais (*looks at his watch*) à peu près maintenant.

[...]

**20"16'**

*Owner:* Pourquoi avez-vous cru qu'avec un ballon vous les empêcheriez de s'évader?

**Professor Frink (S15E01: 7"30')**

Notre relation n'était pas des plus chaleureuses. Ma mère disait toujours qu'on s'entendait comme les positrons et les antineutrinos. (*mad maughter*). Hahaha oui! Je suis un bolé fini. Mon père a toujours été extrêmement déçu d'moi. Lui il faisait partie des scientifiques virils qui travaillaient sur la bombe atomique le jour et couchaient avec Marylin Monroe pendant la nuit et qui vendaient des secrets aux Russes au dîner. La dernière fois que je l'ai vu en vie il s'en allait étudier les requins.

**Soap opera actors (S02E16: 11"58')**

*Actress:* Jack je crois que l'enfant qu'je porte est de toi.

*Jack:* Mais j'espère bien ma poupée mais faudrait qu'tu puisses le prouver.

*Actress:* Tu m'traites comme un déchet.

*Jack:* Haha c'est parce que t'aime ça mon bébé.

*(They kiss and she unzips her dress)*

*Lisa:* C'est toujours bon comme ça?

*Marge:* Oh je l'sais pas j'regarde juste ça une fois d'temps en temps.

## Appendix K: New Dubbing

### TV host (S03E04:19"09')

*TV host (new dubbing):* Bonsoir, bienvenue [ɛ̃] à l'heure du studio de danse St. Granit. Etes-vous maladroit?

*TV host (old dubbing):* Gauche et maladroit? Le rythme est le seul secret du succès dans de nombreuses activités. Pour danser, golfer, nager et jouer aux quilles. Le studio de danse de St. Granit peut vous enseigner la souplesse, le rythme [I], la coordination.

## Appendix L: *Sociolect of Parisian haute-bourgeoisie in the Québécois and French Versions*

### Emma Tasdroche and her rich friends (S02E10: 6"10')\*

*Emma*: Délima! Bertha! Ça fait plaisir de vous voir vous deux.

*Bertha*: Allô Emma!

*Wilma*: Ça fait bien des années.

*Emma*: Mais [mɛ:] c'est ça [sa:] chère. Je l'disais encore ce matin à mon riche mari [a:]. Je n'vois plus jamais [a:] mes amis d'enfance, plus jamais [a:]. Nager dans l'argent ça peut poser des problèmes [ɛ:] vous savez.

*Wilma*: Ouais on l'sait. C'est comme nous, on se cherchait des nouvelles robes [o:], juste pour porter dans a maison.

*Betty*: On n'arrive pas à rien trouver. On les a toutes.

*Emma*: Oh [o:] vous avez marié la richesse aussi? Très [ɛ:] bien!

*Wilma*: Oui, en effet. Mon richissime mari, Frédéric Antoine est dans l'domaine [ɛ:] de la construction [ɔ:].

*Betty*: Et mon très, très riche mari Arthur Pierre est dans les renseignements.

*Emma*: Oh [o:] ! Mais alors vous devez être présentes au bal des petites bottines blanches le samedi de cette semaine [ɛ:]. Voici les invitations [ɔ:]. Je suis chargée de voir à c'que seul l'élite de St. Granit y ait accès. Il nous faut faire attention pour que personne de la basse classe y soit.

Bien [bjɛ:], vous saisissez?

*Wilma and Betty*: Bien sûr. On a saisi [sɛ:zi]

*Emma*: Mon riche mari et moi espérons pouvoir vous y r'trouver vous et vos charmants maris riches à craquer.

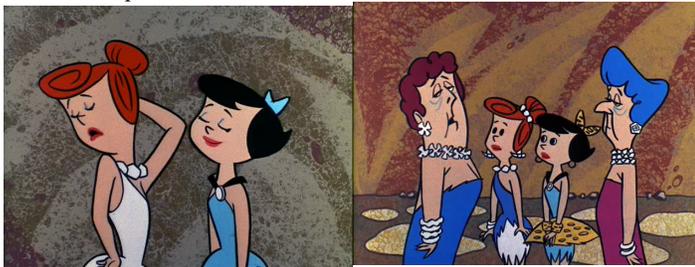


Fig. 69. Emma Tasdroches and her rich friends

### André the hairdresser (S02E26: 14"40')

*André*: Mesdames! Si vous voulez bien me suivre.

*Wilma*: Oh j'haïs ça aller sous l'séchoir.

*Betty*: Moi aussi, j'ai toujours ben du trouble à entendre le potinage quand je suis [(ə)syi] en d'ssous.

*Wilma*: Oh quand il s'agit de potinage j'irais pas jusqu'à dire ça.

*André*: Veuillez prendre place mesdames. Merci, êtes-vous prêtes? Vous pouvez baisser. [be:se] Doucement! Bien! A tout à l'heure mesdames!

### Eppy Brianstone/Aimé Brilliantine (S06E01: 6"00')

*Eppy (in a TV show Fred and Barney are watching)*: De la part de mon groupe *Les Termites* et de ma part: allô tout l'monde!

*Fred*: Y'ont pas l'droit de nous faire ça. J'vas m'plaindre au gouvernement. On va manquer la partie.

*TV host*: Aimé, la rumeur veut que vous cherchiez un nouveau groupe de chanteurs.

*Eppy*: Bien, c'est pas tellement que je cherche mais je suis toujours prêt à écouter de nouveaux talents.

*Fred*: Talents qu'il [ki(1)] appelle ça (*barfs*).

*Host*: Avez-vous un conseil pour les jeunes qui veulent faire carrière dans l'milieu?

*Eppy*: Et bien, la première chose serait de n'pas vieillir (*laughs*).

[...]

**8''21'**

*Eppy (at the Flintstones house):* J'm'excuse de vous déranger mais [mɛ:] pourrais-je téléphoner?

*Wilma:* Oui, le téléphone est par là.

*Fred:* Hé Arthur, ça, ça, c'est, c'est l'gars qu'on a vu à la TV.

*Barney:* Ouais, Aimé Brilliantine, le fameux impresario.

*Eppy:* J'ai quelques petits ennuis avec mon auto. Ça n'vous gêne pas [pa:]?

*Fred:* Mais pas du tout Mr. Brilliantine et pis j'tiens à vous dire qu'y'aura pas de frais spéciaux pour le téléphone.

*Eppy:* Euh oh merci monsieur...

*(they hear their kids singing and playing music)*

*Eppy:* Euh dites-moi c'est bien [bjɛ:] comme son. Qui sont-ils?

*Fred:* Ça c'est ma fille à la guitare.

*Barney:* Pis mon p'tit sur le tambour.

*Eppy:* C'est quelque chose de spécial [a:]!

*(kids playing)*

*Eppy:* C'est vrai! J'ai vu des tas de numéros dans mon temps mais ces p'tits sont fa-bu-leux.

**The waiter (S06E07: 16''42')\***

*Waiter:* Ah bonsoir!

*Fred:* Ah euh bonsoir, oui une table pour quatre Mr. Euh Antoine n'est-ce pas?

*Server:* Mon nom c'est Pierre monsieur. Vous avez une réservation n'est-ce pas?

*Barney:* C'est pire, on n'a jamais pensé d'en faire une Fred.

*Fred:* Tout est sous contrôle vieux. Bien sûr qu'on a une réservation, pas depuis longtemps mais ce p'tit 20 là (*waving dollars at the server*) vient d'la confirmer, pas vrai?

*Pierre:* Euh oui monsieur. Suivez-moi s'il vous plaît.

*Wilma:* Qu'est-ce qu'il [keseki] t'as dit?.

*Fred:* Que l'argent peut tout acheter quoi. Après vous mesdames.

*Barney:* Allez-y, Fred pis moi on vous r'joint dans une minute.

[...]

**18''00'**

*Pierre:* Etrange nous n'avons aucune vendeuse de fleurs près du vestiaire en bas.

*Fred:* Euh garçon j'voudrais votre meilleur repas. Au diable [diab(l)] les dépenses vu que ça compte pas.

*Wilma:* Fred, tu crois pas qu'on devrait savoir combien ça coûte d'abord [aboUr]?

*Fred:* Du calme Délima. Quand les Caillou font une sortie, la font en grand.

*Barney:* Pis les Laroche aussi, jusqu'au bout [but] pis envoie [aj] donc!

[...]

**19''00'**

*Pierre:* Voici votre addition monsieur.

*Barney:* Euh vous êtes-vous montré généreux envers notre garçon...

*Betty:* Et j'espère que vous avez assez d'argent pour tout ça.

*Barney:* Ben, ben sûr. C'est combien Fred?

*Fred:* Oh c'est pas si pire. C'est euh 225

*Barney:* Hey rien que 225 pièces c'est plutôt raisonnable ... hein quoi? Pas 225 pièces! Fred!

[...]

**20''04'**

*Pierre:* Avez-vous, hum, perdu quelque chose monsieur?

*Fred:* Oh non, heu il semble qu'on a perdu notre argent. Oh oui (*laughs*) ben sûr (*aside*) ça va pas bien mon affaire. C'est qui doivent m'attendre dehors. J'reviens tout de [tyt(də)]suite.

*Pierre (changes tone):* Ouais, ton argent [ã]est là qui t'attend dehors [dəjor]? Ben ça marche d'même ti' gars

*Fred:* J'te jure, il [i(l)] faut qu'on voit notre [not(r)]gars. Dis-y vieux!

*Barney*: Ouais l'affaire est simple. Y'a un p'tit bonhomme vert, 2 pieds d'haut, de la planète Zeta, pis s'est engagé à remplir nos désirs pis pour l'instant il [i(l)] nous faut d'l'argent. Gazou! Au secours!

*(they run away)*

*Pierre*: Hey! Icitte maudits [dsi] pas bons. Pognez-les les gars!

*Wilma*: Où est-ce qu'y'est passé votre [vot(r)] accent?

*Pierre*: Il [j] est réservé pour ceux d'nos clients qui paient. C'est pas l'cas d'ces deux-là.



Fig. 70. French waiter.

### **Butler (S06E08: 16"35')**

*Butler*: Le maître va vous recevoir dans le boudoir.

*Fred*: T'es pas sérieux. J'savais pas qu'Arthur était boudeur.

*Butler*: Oh horreur encore un d'ces amis incultes du maître.

*Fred*: Imagine Arthur avoir autant d'foin pis j'étais pas là pour lui montrer comment en jouir.

*Arthur*: C'est sûrement un pas bon qui prétend être Fred. Va falloir que j'l'questionne à fond. Va disposer Stanislas. Vous pouvez polir ma Rolls-Rock.



Fig. 71. Stanislas the butler



Fig. 72. Unknown bourgeois lady

## Appendix M: Fred

### Sophisticated French (S01E05: 12''20')

Characters	OV	QV
<b>Fred</b>	Certainly, Bernard, my esteemed neighbour	Certainement Arthur mon estimé voisin
<b>Barney</b>	Bernard? Are you all right Freddie?	Estimé? Es-tu correc' Fred?
<b>Fred</b>	It's undignified. My name is Frederick. I'm sure you won't mind addressing me properly	Tut, tut, Arthur, pas Fred. Cela manque de tenue. Mon nom, c'est Frédéric et vous voudrez bien vous adressez à moi déceemment
<b>Fred (13''10')</b>	There's my sweet, adorable wife looking charming as usual. How are you my dear? And there's Elizabeth, Bernard's wife, a vision of loveliness, a delight for the eyes	Ha voilà ma tendre, adorable épouse toujours charmante il va de soit. Comment es-tu ma chère? Et voilà la gentille Berthe. Une vraie perle, une vision de l'au-delà, un délice pour les yeux
<b>Fred (14''21')</b>	Allow me Wilma ( <i>pulls her chair for her to sit</i> )	Permetts-moi Délima
<b>Fred (14''30')</b>	Nothing will ever spoil my little turtledove. You just rest, my dear	Rien ne pourra jamais gâter ma petite colombe. Tu n'touches à rien ma chère



Fig. 73. Fred's transformation (S01E05)

### Pseudo-Spanish (S04E17: 1''45')

Characters	OV	QV
<b>Fred</b>	<i>Si señorita</i> . That means yes in Spanish	<i>Si, si señorita</i> . Ca veut dire oui en espagnol
<b>Fred</b>	Hey <i>toro</i> , <i>olé</i> . That means "bull"	Hey <i>toro olé</i> . "Toro" c'est un taureau
<b>Délima</b>	Thanks	J'te r' mercie
<b>Fred</b>	<i>Olé toro. Andale, andale</i>	<i>Olé toro, andale, andale</i>
<b>Fred (2''50')</b>	Boy Barney, your kid is <i>mucho strong-o</i>	Ton p'tit est <i>mucho forto</i>
<b>Barney (3''00')</b>	<i>Bunos noches el gordo</i>	<i>Buenas noches el gordo</i>



Fig. 74. Fred in Mexico (S04E17)

**Pseudo-Italian (S02E31: 10”31’)**

Characters	OV	QV
<b>Fred</b>	Coming <i>bellissima</i> , fairest of the fair. What an extremely pleasant circumstance to see you again. Particularly <i>bellissimo</i> Betty ( <i>blows a kiss</i> ). And my <i>buon confidente</i> Bernardo. I trust your expedition was enjoyable. <i>Funiculi, funicula</i> and all that. ( <i>to Wilma</i> ) There she is, light of my life, my own radiant little dewdrop. ( <i>grabs her</i> ) <i>Buongiorno</i> my sweet ( <i>kisses her</i> )	J’arrive <i>bellissima</i> , coeur de mon coeur, créature ravissante entre toutes. Oh c’est dans d’extrêmement [trill r] heureuses circonstances que je vous retrouve. Particulièrement la <i>bellissima</i> Bertha. Echanté. Et mon <i>buon confidente</i> Arthuro, J’espère que votre petit voyage fut fort agréable [a:]. La <i>dolce vita</i> et puis tout cela[a:]. Oh la voilà, lumière [u] de ma vie, mon adorée petite colombe. <i>Buongiorno</i> ma chère
<b>Barney</b>	Fred, is that you ( <i>pulls his moustache</i> )	Fred, c’est-tu vraiment toi?
<b>Fred</b>	But of course, dear boy	Bien sûr cher ami
<b>Barney</b>	That mustache, is it real?	Pis ta moustache, c'est une vraie?
<b>Fred</b>	Si, it is real	<i>Si, si</i> elle est vraie
<b>Barney</b>	You grew it yourself?	Elle a poussé toute seule?
<b>Fred</b>	( <i>back to his normal voice and accent</i> ) No I had help. I called in a Japanese gardener	( <i>back to his normal voice and accent</i> ) Non j’ai eu d’l’aide. J’ai fait v’nir Duroc pis ses jardiniers



Fig. 75. Fred as an Italian gentleman (S02E31)



Fig. 77. Fred slipping out of his Italian gentleman character

(S02E31)

**Fred speaking higher variety of French (S05E06: 13”40’)**

Characters	OV	QV
<b>Fred</b>	Good evening, madam. We’re off to the ball.( <i>to the driver</i> ) To the Slatés’ estate Bernard. Quickly.	Bonsoir chère madame. Nous allons au bal. Au manoir Miroc [ʁ] mon cher, et vite.
<b>Fred</b> (14”03’)	I’m not accustomed to repeating myself but I’ll make an exception. My name is Frederick J. ( <i>puts his hand over his mouth and makes an indistinct noise</i> )	Je n’ai pas l’habitude de répéter mon cher mais je ferai une exception. Je m’appelle Frederic J. ( <i>puts his hand over his mouth and makes an indistinct noise</i> )
<b>Fred</b> (15”00’)	( <i>to Mr.Slate</i> ) Ha, good evening Slate. And this, this beautiful creature must be your daughter	( <i>to Slate</i> ) Ha oui, bien le bonsoir Miroc. Et cette, cette magnifique créature, c’est votre jeune fille oui?
<b>Slate</b>	What beautiful creature?	Quelle magnifique créature?
<b>Mrs. Slate</b>	Quiet dear ( <i>pushes him aside</i> ). Would you care to dance Mr. ( <i>puts her hand over his mouth and makes an indistinct noise</i> )?	Silence Paul ( <i>pushes him aside</i> ). Oh vous plairait-il de danser monsieur ( <i>puts her hand over his mouth and makes an indistinct noise</i> )?
<b>Fred</b>	Madam, “my cup runneth over”	Madame, vous m’faites beaucoup d’honneur



Fig. 78. Fred’s transformation into an upper-classman (S05E06)

Appendix N: The Nonverbal Dimension in *The Flintstones* and *The Simpsons*



Fig. 79. Dino wearing a wig (S05E02)



Fig. 80. The X-ray machine (S05E03)



Fig. 81. Opening sequence (S04E10)



Fig. 82. The strangulation of Bart, bis repetita



Fig. 83. Homer screaming



Fig. 84. Subtitles (S04E20)

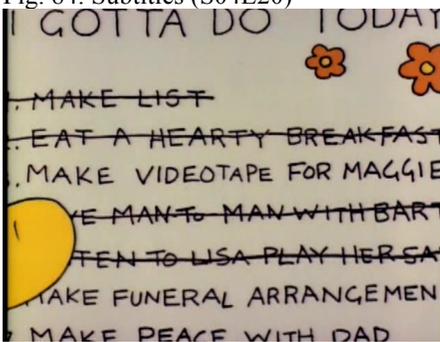


Fig. 85. Characters as in-text translators (S12E04)



Fig. 86. Itchy and Scratchy (S03E15)



Fig. 86. Loss: no subtitles (“Welcome to Flander’s country”) S02E11



Fig. 87. Reference to President Kennedy’s assassination (S04E21)



Fig. 88. Sideshow Bob (S17E08)