The Pragmatic Particles *enfin* and *écoute* in French Film and TV Dialogue

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the use of the pragmatic particles (PPs) *enfin* and *écoute* in French film dialogue, and their translations in British English subtitles. Using a corpus of nine films and eight episodes drawn from two television series – all released in the UK between 2005 and 2015, and equating to approximately twenty-two hours – the study identifies tokens across a much wider range of contexts than has previously been possible using traditional corpora.

The main contribution is an analysis of PP functions. The results for *enfin* show a different functional distribution of the particle to other corpora, with corrective *enfin* occurring significantly less frequently. The relatively large number of tokens of performative and emotional (or affective) *enfin* allows for an elaboration of these two categories, and a tendency is observed for *enfin* to appear as an apparent disagreement mitigator in discussions between peers. With regard to *écoute*, it is argued that *écoute*1 functions as a face-threat mitigator in unequal relationships and *écoute*2 as an FTA, although the particle is multifunctional and some tokens exhibit characteristics of both categories. Attention is given to combinations of *enfin* and *écoute* with other particles: while there is a clear tendency for disagreement-mitigating *enfin* to co-occur with *mais*, and for the precision and restrictive subcategories of the corrective to co-occur with *je veux dire,* other previously documented combinations (*enfin bon* and *ben écoute*) are not frequently occurring in the present corpus.

The thesis also makes a significant contribution to the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT). The English subtitles show high rates of omission for both particles consistent with previous research, with disagreement-mitigating *enfin* particularly vulnerable to omission. However, the analysis reveals a surprising pattern regarding *écoute*: a clear division of labour between 'look' (used to translate more confrontational tokens) and 'listen' (more conciliatory and socially distant). The study includes an experimental analysis of the subtitles relative to their character limits, demonstrating a potential new approach for researchers wishing to investigate the impact of various subtitling constraints.

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Abbreviations

AV   Audiovisual
AVT   Audiovisual translation
DM   Discourse marker
H   Hearer
PP   Pragmatic particle
S   Speaker
SL   Source language
ST   Source text
TL   Target language
TT   Target text

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The key aim of this study is to explore the use of the pragmatic particles *enfin* and *écoute* in French film dialogue, and their treatment in British English subtitling. Using a corpus of nine films and eight television episodes, all released on DVD in the UK between 2005 and 2015, I examine how *enfin* and *écoute* are used on screen in contemporary French cinema and television productions. Although the proximity of the dialogue to authentic speech practice may vary across the corpus (generally in terms of discourse marker frequency), the fictional interactions presented here provide a wider range of contexts than those found in spoken corpora, and hence contribute to a greater understanding of the pragmatic functions of these particles. I also assess the translations in the subtitles, so as to gain a better insight into how subtitlers approach pragmatic particles, considering the success of the translation strategies used (on the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker), and the main motivations for omissions.

In this chapter, I introduce the core topics of facework, pragmatic particles (which I take to be a sub-category of discourse markers), and subtitling (1.1), and explore the relationship between these very different fields (1.2), in order to explain why a crossover study is of interest. The chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis structure (1.3).

1.1 Themes of the Thesis

The study covers three different research areas: facework and politeness; discourse markers (DMs) and pragmatic particles (PPs); and subtitling. These fields have been combined in various ways in previous research:

- politeness and DMs (e.g. Beeching 2001; 2002);
- politeness and subtitling (e.g. Hatim & Mason 2000);
- DMs and subtitling (e.g. Chaume 2004).

To my knowledge there is only one study to date to have combined all three: Mattsson's (2009) PhD thesis on English DMs in Swedish subtitling. As such, the links between these areas remain to an extent unfamiliar to scholars in each field, and it would therefore be beneficial, before elaborating on the aims of the study any further, to first set out the background to each of the key concepts which underpin the research.

Politeness and *facework* are two competing terms used to refer to more or less the same concept within pragmatics, that is, aspects of communication used to signal and negotiate interpersonal relationships. By way of an illustration, (1) and (2) are both invented formulations of the request to borrow a pen, each showing a differing degree of facework or politeness.

(1) Could I borrow a pen? Thanks.

(2) Hi Sarah, how are you? I haven't seen you for a while, how's everything going? I was just wondering if I could possibly borrow a pen off you for a minute? Thanks, you're a star.

Both utterances involve the same request to borrow a pen, but whilst (1) is perfectly grammatically correct and seemingly polite, very few native English speakers would be likely to simply walk up to someone and make this demand, except in a handful of situations[1]. The request in (2) on the other hand, is pragmatically very different. It begins with the speaker (S) addressing the hearer (H) by name. S then goes on to show interest in his or her interlocutor ('How are you?') and to spend time in conversation ('I haven't seen you for a while, how's everything going?'). When the request finally comes, it is minimised with 'just' and 'for a minute'; while 'I was wondering' and 'possibly' give the hearer the option of refusal. When H does accept, appreciation is shown not only by 'thanks', but also with a compliment ('you're a star'). This kind of example shows consideration for the other person, and is far more socially acceptable than (1).

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[1] Situations might include speaking to a very close friend; resuming a conversation from a few moments previously; or being obviously unable to engage in further pleasantries e.g. if speaking on the telephone to someone else.

It is this showing of consideration that is theorised by pragmatics scholars as *politeness* or *facework*. Specifically, greeting, use of the addressee's name, asking after his or her well-being, use of non-standard grammar ('to borrow off'), thanking and complimenting are all what Brown & Levinson (1987) would term acts of *positive politeness*, aimed at appealing to the addressee's positive face: his or her desire for approval by others. The minimisers 'just' and 'for a minute', and hedges 'I was wondering' and 'possibly', are known as *negative politeness*, appealing to the addressee's negative face: his or her desire for independence. The request to borrow a pen potentially threatens both of these wants, as it is S (and not H) who proposes that H lend the pen (a threat to negative face), and there is the risk that S may think H is only interested in her in so far as H can meet his or her needs (a threat to positive face). The request is therefore a *face-threatening act* (FTA), which needs to be minimised by use of positive and negative politeness strategies, such as those shown in (2).

'Discourse marker' (DM) is the term given to any of the seemingly insignificant words and phrases which pepper everyday speech, such as English *so*, *well*, *you know*, *like*, *at the end of the day* and *look*, and French *alors*, *ben*, *bon*, *tiens, voyons* and *quand même*. They evolve from other grammatical categories such as adverbs (e.g. *alors*, *enfin*), verbs (imperatives e.g. *tiens*, *écoute*) and adjectives (e.g. *bon*), becoming gradually more pragmaticalised (see 2.2), until their function is entirely distinct from that of their original use. It is difficult to succinctly define the role they play in speech, but scholars are generally in agreement as to what this *does not* encompass: i.e. that DMs do not form part of the propositional content of an utterance, as the process of pragmaticalisation (see 2.2) removes most, if not all, propositional meaning.

Although DMs are not yet recognised as a grammatical category, there is a flourishing field of study centred around these small, but essential items. Perhaps due to the lack of official recognition, there is little stability concerning either the terminology for DMs, or their definition. For this study, I have chosen principally to adopt two terms: *discourse marker* and *pragmatic particle*. I use discourse marker as a broad umbrella term, with pragmatic particle (PP) used in a narrower way to refer to any DM with a facework function (see 2.2). Both DMs and PPs are characteristic of spontaneous speech, with greater spontaneity in

language directly linked to a higher frequency of, and greater variation in, DMs (Degand 2015). We can assume therefore that they appear in film dialogue (admittedly with differing frequencies) in order to create an impression of authenticity, as well as to advance character development and relationships. However, their frequency is often greatly reduced in subtitled translations, due to constraints of time and space (see below).

Subtitling is one of four types of audiovisual translation (AVT), the others being dubbing, voiceover and surtitling. Surtitling is generally reserved for live performance (e.g. opera), while most countries exert a strong preference for one of the other three modes of translation with regard to cinema and television (e.g. subtitling in the UK, dubbing in France, and voice-over in Russia). However, the situation is not as clear-cut as it first appears: so-called subtitling countries often dub cartoons, while dubbing countries are seeing a rise in the use of subtitling, due to its comparatively lower costs (Georgakopoulou 2012: 82). Both groups also tend to use voice-over for interviews in news reports and documentaries. The present study is concerned with interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid, that is, subtitles which provide a translation for the benefit of a foreign (hearing) audience, with imperfect or no knowledge of the source language (SL).

Subtitling is a unique form of translation, in that it is governed by a special set of constraints. Some are shared with other forms of AVT, for example the need for synchrony (matching the translation to what is on screen). This is even more important in dubbing, where the aim is to create the illusion that the film has been originally shot in the target language (TL), and translators have to give very careful consideration to utterance length and lip shapes formed by the vocabulary used. Nevertheless, it remains a real consideration in subtitling, as the subtitle must be shown at the same time as the equivalent line in the source text (ST) is spoken, in order for it to make sense.

Linked to this is the idea of invisibility: just as viewers of a dubbed film should be able to forget they are not hearing the real voices of the actors on screen, so too should a viewer watching a subtitled film be able to easily forget that they are reading subtitles (Gartzonika & Şerban 2009: 245; Díaz Cintas & Sánchez

2006: 47). A domestication strategy is generally adopted as a result (see 2.3), with subtitlers opting for unobtrusive lexical choices in order to pass unnoticed by the viewer. This invisibility is not always achieved in either form of translation, and hilariously poor examples of both dubbing and subtitling can be found online. The need for domestication in subtitling is reinforced by the presence of the ST, which enables viewers to compare the translation with the original dialogue. Though this is particularly pertinent to bilingual viewers (who may criticise the translation as they compare it to the ST), real or imagined differences between source and target texts may also be perceived by viewers with little or no knowledge of the SL if, for example, they see an unusual or unnatural-sounding word or phrase.

In addition to this, subtitlers have to balance the requirements for synchrony and a smooth, domesticated translation with viewers' reading time, as the process of reading is more time-consuming than listening. Standards vary from country to country, and between formats (cinema, television, VHS or DVD release), but professional subtitles are all produced within the confines of strict character and time limits. Subtitles need to appear on the screen for long enough to be read comfortably, but not so long as to encourage viewers to backtrack and re-read them; and translations generally need to be condensed in order to accommodate this problem, often quite dramatically so. Material which tends to be cut includes anything considered to not be crucial to the plot: items such as repeated words, adjectives, adverbs, false starts, swearwords and, importantly for the present study, DMs. These all have an important role in the dialogue, however, as they serve to negotiate facework, among other things, and, as is explained in 2.4, the loss of this information has the potential to change the viewer's impressions of the characters and relationships depicted in the film.

1.2 Reasons for Undertaking this Study

As stated at the start of the chapter, the study primarily has two main aims: (i) to investigate the use of two French PPs, *enfin* and *écoute*, within film dialogue, in order to contribute to the literature on both PPs and facework, and (ii) to examine their translations in British English subtitling. The wide range of

contexts which can be covered by a film corpus offers the potential for a richer data set than traditional corpora, which may highlight previously unattested uses of PPs, while an analysis of the subtitles affords the opportunity to qualitatively assess the translation of PPs and to explore possible reasons for any omissions or mistranslations.

Ecoute and *enfin* have been chosen for this study as they constitute two very different particles. On the one hand, *enfin* has been widely studied over the last thirty-five years, although there is still little consensus as to a framework regarding its functions (see 4.1.1). It is a high-frequency marker: the third most frequent non-relational (i.e. non-connective; see p. 48) DM in the Louvain Corpus of Annotated Speech (Degand 2015), and is often abbreviated to '*fin*. *Ecoute*, by contrast, is a far less frequently-occurring marker, which tends to be more clearly articulated and to emphasise a power differential. It can therefore be said to be a more salient marker, yet it is fairly under-researched; this despite a growing body of literature into attention-getters more generally, especially in the romance languages (see 6.1). Its relative low-frequency makes it a good candidate for study via a film corpus, as the number of tokens is likely to be higher than in a traditional corpus of authentic speech data due to the nature of film plots as a series of condensed interactions (see 3.1).

Film dialogue is, I believe, a rather under-used resource in linguistic research. As is elaborated in 3.1, whilst the dialogue does not itself constitute authentic spontaneous spoken French, it is a representation of speech intended to sound as authentic as possible within the confines of a film or television episode structure. Its closeness to naturally-occurring speech can vary depending on the extent to which the dialogue is scripted, relies on cast improvisation, or uses devices such as exaggeration for comedic effect. However, in all cases it is created by native or near-native speakers, with input from other habitual users of the language (e.g. actors, director); and it can be a good indication of speaker perceptions towards a particular linguistic feature. The other main advantage of film dialogue as a resource is the broad range of interactions covered within a relatively short space of time, which may not be found in other types of corpora. The present study of *enfin* and *écoute* within a film corpus is therefore primarily intended to broaden our understanding of the facework

functions of these two particles in spoken French generally, but could also potentially uncover some differences in usage between screen dialogue and naturally-occurring speech.

As noted in 1.1, both facework and DMs have already been studied within the context of subtitling, but so far there has only been one study to have looked at all three. Facework in subtitling was first examined by Hatim & Mason (2000), who detailed the effect of the subtitling constraints described here in 2.3 on the portrayal of politeness in the subtitles, compared to the original dialogue. This included consideration of lexical choice, statements vs interrogatives, trailings off vs full stops, and hedges. PPs are an important form of hedge, as shown by Beeching's (2001; 2002) analysis of corrective *enfin*. Yet, although studies into DMs in subtitling have repeatedly commented on this neglect of the interpersonal in subtitles (Chaume 2004; Mattsson 2009; Biagini 2010; see 7.1), only one researcher (Mattsson 2009) has so far looked again in any depth at DMs in subtitling within a facework context.

Mattsson (2009) examined four English DMs in terms of their functions (textual vs interpersonal), using a cross-theoretical approach that incorporated Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson 1987), Coherence-Based Theory (Schiffrin 1987) and Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995). Her analysis is thorough and enlightening, but her categories are in some cases questionable: the repair-marking function, for example, is classified as textual, but Beeching's (2001; 2002) analysis of *enfin* as a repair marker in French clearly views this as a type of hedge or mitigator. The mitigating function is one that Mattsson has in fact listed separately, classed as interpersonal. It is therefore beneficial to carry out a new study which focuses solely on facework functions, to avoid such confusion. Furthermore, Mattsson does not assess the quality of the Swedish translations, instead carrying out a mainly quantitative and descriptive analysis of the translation strategies used for various DM functions. The present study will take a different approach, seeking to address the question of the success or otherwise of the translation solutions presented in the corpus (on the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker), in order to better inform our understanding of which facework functions are retained in the subtitles, and which are omitted or distorted.

It is hoped that the results of the present thesis provide a valuable contribution to the study of the PPs *enfin* and *écoute*, and of their important interpersonal role in on-screen dialogue. In particular, the study aims to assess the frequency and functions of these two particles in the corpus, in order both to contribute to the growing body of DM literature, and to demonstrate the usefulness of film data for conducting DM research. The thesis should also enhance our understanding of facework – and specifically DMs – in subtitles: the success of their translations, and potential reasons for their omission. My research questions are set out in 2.5, and the methodology for both parts of the project is then given in chapter 3.

1.3 Thesis Overview

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

In chapter 2, I examine in more depth the key concepts introduced above (politeness theory and facework; DMs and PPs; AVT and subtitling), looking at the development of these fields over time, and trends in recent research, including implications for the present investigation. The chapter also looks at previous studies into facework in audiovisual translation, and sets out the research questions for the current study.

Chapter 3 is an overview of the corpus methods used for the study. I start by discussing the nature of film dialogue, and motivations for its use as a basis for the study of PPs. I then summarise the initial scoping exercise conducted using the film *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime*, before finally presenting the corpus and transcription code adopted.

Chapters 4-7 form the main body of the analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to *enfin*, the former providing a review of previous research into its functions, and an analysis of the DM in the corpus as a whole, while the latter constitutes a detailed examination of one particular function of *enfin*: its use as a repair marker or corrective. Chapter 6 is then centred on *écoute*, whose primary function is, I argue, as a mitigator. In chapter 7, the focus moves away from the

French dialogue, looking instead at the English translations for *enfin* and *écoute* in the British subtitles, with a view to assessing the frequency and relative success (on the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker) of the translations in the corpus, as well as exploring to what extent any omissions may have been necessitated by the technical constraints of subtitling.

Finally, chapter 8 sums up the findings of the study, together with some reflections on the research, and puts forward some recommendations for future undertakings.

Chapter 2 – Critical Review of the Key Concepts

In this chapter I give a critical discussion of the key concepts underpinning the thesis, which were introduced in chapter 1: politeness theory and facework (2.1); discourse markers and pragmatic particles (2.2); audiovisual translation and subtitling (2.3); and finally, facework as a concern in the field of audiovisual translation (2.4). I then present a summary and my research questions for the current project (2.5).

2.1 Politeness Theory and Facework

Arguably the biggest problem in the field of politeness and facework research is the issue of terminology. Some scholars treat the two competing terms, *politeness* and *facework*, as synonymous (e.g. Yuan 2012). Others believe facework to be a much broader field than politeness (e.g. Watts 2003; cf. Haugh 2009: 3). What is clear, however, is that facework is a less controversial term. Though itself by no means free of debate, it is a comparatively more stable concept than that of politeness, which has been 'widely researched, but never convincingly defined' (Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1454; cf. Pizziconi 2006: 679). A further complication lies in the extension of politeness research by some scholars (e.g. Culpeper 2011) to cover deliberate face-attacking behaviour (i.e. deliberate rudeness), known as *impoliteness*. This is a concept I return to later in this section.

Besides the lack of an agreed definition, another problem with the term (im)politeness is that it is also rather subjective, as it implies the judgement of a particular aspect of (linguistic or other) behaviour as either polite or impolite. As if this were not problematic enough, as the same behaviour may be interpreted differently by each participant in an interaction (as well as by the researcher), Watts points out (2003: 1-2) that even the concept of politeness itself may not be universally viewed in a positive light. In Britain, politeness has historically been a code imposed from above, a means of social exclusion, and some resentment towards it still persists today (pp. 33-34). This leads me to the most important weakness of politeness as a technical term: the fact that it has a lay

(or 'folk') understanding. Some scholars (e.g. Grundy 2000: 164; Eelen 2001) have tried to separate this 'social norm' view (Beeching 2002: 9) from the academic concept of politeness. Eelen, for example, terms these politeness1 and politeness2 respectively. However, I echo Watts' (ibid.: 13) observation that the everyday use of the term to mean 'a prescriptive approach to linguistic etiquette' (Grundy: ibid.) makes it very difficult to fully set aside one's own personal attitudes concerning what does or does not constitute polite behaviour.

Furthermore, Watts explains that the term *politeness* is rooted in Anglo-Saxon culture, and does not translate easily into other languages. Hebrew, for example, has two terms for 'politeness': *nimus* for formal social etiquette and *adivut* for showing concern for the addressee (p. 16). Even in those languages where 'politeness' does appear to have a direct equivalent, its associations can be very different from those of its English cousin: the Greek concept emphasises warmth and intimacy, while in Russian the stress is on directness and the avoidance of swearing (pp. 14-15). There is also a noticeable difference between English and French dictionary definitions for *polite* and *poli*, with the former emphasising consideration for the addressee, and the latter obedience of social rules.[2]

Facework is, I believe, a far more useful term for academic study, as it does not bring with it the cultural baggage attached to 'politeness'. Like politeness, it does have roots in a folk term, but one that is far less loaded. Most will be familiar with the expressions 'to lose face' and 'to save face', as illustrated by these examples taken from *The Guardian*:

(3)   North Korea's leaders will want to **save face** after failed rocket launch (McCurry 2012)

(4)   The eurozone crisis has shown the dangers of excessive austerity – so the chancellor won't **lose face** with international investors. (Sparrow & Weardon 2012)

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[2] Definitions of 'polite': 'Having or showing that is respectful and considerate of other people' (*Oxford Dictionaries Online*); 'Behaving in a way that is socially correct and shows understanding of and care for other people's feeling' (*Cambridge Dictionaries Online*).
Definitions of 'poli': 'Qui respecte les règles de la politesse, des bienséances' (*Larousse*) ; 'Dont le comportement, les manières, le langage sont conformes aux règles de la bienséance, au respect des convenances' (*Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales*)

Unlike 'politeness', this use of the word 'face' is not English in origin, as the idea of face as an image to symbolise identity, pride or honour originated in ancient China (Watts 2003: 119). It was first brought into the academic study of language and behaviour by Goffman in a series of essays written in the 1950s (republished in 1967), and whose view of face was summarised by Holtgraves (2009: 192) as 'the positive public image that each person effectively claims for him- or herself when in the presence of other people [...] the public display of one's identity'. According to Goffman, face is constructed collaboratively through interaction, and it is in participants' mutual interest to protect and support one another's face. This supportive action is known as facework.

Goffman's theory was developed by Brown & Levinson, who are undoubtedly the pioneers in this area, in their 1978 article *Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena* (republished in 1987 as the book *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*). Confusingly, they refer to their work as a *politeness* theory, but it has remained a (if not *the*) key work for both politeness and facework scholars. Brown & Levinson see face as having two components: positive face (desire for approval by others) and negative face (desire for freedom and independence). Both could be appealed to via specific strategies, such as showing sympathy or agreement for positive face, or using indirectness or impersonalisation for negative face. Equally, each could be threatened. For Brown & Levinson, interaction is centred around what they call face-threatening acts (FTAs), with participants in the interaction who need to commit an FTA having five options available to them:

1. Commit the FTA on-record, baldly e.g. *Don't park your leaky old banger outside our house anymore!*

2. Commit the FTA on-record, with positive politeness redress (appeal to H's positive face) e.g. *Bill my old mate, I know you want me to admire your new car from my front room, but how about moving it across the road and giving yourself the pleasure?*

3. Commit the FTA on-record, with negative politeness redress (appeal to H's negative face) *e.g. I'm sorry to ask, but could you possibly park your car in front of your own house in future?*

4. Use an off-record strategy *e.g. Is your car all right outside our house?*

5. Do not commit the FTA.

(Grundy 2000: 158)

It should be noted that Brown & Levinson do not allow for mixed strategies in their theory, but that these almost certainly occur regularly in interaction (Yuan 2012: 16-17).

Brown & Levinson's theory has been subject to significant criticism, particularly from scholars who believe it to be too Anglo-centric (see Yuan 2012: 17 or Locher 2013 for an overview). However, it remains the model of choice for many empirical researchers as it provides a useful tool for analysis. It has been further developed by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1997), who adds the notion of face-enhancing acts. This centres on the idea that there does not need to be an FTA in order for facework to take place. Speakers can, for example, perform an act such as giving a compliment, which enhances their interlocutor's face, without the need for this to be seen as mitigating any kind of face threat. This appears to be a sensible addition to the framework, and an accurate representation of everyday interactions, which are not, as Kerbrat-Orecchioni puts it, 'paranoid' (p. 13).

As mentioned above, another extension to Brown & Levinson's theory has been put forward by Culpeper (e.g. 1996; 2010; 2011) and Eelen (2001), among others, to include impoliteness, or deliberate face attacks. This is also a very useful extension, and indeed, Haugh (2014: 5) is right to state that 'we are doubtful that it is really possible, in the final analysis, to talk about impoliteness without implicitly invoking politeness, and vice-versa.' Culpeper *et al.* (2003: 1546) define impoliteness as 'the use of communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflicts and disharmony', which, according to Bousfield (2008:72, cited in O'Keeffe *et al.* 2011: 71), refers to deliberately unmitigated or exacerbated FTAs. There are five impoliteness strategies (Culpeper 1996), which mirror the five strategies developed by Brown & Levinson:

1. bald on-record impoliteness;
2. positive impoliteness;
3. negative impoliteness;
4. off-record impoliteness;
5. withheld politeness.

More information on these strategies, and their elaborations by Bousfield (2008), can be found in O'Keeffe *et al.* (2011: 71-74). In their summary, the authors stress a key difference between Brown & Levinson and the work of impoliteness scholars (p. 74), which is the shift in emphasis from individual utterances to the context of the interaction as a whole: incorporating H's reaction, as well as factors such as prosody.

Whilst no other facework theory has yet been sufficiently developed to replace Brown & Levinson's framework, it is important to be mindful of its limitations, and of valuable advances in facework research since its publication. Some important areas of interest for current facework researchers are:

*   identity;
*   interactional goals;
*   interpersonal and intrapersonal variation;
*   language comprehension.

The first two points are factors which motivate our facework decisions in interaction, but which were not given any particular consideration by Brown & Levinson. Given Goffman's conception of face as the public display of one's identity, the concepts of face and identity are intrinsically linked. Spencer-Oatey (2009: 141) argues that threats, losses and gains to face in interaction are a direct result of a person's perception that another interactant is or is not ascribing them with a particular attribute. Interactional goals, though related more to the transactional function of language than the interpersonal (p. 150), also dictate how facework is used, especially when speakers need to balance different, potentially conflicting goals. A good example, also from Spencer-Oatey (pp. 150-51), is that of a British sales manager hosting a Chinese business

delegation; the delegation have just checked themselves out of their hotel at short notice and asked to be moved to a hotel in London. The sales manager at this point has two short-term goals – wanting to both leave a positive impression of his company and also prevent extra costs – as well as the longer-term goal of ensuring the smooth running of future trips.

Interpersonal variation mainly relates to three factors identified by Brown & Levinson as affecting the weightiness of an FTA: degree of imposition, degree of social distance, and the relative power of the speaker (S) and hearer (H). Other variables such as gender and social class also impact on facework but, according to Holtgraves (2009: 196) only through their effect on these three main variables. Research has generally supported the predicted effects of the imposition and power variables, but the impact of social distance has been disputed, with some researchers finding increasing politeness with increasing social distance, and others the reverse (p. 195). Research into intrapersonal variation has focused on mood, something which Hall (1997, cited in Bargiela-Chiappini 2009: 317) indicates is so crucial to human interaction that ignoring it would have dangerous consequences. A sad mood, for example, has been shown to induce greater levels of politeness, possibly because people in this mindset perceive their relative power to be lower (Holtgraves 2009: ibid.).

Linked to the idea of variation is language comprehension, which refers to the study of how facework is decoded and interpreted by H. For Brown & Levinson, the focus was entirely on S, but H has an equally important role, as he or she will react to the other participant's utterance to continue the interaction. This is well illustrated by Holtgraves (2009), who explains that the preface 'well' at the start of a reply has been shown to be interpreted as signalling the use of facework by S, and therefore the presence of a face threat, as in examples (5) and (6) (Holtgraves 2009: 199):

(5)   Andy: What did you think of my presentation?
         Bob: I think it's hard to give a good presentation.

(6)   Andy: What did you think of my presentation?
         Bob: Well, I think it's hard to give a good presentation.

Holtgraves (2000; cited in Holtgraves 2009: ibid) proved that the face-threatening interpretation of indirect replies is less quickly decoded by H when not accompanied by 'well', such as in the response in example (5). As a result, the DM could arguably be interpreted as enhancing the FTA, rather than mitigating it. He also explains that facework can give H clues about S: for example, higher-status speakers have been found to use formulations with marginally less politeness than lower-status speakers for the same task (e.g. by saying 'Would you get the mail?' instead of 'Could you get the mail?'; 2009: 197). This then leads to low levels of politeness triggering perceptions of greater speaker power. In addition, facework levels can also influence perceptions of factors such as assertiveness, credibility, and even attractiveness (Holtgraves 1992: 152).

Another important development has been the shift in emphasis in recent facework research to using corpus data. Gone are the days when a reseracher could rely on his or her status as a native speaker to justify his or her conclusions. This is even more important for cross-cultural facework studies, where the analyst is unlikely to have native-level knowledge of both or all of the cultures involved. Even within one (national) culture, we encounter all the problems of inter- and intrapersonal variation mentioned above, which may lead the analyst to draw very different conclusions from the interactants. Whereas Brown & Levinson illustrated their politeness strategies with fictional, decontextualised examples, many researchers now use 'ecological' recordings (recordings of real, naturally-occurring data), showing the unfolding of face threats and face strategies over the course of an entire interaction; and commonly follow these recordings with in-depth interviews with the parties involved. As Haugh states (2009: 8), it is now 'incumbent upon the analyst to demonstrate that his or her interpretation is consistent with that of the participants for that particular interaction'.

The present study does not use naturally-occurring data, but neither are the examples in chapters 4-7 pure invention. As I argue in 3.1, film dialogue is a viable alternative to real speech data, and can provide the researcher with a wider range of contexts in which to observe facework in action. Carrying out interviews with the fictional participants of onscreen interactions is obviously not

possible, but the researcher may still seek confirmation of his or her analysis by other means. Text producers may in practice be difficult to access, but facework researchers can make use of those hearers that Hatim & Mason (2000: 433-35; cf. Gartzonika & Şerban 2009: 243-44), referring to Bell's (1984) Audience Design Model, class as *auditors*: the audience[3]. These are hearers who are not directly addressed, yet who are known to and ratified by the speaker (Bell 1984: 172). As is discussed in 2.4, there have been calls for empirical studies into audience reactions to facework in subtitling since Hatim & Mason's (2000) first study into this area, and this is something that has recently by realised by Yuan (2010; 2012).

Most of the major studies into facework/politeness in subtitling described in 2.4 (Hatim & Mason 2000; Mason 2001; Pavlović 2003; Gartzonika & Şerban 2009; Chun 2011) have anchored themselves in Brown & Levinson's politeness theory, the exceptions being Yuan (2010; 2012) and Bączkowska (forthcoming). There is therefore a tendency to use the term *politeness* rather than *facework*, and Hatim & Mason (2000: 431) define it as 'cover[ing] all aspects of language usage which serve to establish, maintain or modify interpersonal relationships between text producer and text receiver'. Bączkowska also uses the term *politeness*, but bases her research in a different theory: the 'conversational-maxim' view (Beeching 2002: 9) originating in Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle, and developed by Lakoff (1975) and Leech (1983).

Yuan (2010; 2012) uses *politeness* and *facework* interchangeably, alongside a third term, *face management*. She creates her own theoretical framework for this: the Composite Model of Face Management (CMFM), made up essentially of Brown & Levinson's positive and negative face wants combined with Spencer-Oatey's (2000; 2003; 2007; 2008) notions of quality face, identity face and sociality rights. Yuan (2012) argues that the latter's rapport management theory (of which she gives an excellent summary pp. 21-35) resolves several of the problems with Brown & Levinson's model, i.e. the lack of consideration

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[3] Hatim & Mason go on to class film festival juries and boards of censors as overhearers, as they are known to the speaker but not ratified (ibid).

given to sociality rights[4], interactional goals and cultural influence. However, she views it as not yet well-enough developed to stand alone (ibid.: 70). She also rejects Spencer-Oatey's division of interactional behaviour into five 'domains': illocutionary, discourse, participation, stylistic and nonverbal. In the CMFM, face can be threatened in two ways: by threatening either face wants (as in Brown & Levinson's theory) or sociality rights (following Spencer-Oatey). The strategies for managing face in this model, however, are entirely drawn from Brown & Levinson, as well as Culpeper *et al.*'s (2003) face-attack framework. For a more detailed explanation of this model see Yuan (2012: 69-77). It is a good step forward from sole reliance on Brown & Levinson, however, as noted by Casas-Tost (2013: 154), Yuan fails to make clear how the concepts of discernment and volition (Hill *et al.* 1986) are to be incorporated. I have nevertheless chosen to follow Yuan's example of adopting Brown & Levinson's model with modifications, and will be taking into account the concepts of face-attack theory and face-enhancing acts.

In the next section, I examine previous research in the field of discourse markers, and the link between DMs and facework.

2.2 Discourse Markers and Pragmatic Particles

Just as there is a debate over the terms *politeness* and *facework*, at the time of writing there is as yet no fixed terminology or definition associated with discourse markers (DMs) (Fox Tree 2010; Aijmer 2015, among others). It is common for descriptions of the field to include a long list of the various terms used to refer to DMs, such as that found in Fraser (1999: 932):

> [W]e find work on DMs done under a variety of labels including, but not limited to, cue phrases (Knott & Dale 1994), discourse connectives (Blakemore 1987; 1992), discourse operators (Redeker 1990; 1991), discourse particles (Schourup 1985), discourse signalling devices (Polanyi & Scha 1983), phatic connectives (Bazzanella 1990), pragmatic connectives (van Dijk 1979; Stubbs 1983), pragmatic expressions

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[4] The concept of sociality rights is presented by Spencer-Oatey as distinct from, but of equal importance to face, and refers to 'people's concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion and so on.' (2002: 540). They are made up of equity rights (the belief that we should be treated fairly; not exploited or controlled) and association rights (the belief that we are entitled to an appropriate type and amount of attention from others, depending on our relationship with them).

(Erman 1992), pragmatic formatives (Fraser 1987), pragmatic markers (Fraser 1988, 1990; Schiffrin 1987), pragmatic operators (Ariel 1994), pragmatic particles (Östman 1995), semantic conjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985), sentence connectives (Halliday & Hasan 1976).

There is therefore considerable debate over what constitutes a DM, with sub-categories such as connectives (e.g. *and* and *because*), and interjections (e.g. *er* and *damn*), excluded from some definitions: Pander Maat & Sanders (2006) and Kao (2011), for example, view DMs and connectives as separate categories, while Fraser (1990) draws a distinction between DMs and interjections.

There is also disagreement as to whether DMs constitute a distinct category in their own right. Hansen (1998: 357), for example, describes them as a 'function class' which does not constitute a grammatical category distinct from conjunctions, adverbials, etc. The multifunctionality of DMs is also problematic; indeed it may be the reason for the confusion over their definition (Fox Tree 2010: 270). Several attempts have been made at describing and classifying their various functions, e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen's (1994) three metafunctions; Brinton's (1996) textual and interpersonal functions; Cuenca's (2008) radial categories. This is further complicated by the fact that, as Schiffrin notes (1992: 362), 'most DMs frequently have several simultaneous functions'. She gives the example of *well*, which may at the same time signal both that H has begun his or her response, and H's attitude to what S has said.

In the light of this, I do not attempt to define DMs myself. Rather, I take as the object of my study two markers which have been previously documented as such: firstly, *enfin*, which has been the focus of a large number of studies including Beeching (2002), Hansen (2005a; 2005b) and Bertrand & Chanet (2005); see 4.1 for a full list. Secondly, I examine *écoute*, which has been researched by Dostie (1998; 2004; 2009), Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) and others, and belongs to a wider category known as *attention-getters*, which are particularly well-researched within the Romance Languages (see 6.1). The specific literature on *enfin* and *écoute* will be explored in more detail in chapters 4-6.

As mentioned in 1.1, I have chosen to interpret *discourse marker* as a broad umbrella term, and to use *pragmatic particle* more narrowly to refer to any DM with a facework function. In this sense I follow Beeching (2002: 53-54), when she says:

> We have decided to call the items pragmatic particles because politeness or tentativeness may be expressed through hedging, in other words through the pragmatic or expressive function rather than the referential discourse-marking function that such items may also adopt in a communicative context.

The specific ways in which *enfin* and *écoute* can function as a pragmatic particle are explored in chapters 4-6.

DMs can occur in different positions within the phrase: either medially, at the right periphery, or at the left periphery. Aijmer (1986: 121, cited in Traugott 2015) gives the example of the particularly flexible English DM *actually*, which can appear in any of the positions marked by arrows in the following sentence:

↓ She ↓ is ↓ not ↓ as pretty ↓ as ↓ she ↓ might↓ have↓ been↓

DMs can have different functions depending on whether they occur on the right or left periphery, and indeed their position in the phrase can evolve over time, with a trend towards the right periphery (Traugott forthcoming, cited in Traugott 2015). An important question to have been posed recently by scholars interested in this area is 'periphery of what?' (e.g. Beeching & Detges 2014; Traugott 2015). I do not attempt to answer that question here, but merely emphasise that, although I have followed other subtitling studies in transcribing the dialogue in my corpus using traditional punctuation, I recognise that these sentence divisions are relatively arbitrary. I therefore refer to *enfin* and *écoute* as utterance- or turn-initial and utterance- or turn-final (rather than sentence-initial or sentence-final).

Another area of syntactic research into DMs concerns the co-occurrence of markers. Studies in this area have broken new ground by examining collocations of established markers (as opposed to complex formulations such as *tu sais*, *je ne sais pas* and *je crois*, whose constituent parts do not

themselves constitute DMs, but which have long featured in DM research; Hancock & Sanell 2012: 303). It remains a relatively under-researched but developing area, particularly in relation to French. Indeed, Beeching (2009: 17) finds that rates of compound forms with *bon* are in fact increasing in spoken French, with a gradual rise in real time of their distributional frequency between 1968 and 2002. There have, of course, also been some investigations into the co-occurrence of DMs in other languages, e.g. Cuenca & Marín (2009) for Spanish and Catalan; Fraser (2013; 2015) for English.

The principal debate in these studies centres around the question of whether combinations, such as *bon ben*, *enfin bref* (Waltereit 2007) or *mais enfin* (Razgouliaeva 2002), constitute two separate DMs, or one new entity. Hansen (2008: 211) refers to this as a 'long-standing' debate between *compositional* and *holistic* analyses, with the compositional approach defined as one that 'assumes that each individual item contributes one of the senses it may have in isolation'. It is also called a 'summative' approach (Hancock & Sanell 2012: 310). A holistic approach, by contrast, is described by Hansen (ibid.) as:

> [O]ne which would assume that each of the clusters in question had been grammaticalized as a whole, and that, consequently, the meaning of the whole must be more than the sum of its parts.

Hansen argues for the former, on the grounds that *enfin* appears with a similar function in both combinations and solo occurrences. Similarly, Razgouliaeva (2002) argues in favour of combined DMs being viewed as independent markers, concluding in relation to *mais enfin*:

> Néanmoins, si on ne peut pas parler de l'indépendance d'emploi, étant donné qu'un connecteur ne peut pas toujours 'se passer' de l'autre, on peut affirmer que, dans tous les cas, les connecteurs gardent leur indépendance fonctionnelle. Autrement dit, ils n'agissent pas 'en bloc', l'action de chaque connecteur ayant son propre effet. (p. 167)

Waltereit (2007), on the other hand, takes a holistic view, seeing the formation of this type of complex DM as a result of what he terms *réitération*; that is, a separate pragmaticalisation process (see below) which can take place regardless of whether one or all of the items have undergone pragmaticalisation individually. There are not enough tokens in the present corpus to enable me to

make a satisfactory contribution to this debate; rather, I put forward some observations regarding the frequency and apparent function of those collocations which do occur (see 4.3; 5.3 and 6.3).

Another question surrounds the issue of primary and secondary markers in the combination, i.e. whether a compound form such as *mais enfin* should be considered a variant of *mais* or of *enfin*. This should not be confused with Fraser's (2015) discussion of combinations of primary and secondary markers within the categories of contrastive and implicative DMs, which refers to two subclasses within the main categories. Rather, I take primary and secondary here in terms of functional importance; that is, which DM should have the greater emphasis attributed to its role. Again, I do not attempt to answer this question here. Instead, I discuss in chapters 4-7 the various instances in the corpus where *enfin* and *écoute* appear in a compound form, irrespective of whether these may be considered variants of *enfin* and *écoute*, or of another item.

A lot of attention has been given to the evolution of DMs over time, referred to as *pragmaticalisation* or *grammaticalisation*. These are two similar but distinct processes (see, for example, Hansen 2008; Dostie 2009; Beeching 2010) which are often confused in the literature, although they can co-occur (Hansen 2008: 58). Hansen (ibid.: 55) explains that grammaticalisation is the process whereby items change their grammatical class:

> Thus, when function words evolve out of content words, when independent words are reduced to clitics and morphemes, and when creatively used and largely compositional discourse constructions turn into fixed syntactic structures, the resulting items and constructions have been subject to grammaticalization.

She gives the example (pp. 56-57) of the development of the French future tense from the Vulgar Latin use of *habeo* to express obligation in association with an infinitive, e.g. *cantare habet* ('s/he is obliged to sing') has become *il/elle chantera*. Pragmaticalisation, on the other hand, whilst also 'typically associated with the decategorization of the source item' (p. 59), involves the simultaneous gaining of pragmatic content and loss of truth-conditional content (p. 58). Similarly, Dostie (2009: 203), describes it as:

> [A] process of linguistic change in which a full lexical item (noun, verb, adjective or adverb) or grammatical item (coordinator, subordinator, etc.) changes category and status and becomes a pragmatic item, that is, an item which is not fully integrated into the syntactic structure of the utterance and which has a textual or interpersonal meaning.

DMs evolve through the pragmaticalisation of words belonging to a whole range of grammatical categories, including verbs, nouns, conjunctions and adverbs. *Ecoute*, like most attention-getters, has its roots in the imperative of a verb of perception, while the origins of *enfin* are in an adverb. Not all DM functions evolve at the same time (see 4.1.1 for illustrations of the historical evolution of *enfin*, for example). Indeed, Beeching refers to an *implicational hierarchy* in the evolution of new meanings, 'whereby certain senses cannot evolve without other previous steps' (2011: 101).

The cause of pragmaticalisation, as the name suggests, is linked to the pragmatic use of these items. Indeed, the relationship between DMs and the sub-field of pragmatics, politeness/facework, is well established. Beeching, in particular, has made many references to the link between these concepts, such as her (2002) book, and her articles on *quand même* (2005) and *quoi* (2006). In particular, she attributes pragmaticalisation to Wheeler's (1994) notion of the 'runaway feedback loop', whereby 'innovatory devices are created to mark intimacy' (2009: 4[5]). Other authors to have referred to or discussed DMs within a facework context include Jucker (1993), Brinton (1996; 2011), Tchizmarova (2005), Chodorowska-Pilch (2008) and Mattsson (2009).

By examining *enfin* and *écoute* in film dialogue, it is hoped that this study will expand our understanding of how these particles are used within a facework context. As is discussed in 3.1, a film corpus creates the potential for a larger range of situations and of pragmatic functions than can be found in a corpus of interviews; and chapters 4, 5 and 6 therefore shed some new light on these particles' facework functions. Facework in subtitling is also becoming an important area of research. In the next section (2.3) I will set out some background to the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT) Studies, before

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[5] I have cited the author's manuscript version of this article, available at http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/11420/, last accessed 15/06/2016

outlining in 2.4 some of the key research relating to the portrayal of facework strategies in subtitled films and TV programmes.

2.3 Audiovisual Translation (AVT) and Subtitling

Subtitling is defined by Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007: 8) as follows:

> [A] translation practice that consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image (letters, inserts, graffiti, inscriptions, placards, and the like), and the information that is contained on the soundtrack (song, voices off).

As has been well documented in the literature, subtitles provide only a partial translation of the source text (ST), as subtitlers are subject to a large number of constraints. The most notable of these is perhaps the shift in mode from speech to writing, which brings with it the loss of prosody and (social and regional) accents, the need for punctuation, the influence of the written norm, and the disparity between reading and listening speeds (which leads to strict limits on the number of characters allowed per line of translation).

In addition, the ST is available to the target language (TL) viewer, leaving the subtitler open to criticism from anyone with a working knowledge of the source language (SL), or indeed any viewer comparing the length of what they hear to the number of words appearing in the subtitles on screen. As Mason (2001: 9) puts it, 'All too often, judgements about inadequate, "stilted" or "insipid" subtitled versions of films are made by the film-going public in the absence of any appreciation of what is involved in the task, how it is done and what it aims to achieve.'

Increasing attention is being given by AVT researchers to the constraint of time pressure, and working conditions more generally. Subtitlers are often given extremely short deadlines for their translations, sometimes as little as a few hours at film festivals (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 39), and very low rates of pay – working conditions which seem to indicate a lack of respect for subtitlers. Whereas a literary translation will always prominently bear the name of the

translator, subtitled films or television programmes often do not credit the subtitler at all. In my corpus, for example (see 3.3 for an overview), six out of the nine films name the subtitler, and one credits the subtitling company. Neither the remaining two films nor the two television series in the corpus give any subtitling credit. Where it is given, in most cases the acknowledgement is displayed at the very end of the credits, where it is unlikely to be seen except when a viewer is specifically looking for this information. If subtitlers are treated as invisible workers, expected to turn out high volumes of work for little reward, then this can only have a negative impact on their self-esteem and job satisfaction, and therefore also on the quality of their work. Mattsson's (2009) doctoral investigation into DMs in English-Swedish subtitling found that within her corpus, subtitles produced in poorer working conditions had lower frequencies and variations in DMs, making the translations less reflective of real speech practice than those produced in better conditions.

This problem of subtitle quality is shown by the fact that for some of the subtitles discussed by Hatim & Mason (2000; see 2.4), better solutions could have been found within the space limits. For example, in one extract from *Un cœur en hiver* (Santet 1992), Camille's defiant 'Dites!' is subtitled as the far more encouraging 'Go on' (p. 436). This despite the fact that 'Say it!', which is the authors' gloss, would only have been two spaces[6] longer than the published translation (Connors 2012: 16) – hardly pushing the boundaries of the forty space limit common to many Latin alphabet subtitles (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 39). In my (2012) analysis of the subtitles in *Entre les murs*, I discussed this and other subtitle improvements, including example (7), below: (pp. 30-31):

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[6] Character limits in subtitling are described in terms of the number of 'spaces', a term which covers letters of the alphabet, punctuation marks, and single spaces between words.

(7)	ST:	Ce que vous allez faire pour commencer c'est que **vous allez sortir** une feuille, **vous allez la plier** en deux de sorte qu'elle puisse se tenir sur le bord de la table de façon apparente, et **vous allez écrire** en gros dessous votre nom et prénom.
	Published subtitles:	To start with, **take out** a sheet of paper, **fold** it in two so that it can stand on the edge of your desk, clearly visible, and, in block capitals, **write** your full name.
	Proposed subtitles:	First, **let's take out** a sheet of paper, **fold** it in two so that it can stand on the edge of the desk, clearly visible, and, nice and big, **write** our full name.

Entre les murs (6'30")

These words are spoken by the film's main character, French teacher François, who is addressing a class of thirteen and fourteen year olds. His teaching style is one of encouragement and mutual respect, and he tends to avoid imperatives in the ST, using them only if facing blatant rudeness from a student. In this example, his instructions to the class are issued in the form of near future constructions (highlighted in bold), a form of 'optimistic expression' which assumes compliance and implies mutual benefit to both S and H (Brown & Levinson 1987: 126). The published subtitles translate these near futures with imperatives, removing this appeal to positive face and making François appear a much stricter teacher. The target text (TT) that I propose instead uses the first person imperative, a concise grammatical form in English that also builds in the assumption of cooperation. The switch from 'your desk' and 'your full name' to 'the desk' and 'our full name' is a necessary consequence of this use of 'let's', while 'First' and 'nice and big' save space compared to 'To start with' and 'in block capitals'. Overall, the ST facework strategy has been preserved in the proposed TT, which, with a saving of nine spaces compared to the published subtitle (157 versus 166), also improves concision.

It is clear, therefore, that working conditions have an impact on subtitling quality, but they are not the sole reason for omissions or for poor translation of ST facework. There has long been a belief among subtitling scholars and industry practitioners that concision is so desirable that it should be encouraged even if a full translation will fit within the imposed space limits. Gottlieb (2004: 247), for example, argues that redundant material makes comprehension harder, and Antonini (2005: 213-4, cited in Chiaro 2009: 148) believes that syntax should be

simplified as part of the condensation process in order to make reading easier. Hatim & Mason (2000: 433) describe subtitles as 'a target language guide' rather than a full translation and, similarly, Pavlović (2003: 396) refers to them as 'a kind of "guide" or "summary"', with their brevity providing 'an exciting opportunity for close linguistic examination'. However, there is little empirical evidence to support the argument that shorter is always better (Kao 2011: 4), and redundant material often has important functions: enabling viewers (unable to backtrack as they might when reading a novel) to better pick up intended meaning (Hatim & Mason 2000: 430-31), and playing an important role in conveying pragmatic meaning, such as facework.

One of the principal arguments for reduction is the foreign viewer's access to the visual channel (and therefore gestures, facial expressions, etc.). However, this has been contested by some recent research. Perego (2009) advocates the 'codification of nonverbal information' i.e. the doubling in the subtitles of some information from other semiotic channels, such as gestures. She argues that, as viewers have to divide their time between not just watching and listening, but also reading, important information can be missed, and this should be reinforced in the written translation to help the viewer. Some subtitlers have already been putting this into practice: Perego cites, for example, a scene from *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (Minghella 1999) where the Italian subtitler has added 'No' to reinforce a pointed look of disapproval (p. 61). Similarly, Yuan (2012) supports the subtitling of paralinguistic cues, although not for the same reason: in her study of facework in Chinese-English subtitling, she finds that viewers watching a subtitled scene from a film based in a culture far-removed from their own were able to take in untranslated nonverbal information, but that this tended to be interpreted within their own cultural expectations and therefore led to confusion (see 2.4). Most interestingly, Romero Fresco's Accessible Filmmaking initiative, which integrates translation into the filmmaking process (rather than it being a part of the post-production process), is partly a response to the dismay expressed by some film directors when shown how much of their 'carefully framed shots' (2013a: 210) foreign audiences were missing whilst focussing on subtitles (2013b).

Reduction of the TT compared to the ST in subtitling is significant, having been measured as between 22% and 40% (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 148), with greater concision needed in faster-paced dialogues. The need for concision has led, understandably, to subtitling research being criticised for an over-emphasis on loss. Guillot (2007; 2010; 2012) argues that subtitles 'produc[e] their own systems of multimodal textual representation and modes of interpretation' (2012: 480). She gives the example of the film *Sur mes lèvres* (Audiard 2001), which features pronominal T/V shifts between the two main characters in nine different scenes; shifts that she believes are conveyed in the subtitles through register, form and punctuation, triggering different modes of interpretation for the viewer (2010). It is certainly true, given their character limits and written form, that subtitles have different resources on which to draw compared to the ST, and researchers should be aware that the absence of an equivalent DM, address pronoun, imperative, etc., does not necessarily mean the omission of a given facework strategy.

It is worth mentioning the emerging challenge to established conventions surrounding subtitle presentation. Improvements to technology have allowed character limits to be expanded, DVD limits for Latin alphabet subtitles being five to seven spaces longer than those for VHS (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 84). In addition, the rise of amateur subtitles (also known as fansubtitles or 'fansubs') following the increased availability of subtitling software, has led to the adoption by mainstream subtitlers of some innovative techniques. *Slumdog Millionaire* (Boyle & Tandan 2008), for example, featured passages in Hindi with the English subtitles presented in varying colours and screen positions. Other techniques used by amateur subtitlers include the use of different fonts, footnotes and subtitles blended into the picture: see Díaz Cintas & Muñoz Sánchez (2006) for more information on fansubbing. As noted by Künzli & Ehrensberger-Dow (2011: 198), young adults today have 'virtually grown up with audiovisual media', and 'established subtitling norms may not meet their needs, expectations and capacities in every respect'.

These new techniques offer considerable potential for better expression of ST facework than is found in current subtitling (see 2.4), and stand in sharp contrast to the established tendency of AV (audiovisual) translators to strive to

pass unnoticed by the viewer. This is traditionally achieved at least in part by the adoption of a domestication strategy, defined by Gartzonika & Şerban (2009: 245) as 'the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with the values, beliefs and conventions which pre-exist in the target language'. However, a move away from the goal of invisibility is arguably sensible, as persuading the viewer to forget that he or she is watching a translated text is one that can be difficult to achieve. There are several studies into 'dubbese' (e.g. Romero Fresco 2009c; Pavesi 2006) – a specific variety of language used in dubbed texts, which Heiss (2004: 211) describes as 'smoothed over and levelled out' – and swearwords have been evidenced as standing out in translation, either for being toned down or for not accurately reflecting contemporary speech practices (Mattsson 2006; Hjort 2009).

Another recent trend in this field has been the use of eye-tracking technology in order to assess how much time viewers spend looking at different parts of the subtitled image. Künzli & Ehrensberger-Dow's (2011) analysis of sub- and surtitles, for instance, led the authors to suggest that titles should regularly change their position on the screen in order to allow viewers to take in more of the nonverbal visuals as their eyes sweep the screen, searching for the next title. A number of eye-tracking studies are brought together in Perego (2012), who has also employed this research technique herself (Perego *et al.* 2010). Linked to this is the increasing attention being afforded to the viewer in audience reception studies (e.g. Caffrey 2008; 2009; Yuan 2010; 2012; Künzli & Ehrensberger-Dow 2011; Kao 2011). This form of empirical study is very welcome in a field which has, like politeness/facework investigations, had a tendency to rely on the researcher's perception as a native speaker. Finally, some researchers are beginning to take into account the view of the subtitler when analysing his or her output. This is the approach taken by Silvester (forthcoming), for example, whose research into subtitled films of the *banlieue* is incorporating email correspondence with the subtitler of *Entre les murs*.[7]

In the next section, I will present in more detail some of the key work that has been done on facework in subtitling.

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[7] Personal communication with Hannah Silvester

2.4 Facework in Audiovisual Translation

As mentioned in 1.2, facework in audiovisual translation was first and most notably examined by Hatim & Mason (2000). They looked at differences in facework between the French dialogue and English subtitles for the 1992 film *Un Cœur en Hiver* (Santet); a film chosen because of its theme of 'establishment, maintenance and modification of personal relationships and the ways in which these are or are not made explicit in language', as well as the 'many incidents of verbal sparring, in which characters on screen seek to get the better of each other, impose their will or improve their image among others present' (p. 435). The authors found striking differences in, among other things, lexical selection, intonation/punctuation, directness, irony, and personal pronouns. An example is given in (8), below (Hatim & Mason give an English gloss in square brackets for each line):

(8)		**French dialogue**	**Subtitle**
	Camille:	Ça vous convient ? *[Does that suit you?]*	Like it?
	Stéphane:	Oui, m… *[Yes, b…]*	Yes, but…
	Camille:	Dites. *[Say it]*	Go on.
	Stéphane:	Vous n'avez pas joué un peu vite ? *[Didn't you play rather fast?]*	You took it a bit fast.
	Camille:	Si. Vous voulez l'entendre à sa vitesse. *[Yes. You wish to hear it at its normal pace.]*	Yes. You want to hear it at the right tempo?

(Hatim & Mason 2000: 436)

Hatim & Mason explain that Camille's stance in the ST is very confrontational, and that she is unafraid of bald, on-record statements. Stéphane, on the other hand, adopts an off-record strategy, avoiding stating an opinion: first by trailing off, and then by phrasing his utterance as a question. In the subtitles, however, the roles appear reversed: Stéphane has become far more sure of himself, stating 'You took it a bit fast', and completing the word 'but', while Camille's questions and use of 'Go on' make her seem much more encouraging (2000: 436-38). The authors' approach is to look at dialogue sequences as a whole (something Mason terms the 'text act'; 2001: 20), rather than focusing on

individual lines – or speech acts – within the scene. Overall, Stéphane is generally shown as more assertive in the English, and Camille as more conciliatory.

The authors speculate that differences such as these could potentially change the foreign audience's understanding of the characters and relationships on screen, concluding that the relationship between ST and TT politeness is not purely one of omission, but also of distortion. They argue that although some interpersonal meaning could be retrieved from facial expression and gesture, 'if indicators of politeness in the target text are at variance with those suggested by the moving image, then a discordance is created which may need more processing time to resolve than the cinema audience has available to it' (p. 438). However, not every change in the subtitles is necessarily negative. There are occasions in the film when the TT actually strengthens the politeness strategies in the soundtrack, such as when an omission of a mitigator heightens a power differential (p. 442).

Hatim & Mason are overall very sympathetic to the subtitler, noting that subtitling is a form of translation 'intended to be partial and […] normally "consumed" in real time' (p. 444), and that 'the particular constraints under which the film subtitler works make it impossible for all of the meaning values perceived in the source language soundtrack to be relayed' (p. 433). They note the difficulty of some of the translation problems posed by the ST, which are often issues common to all forms of translation (such as personal pronouns), but which at other times are a result of subtitling's unique constraints (as is the case for fast-paced dialogue). The authors are also very keen to emphasise that their analysis should not be taken as a 'phrase-by-phrase comparison of source text and target text for the purpose of translation criticism' (ibid.). Rather, they state that their interest lies in finding patterns in translations. In a later article, Mason describes subtitles 'not as a "summary" of the source (that is, a more or less equal reduction of all effects), but more as a "selective reduction" (that is, the preference for relaying certain communicative effects over others)' (2001: 20). With regard to the communicative effects that are favoured, Hatim & Mason suggest that subtitlers prioritise the viewer's need for coherence over the fictional characters' need to address each other's 'face-wants' (p. 435). They

refer to their results as 'initial evidence' (p. 433) and call for empirical research into other languages and audience reactions.

Hatim & Mason's general findings are echoed by Pavlović (2003), in her analysis of the American hospital drama *ER* and its Croatian subtitles. She is similarly sympathetic to the subtitler's task, viewing her results as 'a small contribution to the understanding of the translation process' rather than a criticism of the subtitling she examines (p. 396). She highlights the wordiness of facework (contrasting a seventy-five-word dialogue with its underlying seven-word message, 'Pay $2300 for Reese's hearing aid. –OK.'; p. 393) and thus the inevitability of the loss of facework features in subtitling. However, she also stresses that many facework features are in fact preserved, and describes the impressions American and Croatian viewers are likely to form of the characters as only 'subtly different' (p. 396).

A far more detailed analysis of facework in subtitling is provided by Chun (2011). Chun uses a corpus of two Japanese animated films directed by Miyazaki – *Spirited Away* (2001) and *Ponyo on the Cliff by the Sea* (2008) – to compare the translation of facework in the Chinese subtitles and (Cantonese) dubbing. Like Pavlović, she views any conclusion that politeness features are generally eliminated as over simplistic, stating instead that there is a good range of facework strategies shown in both the subtitled and dubbed texts (p.173). However, she does find that the dubbed translation is able to include a greater range of facework features, due to the lesser time and space constraints compared to the subtitles. Chun also echoes Hatim & Mason's finding that some facework omissions can be attributed to general translation difficulties (ibid.), noting indirect expressions and honorifics as two aspects of Japanese which cannot be easily rendered in the TL.

Chun's analysis was informed by her earlier (2009) study in which she used a questionnaire to collect Japanese and Chinese facework markers considered appropriate by native speakers (thirty Japanese and one hundred Cantonese) in ten comparable contexts. This meant that, unlike Hatim & Mason and Pavlović, Chun's judgements were not based purely on her own intuition as a native speaker, but backed up by empirical evidence. Another interesting difference is

the quality of the translated texts in her corpus. Whereas Hatim & Mason chose *Un cœur en hiver* partly for the quality of its subtitling, Chun's corpus shows several translation errors, in both the dubbed and subtitled versions, which she blames on the increasingly short time-frame in which AV translators are being required to complete their work (2011: 175). However, as the errors are described as mostly concerning semantic meaning or tenses (ibid.), they on the whole can be said not affect the translation of politeness.

As mentioned in 2.3, Hatim & Mason's findings have been challenged by Guillot (e.g. 2010), who argues that subtitles should be considered 'from a perspective that integrates a cognitive dimension' (p. 88), taking into account:

> [T]he different frames of reference likely to inflect responses, including audiences' own frames of linguistic and cultural reference and their assumptions about the source language and culture, and the cultural asynchrony between subtitles and the film's other (visual and aural) semiotic systems, a further key factor involved in shaping the value of textual cues. (p. 89)

Guillot also repeats Hatim & Mason's call for audience reception studies, something which was realised the same year, in Yuan's (2010) PhD research into Chinese and American films and their subtitles (published in 2012). This project investigated facework differences across a much bigger cultural divide than Hatim & Mason's or even Pavlović's study. Yuan examined in depth the facework markers present in the dialogues and subtitles of three American and three Chinese film scenes, with the American films subtitled into Chinese, and the Chinese films into English. Her corpus was composed of six scenes in which a significant shift in interpersonal relationships took place, with the scenes arranged into three pairs with comparable relationship developments:

- a meeting between an employer and employee, degenerating into an angry confrontation, in *Kramer vs Kramer* (Benton 1979) and *A Symphony of Cooking Utensils* ('锅碗瓢盆交响曲', Wenji: 2008);

- power struggles in *Erin Brockovich* (Soderergh 2000) and *Fatal Decision* ('生死抉择', Benzheng Yu 2000);

- meetings in which one character is suspicious of another's motives in *There Will Be Blood* (Anderson 2007) and *Fatal Decision*.

After analysing the facework of both the ST and subtitles for each scene, and finding significant loss or misrepresentation of facework in translation, Yuan tested her analyses by means of an audience response study. Using a combination of a written questionnaire and face-to-face interview, she surveyed twelve participants (six Chinese and six British), who had no working knowledge of the other language, on their understanding of two of the film scenes analysed: one American and one Chinese. For each scene, the native viewers gave accounts of the characters' personality, goals and motivations which for the most part matched Yuan's analysis. However, they were significantly different from the accounts given by the non-native viewers, who 'produced significantly different impressions of the interlocutors' personality, attitude and interactional intentions as well as of the nature of the relationship and power relations between the interlocutors' (p. 215). Interestingly, as noted in 2.3, the participants quoted examples of facial expressions and gestures when justifying their interpretations. This indicates that such paralinguistic cues do not necessarily aid understanding for the foreign viewer, as has often been assumed, but can in fact hinder understanding. She recommends that 'subtitles compensate for potential misunderstandings of visual elements by representing face features in them,' but concedes that 'this may not be easy given the spatial and temporal constraints' (p. 220).

Yuan found that in each group of six participants, five agreed with her analysis while one gave a strikingly different interpretation. In each case, she postulates personal background as accounting for the difference in perception. She notes that in the interview, the anomalous British viewer mentions having had an experience similar to the American scene taken from *Kramer vs Kramer* (which depicts an employee being taken out to lunch by his boss in order to be told he is being made redundant), and would most likely therefore have been projecting the memories of his own feelings onto the character, Ted (p. 196). Similarly, she suggested the anomalous Chinese participant's account of the scene from *Fatal Decision* was likely due to his self-confessed insufficient knowledge of communist power hierarchies, which caused him to read too much into the

information that the Mayor had had a shortcut to the top (p. 206). In terms of the subtitles, Yuan again found one divergent result in each group. For the stand-out British viewer, this appeared to be linked to knowledge of the source culture: he had spent a lot of time with Chinese friends and was more adept at interpreting their body language. However, not all of his judgements aligned with those of the Chinese native speakers. The anomalous Chinese result, on the other hand, did not have an obvious explanation and, according to Yuan, 'demonstrates that cultural variables may not be absolutely distinct' (p. 200).

As was noted by Casas-Tost (2013: 155) in her review of Yuan's study, the researcher's decision to use British participants as the native audience for American films is problematic, due to the considerable cultural differences between US and UK culture. However, this remains a very valuable study, and one which bears repeating with a larger group of participants; the sample size was small here as 'the tests [were] intended to be exploratory' (p. 82). It would also be interesting to conduct a similar study with different language pairings in order to see if the findings hold for combinations where the cultural difference is much smaller. Crucially though, Yuan's results give credence to previous research into facework in subtitling, indicating that this is a worthwhile area of study for future researchers, as it does have a real impact on viewers' comprehension of dialogue.

Yuan's study was the first to give any real attention to other aspects of the visual channel, beyond the subtitles themselves; it took gestures, facial expressions and so on into account far more rigorously than had been done by Hatim & Mason, Pavlović or Chun. These visual elements take an even more central role in another study, Bączowska's (forthcoming) article *Multimodal Analysis of Im/Politeness in Subtitles*. Here, Bączowska analyses the politeness strategies present in the visuals, English text and Polish subtitles of four scenes taken from the UK reality series *Would Like to Meet* (2004-2007). The study is not as wide-ranging as Yuan's, as it is intended as a sample analysis to demonstrate the possibilities for using a multimodal method in AVT studies. Bączowska suggests that in some cases the visuals are able to compensate for omissions in the subtitles, but that on other occasions this information occurs in the English dialogue only (e.g. sympathy expressed verbally, but not through

gestures such as raising or knitting of eyebrows: pp. 8-9), or the extralinguistic signs conflict with the Polish subtitles (e.g. subtitle inviting person B to try person A's food first, while the visuals show person A sampling person B's food, making it appear B has imposed his own idea without first acknowledging A's suggestion: pp. 15-16). Bączowska certainly makes an important point that 'the adequacy of subtitles can be, and should be, evaluated not only against the original text, i.e. verbal information, but should also consider nonverbal signals, as both images and nonverbal behaviour constitute a rich source of information which contributes towards the emergence of the overall message with equal force' (p. 20).

All of the studies described thus far have been generalistic in their approach, but there has also been some more targeted research into specific areas of facework within subtitling. Most notably, Gartzonika & Şerban (2009) focused on the English translation of swearing in the Greek film *Λούφα και Παραλλαγή* ('Loafing and Camouflage'; Nikos Perakis, 1984). The authors find a general trend for the addition or literal translation of offensive language, which heighten FTAs in the English subtitles compared to the original Greek. This is at odds with the usual trend for swearwords being deliberately toned down by subtitlers (p. 247, cf. Mattsson 2006; Hjort 2009), due to their apparently stronger effect in writing than in speech, and creates some odd reading for the English-speaking viewer. For example, a soldier reunited with his babies affectionately referring to them as 'little whores' (p. 248).

Gartzonika & Şerban argue, however, that what may appear to be instances of poor management of cross-cultural pragmatic differences may in fact be examples of foreignisation aimed at a particular target audience group, i.e. male Greek immigrants in Britain and the US. These viewers would likely have a good understanding of Greek culture, but an imperfect grasp of the language, and would therefore only require the subtitles as a linguistic aid, without the need for any domestication. Whilst the authors admit that this theory cannot be proven, they do raise the important point of the heterogeneity of audiences, stating that 'some subtitling decisions work better for certain audiences […] subtitles which feel offensive, intrusive or difficult to understand for some viewers may actually be acceptable to others' (p. 250).

Other studies have looked at, for example, advice and requests (Pinto 2010a; 2010b); compliments (Bączkowska & Kieś 2012; Bruti 2006; 2009a; 2014); and vocatives (Bruti & Perego 2005; 2008). Studies in dubbing have been far more limited, but include Marottini's (2012) investigation of vocatives, diminutives and swearwords; Bonsignori, Bruti & Masi's (2011) examination of greetings and leave-takings; and Bruti's (2009b) study of compliments and insults. The research on DMs in AVT will be addressed in 7.1.

2.5 Summary and Research Questions

As outlined above, facework theory is a useful tool for understanding the ways in which relationships are negotiated throughout our interactions, and PPs can be interpreted as a means of mitigating, or, indeed, committing face-threatening acts (more information on this is given in chapters 4-6). Due to the various constraints of subtitling, such as viewer reading speeds and the influence of the written norm, facework strategies, including the use of PPs, can suffer significant distortion, mainly through reduction in translation.

Like the studies listed at the end of the previous section, the present research is a targeted study into one specific aspect of facework in subtitling, namely the PPs *enfin* and *écoute*. Moreover, the project investigates the use of these particles in film dialogue, in order to broaden our understanding of these items in everyday French, by providing a wider range of situations than would be encountered in a corpus of face-to-face interviews. However, the research does note some differences in *enfin* and *écoute* use between film dialogue and authentic speech, notably in their relative frequencies.

In the light of the above discussion, the research questions in this thesis are as follows:

1. What is the frequency of *enfin* and *écoute* in the corpus, and how does this compare to other corpora?
2. What are the functions of *enfin* and *écoute* in the corpus, and how do these compare to those described in the literature?

3. Is a film corpus a useful means of investigating DM use in spoken French?

4. Which strategies are used in the corpus to translate *enfin* and *écoute* in the subtitles, and how successful are they?

5. How frequently are *enfin* and *écoute* omitted from the subtitles? Are there any patterns to these omissions?

6. To what extent can the omissions be attributed to technical constraints? What other explanations might there be for untranslated DMs in the corpus?

The methods and corpus used to answer these questions are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 – Corpus and Methods

In the previous chapter I set out the research questions for the thesis, which covered the frequency and functions of *enfin* and *écoute* in a film corpus, and their treatment in the corresponding English subtitles. There now follows an overview of the corpus and methods used to answer these questions. Beginning with a justification of my choice of a film corpus to explore the use of the French pragmatic particles *enfin* and *écoute* in 3.1, I then move on to describe the initial scoping exercise undertaken in preparation for the research in 3.2, before presenting an overview of the corpus in 3.3, and, finally, setting out my transcription code in 3.4.

3.1 Film Dialogue

Although the motivation for the choice of film corpus[8] over other types of data collection was primarily to facilitate the study of the subtitling of *enfin* and *écoute*, the data does, in my view, also provide a useful resource for studying the use of these particles in spoken French. This is not an entirely new approach; linguistic studies which have previously used dialogues from a film corpus rather than spontaneous speech recordings include Abecassis (2005), Fiévet & Podhorna-Policka (2008), Quaglio (2009), Forchini (2012), Bedijs (2012) and Dekhissi (2013; 2015).

The approach is not without criticism. Taylor, for example, describes film dialogue as 'inauthentic' (2004: 76), stating that 'it is now well known, especially in screen translation circles, that film scripts generally fall short of capturing the varied and subtle characteristics of spontaneous dialogue' (p. 71). Countering that view are those scholars (e.g. Biagini 2010: 20; Levshina forthcoming: 2) who have cited Chaume's term 'prefabricated orality' (2001: 78), a notion that Biagini (ibid.) develops when she argues that:

> Bien que ces dialogues ne soient pas de l'oral authentique et spontané, dans le cadre de la fiction filmique, ils constituent de véritables discours

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[8] An overview of the films and television episodes which make up the present corpus is presented in Table 1 (see 3.3).

en interaction, articulés dans toutes leurs composantes: verbale, prosodique, mimique, etc.

Similarly, Levshina (ibid.) states that 'screenplay writers try to create film dialogues such that viewers would recognise them as true-to-life speech.' Furthermore, in line with Taylor's argument that 'a film's authenticity can be judged by how successfully it convinces the audience that it is real' (ibid.: 76), Dekhissi (2013: 77) assembled a long list of media quotations indicating the overwhelmingly positive evaluations of the authenticity of the language used in her *cinéma de banlieue* corpus. This was a corpus of films largely devised through improvisation, and it should be acknowledged that the same authenticity may not apply to heavily scripted films. Nevertheless, film dialogues in general constitute a useful resource for researchers, for reasons I expand on below.

Degand (2015) proves the frequency of non-relational DMs[9], such as *enfin*, as a reliable test for orality, with higher frequencies being characteristic of unplanned discourse. By this measure, the films in the present corpus fall short of matching the authenticity of spoken corpora, with a total of 119 tokens of *enfin* across the twenty-two and half hours of film, compared to 432 tokens in Beeching's seventeen-hour Bristol corpus[10]. The story is very different, however, if we look at the low-frequency marker, *écoute*. The corpus contains forty-eight tokens, compared to just thirteen in the Bristol corpus. This is because they are highly situation-specific (Degand: 2015) and, as Dekhissi notes (2013: 74):

> [L]es films sont un condensé de tout ce qui peut se passer sur une période plus ou moins longue et de ce fait, les formes expressives sont relativement fréquentes.

Bonsignori *et al.* (2012) note in particular the high frequency of greetings and leave-takings in films, and indeed this was a frequent context for tokens of *écoute* in the present corpus; roughly 30% of tokens could be said to have an

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[9] Relational DMs are connectives, i.e. those which signal a 'sequential relation between discourse units' (Haselow 2015: 180), whereas non-relational DMs do not signal such a relationship. The *Model for Discourse Marker Annotation (MDMA)* website cites *donc* and *parce que* as example of relational DMs, and *eh ben* and *tu vois* as non-relational examples.

[10] Available at <http://www1.uwe.ac.uk/cahe/research/bristolcentreforlinguistics/iclru.aspx>, accessed 10 March 2014

interaction-closing function (see 6.1.4). Furthermore, in their research into *écoute* in reported speech, Diwersy & Grutschus (2014: 58) say of *écoute*2 (*écoute* used as a reproach; see 6.1.1) that:

> [C]omme ce type d'emploi implique une interaction non-verbale qui le précède, il est difficile (voire impossible) d'en trouver une occurrence dans un corpus oral classique.

Such a high concentration of this particular particle in a film corpus may not be strictly authentic, but it is very useful from a practical point of view: it allows the researcher to gather a far larger number of tokens than he or she would be able to collect via spoken interviews. Indeed, Diwersy & Grutschus – to date the only other corpus-based research into *écoute* – also use a corpus that is at least partly audiovisual. *C-ORAL-COM* (Cresti & Moneglia 2005) is made up of a mixture of formal and informal conversations in a range of contexts (e.g. political speeches, private family discussions and telephone conversations), and media recordings (interviews, weather forecasts, news bulletins, documentaries, science and sport programmes, and talk shows).

Another point which can be made is that although film scripts are 'inevitably false to some degree' (Taylor 2004: 76), they are nevertheless composed by real speakers, to be spoken by other, real speakers, with input from a wide variety of agents, including the producer, director and actors. They are, in fact, 'des discours oraux représentés' (Biagini: ibid.; cf. Dekhissi 2015: 4). Whether or not they represent authentic language use, they can tell us a lot about speakers' *perceptions* of how they use language. Another reason for the increased frequency of *écoute* relative to spoken corpora may be its salience; while *enfin* is often reduced to a single syllable ('*fin*) and could be interpreted as indicating weakness (by showing reformulation, trailing off or a highly charged exclamation), *écoute* tends to be far more distinct in its pronunciation and is used in a deliberate attempt to display or reassert control. The pragmatic functions of *enfin* are also apparently more complex, with *écoute* serving more simply and obviously as an 'appel à la raison' (Rodríguez Somolinos 2003).

The collaborative process by which film scripts are created and edited blurs the boundaries somewhat between improvised and scripted dialogue. *Entre les*

murs is the only film in the present corpus which is known to be almost entirely improvised. It bears little resemblance to the published script, and the film's creators – François Bégaudeau and Laurent Cantet – have spoken in interviews about the workshop-based filming process (e.g. Mangeot 2008). However, many of the other films and television shows in the corpus are likely to have had input from agents other than the scriptwriter in creating the dialogue. *Engrenages*, for instance, is partially improvised (Chrisafis 2011). Taylor (2004) attests to the naturalising of film dialogue during filming, comparing frequencies of ten DMs, six hedges and eleven question tags in the scripts and finished dialogues for *Notting Hill* (Michell 1999) and an unspecified American crime series. He finds that 'the actors simulate reality and actually add, remove and bend the original, behaving as they would if they were actually in that context' (p. 80). Moreover, Romero Fresco (2009b) finds in his comparison of the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* and the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)*[11], that although the TV programme had a lower frequency of DMs than the spoken corpus, qualitatively the use was very similar (see 7.1.3). The finding is also confirmed by Forchini (2010b) in her study of *you know* and *I mean* in American English.

This does not seem to apply across the board, however. *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* and *Les Revenants*, for example, are two productions in my corpus which both rely heavily on suspense and periods of silence, yet which have a very different approach to replicating authenticity, with the former boasting far more natural-sounding dialogue than the latter. This is mainly a response to the content; *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* centres around the development and exploration of relationships, while *Les Revenants* is closer in feel to a horror film. *Home* also appears to retain the 'clean' character of the written script for stylistic reasons; it has the fewest DMs of all the films in the corpus (no tokens of *enfin* and one of *écoute*), and does not aim for realism – linguistic or otherwise – having as it does an ending that is very much open to artistic interpretation.

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[11] Available at <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>

All in all, while film dialogue may not be strictly authentic, it can therefore be a valuable resource for DM researchers. It provides easy access to a wide range of contexts and scenarios and, in relation to low frequency DMs such as *écoute*, allows for a much more concentrated set of tokens than could be achieved through other methods of data collection.

In the next section I give some information about the initial scoping exercise conducted using the film *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime*, with the aim of investigating the suitability of a film corpus as a data source for the study into French PPs.

3.2 Scoping Exercise

Before beginning the work of compiling the film corpus, I first carried out a scoping exercise for DMs suitable for analysis due to frequency of distribution. This was conducted using the film *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* (Claudel 2008), released in the UK as 'I've Loved You So Long', a film which was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, it fitted the criteria used in previous studies into facework in subtitling (Hatim & Mason 2000: 435; Yuan 2012: 78) as a) it is a major feature film of contemporary French cinema, having won fourteen awards (IMDb.com) and grossed more than twenty-two million dollars worldwide (Boxofficemojo.com), and b) the plot centres on 'the establishment, maintenance and modification of personal relationships' (Hatim & Mason ibid.). Secondly, it was a test for the feasibility of a study focusing purely on PPs. Mattsson (2009) had already shown the study of DMs in subtitling to be feasible when using English as the source language, but the number of French films available to a UK audience is far more limited (see 3.3), so it was necessary to test whether those films which were available would indeed be a rich source of data. Furthermore, it was important to investigate the relative frequencies and functions of different particles in French cinema, in order to best choose particles for study.

Since *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* is a film which contains long periods where no words are spoken, there was a fear that there would not be enough dialogue in films of this genre for the research to be successful. Happily, though, this fear

proved to be unfounded, as the film contained a promising range of DMs –
including, among others, *bon*, *ben*, *enfin*, *écoute*, *tu sais*, *tu vois*, *quoi*, *hein*,
quand même and *alors* – with upwards of twelve tokens each of the most
frequently occurring markers detected on the initial viewing, *bon*, *ben* and *enfin*
(the actual totals for *bon* and *ben* are likely to be higher; see 8.2). Initially, it was
difficult to establish how many of these DM tokens constituted PPs. However,
from those that were easily identifiable as having a facework role, it was clear
that there would be a good number of tokens to analyse, even in a highly
scripted film with sustained periods of silence. This was an encouraging signal
that a wide variety of films – with both scripted and improvised dialogue – could
be included in the study. In the end, I also decided to broaden the scope of the
corpus beyond films whose plot centred around relationships, in order to
examine the role of the chosen particles across a greater range of situations.
Details of the corpus can be found in 3.3.

The scoping exercise did indicate some potential problems, for instance the
frequency of the co-occurrence of DMs (as discussed in 2.2) needed some
consideration. It could also be difficult to distinguish certain markers when
characters were speaking quickly, at the same time as another character, or in
a relatively indistinct manner. *Ecoute* was therefore a logical particle to begin
with, as it is easily identifiable, compared to some other DMs. It is also an
interesting particle, having never been researched within a facework context
before and, despite its relative infrequency, there were three tokens found in *Il y
a longtemps que je t'aime*. *Enfin* also appeared to be a worthwhile topic of
study, with nineteen tokens which exhibited a variety of functions. Although not
as obvious to the ear as *écoute*, it is still relatively easy to hear (as opposed to,
say, *ben*, which is often hard to distinguish from *ah*). Considered a high-
frequency marker in spontaneous French, *enfin* provided a useful contrast with
écoute: although significantly more common in *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime*,
enfin was not as frequently occurring as one might expect from looking at
spoken corpora – 19 tokens in the 113 minutes of film compared to 175 in
Barnes' (1995) corpus of a similar length (see 4.1.3.) – suggesting a difference
in perception of the two markers, or of their relative usefulness or importance in
speech, on the part of the script writer.

In the next section I present an overview of the film corpus.

3.3. Corpus Overview

For this study I created a corpus of roughly twenty-two and a half hours of French films and TV programmes, available on DVD in the UK. Recent films and programmes were selected to ensure relevance to current subtitling practice, with all material having been produced between 2005 and 2015. As there are very few studies which examine DMs in film dialogue and/or AVT, it was difficult to be sure of what constituted a reasonable size of corpus. The most high-profile studies into DMs in subtitling – articles by Chaume (2004) and Biagini (2010) – have been on a much smaller scale, and consequently draw on small corpora: one and four films respectively. PhD theses seem to favour the number ten: Mattsson (2009) analyses ten films, each with four different sets of subtitles, and Kao (2011) opts for ten one-hour television programmes. Turning to dubbing, Romero Fresco (2009b) draws on two different television corpora: a parallel corpus of forty-eight episodes of *Friends* dubbed into Spanish (totalling 17.6 hours for each language), and a comparable, untranslated corpus of twenty-six episodes of the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* (21.7 hours). Although this is a large data set, of the three corpora, only the episodes of *Siete Vidas* had to be transcribed manually. Unofficial transcripts for *Friends* were available online, which needed only light editing via spot checks (p. 104). Similarly, Taylor (2004: 77-78) describes a study carried out on DMs in film dialogue at the University of Trieste, which used a corpus of fifty films. However, this was composed of scripts rather than transcribed dialogue, and will probably have differed from the recorded production in terms of markers of naturalness such as DMs, hedges and question tags (see 3.1).

There is a published French-English subtitling corpus available online (Tiedemann 2012), although the website is not particularly easy to navigate and accessing the files requires a degree of technical expertise. This corpus was used by Degand[12] in her (2015) plenary conference paper at the Fourth International Symposium of Romance Discourse Markers, however, it was

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[12] Degand uses a set of subtitles downloaded by Levshina (2016), which is itself a subcorpus of the online subtitling data.

deemed not suitable for the current study for a number of reasons. The issue of user-friendliness of the *OPUS* website aside, the main problem lies in the make-up of the corpus, which is composed purely of subtitles (intra- and interlingual). That is, there is no transcription of the original dialogue. Another problem is that the subtitles are taken from the website www.opensubtitles.org, which works via crowdsourcing, meaning the researcher has very little information about the provenance of the subtitles, or guarantees as to their quality. I therefore took the decision to build my own corpus of French cinema and television episodes, professionally subtitled for British audiences. Editions with British English subtitles have been selected where available[13], but many films have been released with only one English language edition, which may be either British or American English, meaning it was not possible to create a corpus consisting entirely of British English subtitles.

Another consideration in determining the corpus was the aim of the research. Most of the previous studies have looked at a larger number of DMs than the two that are the focus of the present work. Chaume (2004) looked at six markers, and Mattsson (2009) four, while Biagini (2010) has a much broader view, examining the treatment of DMs in general within her corpus. Kao (2011) and Romero Fresco (2009b) also look at a wide range of markers, both focusing on DM categories: Kao divides her 1641 connective tokens into additives, adversatives, causals and temporals, while Romero Fresco looks at various hesitation and self-repair markers, transition markers, pre-closing markers, attention-getters and epistemic markers. The emphasis of the three PhD theses (Mattsson, Kao and Romero Fresco) is primarily quantitative, so there is an understandable need for large amounts of data. The present study has more of a qualitative focus, so I have not needed to gather as many tokens as some previous researchers.

At just under twenty-two and a half hours[14], my corpus is roughly the same length as Romero Fresco's 'comparable' corpus (*Siete Vidas*), and is made up

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[13] For example, for *Entre les murs*, which has two English language DVD editions available: Artificial Eye, primarily targeted at a UK audience, and Sony, aimed at the US.
[14] Twenty-two hours and twenty-two minutes, according to box timings for the films, and rounding each of the eight TV episodes to fifty minutes.

of nine films and eight television episodes. It is longer than Romero Fresco's parallel corpus (*Friends*), as well as Mattsson and Kao's two corpora. However, it should be noted that Mattsson included four different TTs for each film and transcribed the corpus in full, whereas the present corpus includes only one TT, and the transcriptions are limited to short scenes providing context for tokens of *écoute* and *enfin*. Unlike any of the previous studies, the source language in my study is not English, and this has restricted the material available for selection in my corpus. British audiences do not tend to favour subtitled content, as both the UK and US have strong film industries and a range of high quality English-language television output. Foreign language cinema tends, therefore, to be restricted to art-house audiences, apart from the occasional mainstream hit, such as *Amélie* (Jeanet 2004), *The Passion of the Christ* (Gibson 2004) or *Pan's Labyrinth* (del Toro 2006). There is, however, an increasing interest in European drama series, (Jones 2013; Gilbert 2014), and for this reason I have chosen to include eight television episodes alongside the nine films in this corpus: four each from the first series of both *Engrenages* ('Spiral'), which aired in the UK on BBC4, and *Les Revenants* ('The Returned'), shown on Channel 4. The number of episodes was restricted to four per programme so as not to skew the corpus, whilst at the same time allowing for a rich and varied source of data. More details about the corpus can be seen in Table 1.

One of the core aims of the study was to investigate the use of *écoute* in French screen dialogue, a particle which is relatively infrequently-occurring (see 6.1.3). As such, the corpus does not represent a random sample, but rather is made up of films and programmes selected for their inclusion of the particle. That said, during the process of building the corpus, I only viewed three films which did not contain any instances of *écoute*: *Paris je t'aime* (various directors 2006), *Dans Paris* (Honoré 2006), and *Les Chansons d'amour* (Honoré 2007). The only exception to this criterion is the series *Les Revenants*: once it was established that *écoute* was used in the series, the decision was made to include the same number of episodes in the corpus as for *Engrenages*, despite the particle not occurring in every episode. I aimed to collect fifty tokens of *écoute*, and the final corpus has forty-eight. This is very close to the total recorded by Diwersy & Grutschus (2014) – fifty-two tokens – for the *C-ORAL-ROM* corpus (see 6.1.1).

Film / programme	English title	Director/Creator	Year	British DVD edition	Subtitling credit[15]
Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis[16]	–	Dany Boon	2008	–	Michael Katims, C.M.C.
Contre toi	'In Your Hands'	Lola Doillon	2010	Artificial Eye, 2012	Rosemary Ricchio, B.B.COM - Paris
De rouille et d'os	'Rust and Bone'	Jacques Audiard	2012	Studiocanal, 2013	Andrew Litvack, C.M.C. - Paris
Engrenages, series 1 (episodes 1-4)	'Spiral'	Alexandra Clert & Guy-Patrick Sainderichin	2005	BBC, 2008	–
Entre les murs	'The Class'	Laurent Cantet	2008	Artificial Eye, 2009	–
Home	'Home'	Ursula Meier	2008	Soda Pictures, 2009	Arethusa Plouïdy, edited by Yasmeen Khan
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime	'I've Loved You So Long'	Philippe Claudel	2008	Lionsgate, 2009	Titra Films
Intouchables	'Untouchable'	Olivier Nakache & Eric Toledano	2011	The Weinstein Company, 2012	Ian Burley, LVT - Paris
Les Revenants, series 1 (episodes 1-4)	'The Returned'	Fabrice Gobert	2012	Universal, 2013	–
Ne le dis à personne	'Tell No One'	Guillaume Canet	2006	Universal, 2007	Simon John, Eclair Video - Paris
Partir	'Leaving'	Catherine Corsini	2008	Metrodome, 2010	–

Table 1: Corpus overview

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[15] The subtitler or subtitling company is only acknowledged in seven of the eleven productions.

[16] The French edition of the DVD (produced by Pathé) is now the only edition on sale in the UK. When purchased via Amazon, it is delivered with a note confirming that the customer has indeed been sent the correct item, due to the absence of any English on the box.

No previous transcription (official or otherwise) could be found for any of the films or television episodes in the corpus, and the only published script – that of *Entre les murs* – is, as observed by Dekhissi (2013: 74), almost unrecognisable from the improvised dialogue. The corpus was therefore transcribed manually, but due to its large size the transcription was not carried out in full. Rather, the instances of *enfin* and *écoute* were noted, and the passages surrounding these tokens then transcribed. More information about the transcription process is given in the next section.

3.4 Transcription of the Corpus

Previous studies into DMs and facework in AVT have tended to use standard punctuation in their transcriptions (e.g. Hatim & Mason 2000; Chaume 2004; Matamala 2009; Romero Fresco 2009b; Gartzonika & Şerban 2009; Biagini 2010). Kao also includes double slashes ('//') to indicate line breaks in the subtitles, and Mattsson (2009) adds single and double vertical lines to show pauses of different durations, as well as arrows (upwards, horizontal or downwards) to show rising, declarative or falling intonation. Yuan (2010; 2012) uses transcription conventions from Wadensjö (1998) relating to intonation, long vowels, silences and emphasis, and also labels her transcriptions with line numbers for ease of reference, as does Pavlović (2003). These are useful practices when studying facework in general, but less relevant to a study of one specific phenomenon, such as DMs.

Other studies of AVT (e.g. Pettit 2007; Perego 2009; Bączkowska & Kieś 2012), including one into facework in subtitling (Bączkowska forthcoming), have used a multimodal analysis, as proposed by Thibault (2000) and Taylor (2003). This involves the transcription of gestures and other visual cues (via written notation and, in most cases, screenshots), alongside the dialogue. As well as presenting copyright issues relating to the visual stills, this method is far more time-consuming for the researcher, particularly if time codes are noted for each visual cue (as in Bączkowska forthcoming). This is an exciting new avenue for AVT research, but beyond the scope of the current study, although some visual information will be recorded in the written transcription (see below).

The present study adopts the convention of using standard punctuation. The dialogue is represented as follows:

- short pauses are marked simply with a comma;
- longer pauses will be shown by the word 'pause' in italics and square brackets: *[pause]*;
- other relevant information relating to context, gestures, etc. is shown in the same way, e.g. *[she walks to the door]*;
- punctuation (commas, full stops, exclamation marks and question marks) are used to help the reader;
- time codes are given for each example (accurate for Windows Media Player), to allow the reader to view the examples in context if desired;
- suspension points ('…') are used to indicate a trailing off;
- a dash ('-') represents a speaker stopping abruptly, usually due to either being interrupted or changing his or her mind as to the best choice of words or phase.

Some examples of the transcriptions found in chapters 4, 5 and 6 are shown in (9) and (10):

(9)   Philippe: Deux ans dans le Nord-Pas-de-Calais, non. *[Pointing a finger]* Non, Jean !

          Jean: Ecoute, c'est le nord ou c'est le licenciement pour faute grave ! *[Closing the file and standing up]* Voilà, je suis désolé.

                                      Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (11'04'')

(10)   François: D'accord. Khoumba ?

        Khoum.: Moi ?

        François: Euh, ouais, ouais, si, si, fin, j- c'est ton prénom ?

        Khoum.: Oui. *[Laughs]* Euhm….

                                      Entre les murs (1 hr 5'20'')

The transcriptions in chapter 7 also include the published subtitle to the right of the dialogue. These transcriptions feature some additional conventions:

- line breaks within the same screen are shown with a single slash (/);
- screen breaks within the speech of one speaker are shown with a double slash (//).

These conventions are shown in (11):

| (11) | Laure: | Apparemment c'est un suicide. J'attends confirmation. *[Pause]* J- je suis désolée de te dire les choses comme ça mais je v- vou- je voulais t'appeler pour- fin. | It looks like a suicide // I'm waiting for confirmation // I'm sorry to break it to you like / this, but I just wanted to… |
| | Julie: | Ouais, bien sûr. | Yes, of course |

Les Revenants (45'47")

In the majority of cases in chapters 4-7 the dialogue is presented with the names of the speakers, as in (9), (10) and (11), above. However, in some cases – particularly in the analysis in chapter 7 – a single line, or extract from one particular speaker is enough to illustrate the point being made. In these cases information about the speaker is omitted, as in (12) and (13).

(12) Et sans aller, euh, jusqu'aux, euh, hypothétiques, euh, 34 points, euh, 6 points sur un permis, ça signifie qu'euh, un élève peut poser de réels problèmes sans être sanctionné, parce que… fin, j'suis désolé, mais un ou deux points sur le permis, euh, j'appelle pas ça une réelle sanction.

Entre les murs (enfin at 42'22")

| (13) | Bien sûr j- je comprends que… ça ne doit pas être, euh… Enfin… Je comprends, mais… | Of course, I understand that… / it mustn't be… // Well… // I understand, but… |

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (enfin at 1 hour 14'06")

The transcription process did present some problems, namely in the choice of punctuation. The addition of punctuation marks to a transcription of an oral corpus is to some extent arbitrary, but very useful, both for ease of reading (compared to the transcription systems adopted by many scholars working with traditional spoken corpora) and for indicating information relevant to the analysis such as questioning intonation and pauses. However, this did mean

that the comma became a multifunctional mark, sometimes indicating a slight pause, and at other times merely a reflection of written punctuation norms. The decision over whether to include a comma between two adjacent DMs was particularly pertinent, as the presence or absence of this punctuation mark can be interpreted in the literature as an indicator of the degree of pragmaticalisation for a particular combination in written texts. For example, Waltereit (2007: 100) writes in relation to occurrences of the combination *bon ben* in FRANTEXT 'je considérerai la presence d'une virgule ou d'un point comme indice de juxtaposition libre, et l'absence de toute punctuation comme indice de lexicalisation.' I have decided to include commas after DMs as a general rule, but to omit them within the *enfin* and *écoute* combinations which form the object of the analyses in 4.3, 5.3 and 6.3.

One of the films in the corpus, *Bienvenue chez les ch'tis*, is notorious for its depiction of *ch'timi*, and I have as much as possible represented this using the same orthography as the DVD's French subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing. As a non-native speaker of French I also encountered a small number of problems with comprehension during the transcription process, and for these the relevant extracts were checked by a native speaker.

In the next three chapters, I present an analysis of the tokens of the two particles *enfin* and *écoute* in the corpus, beginning in chapter 4 with an overview of the use of *enfin*.

Chapter 4 – *Enfin*

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the adverb and discourse marker *enfin*, paying particular attention to its role as a pragmatic particle (section 4.1.1). The chapter begins with an overview of previous literature on *enfin*, before considering the link between *enfin* and facework, and the potential differences between *enfin* use in spontaneous speech and in the film corpus. The second part of the chapter – which forms the main body of this analysis – examines the various functions of *enfin*, and in particular its role in unfinished utterances, changes of topic, emotional outbursts and in negotiating disagreement. Its repair use will be examined in more detail in chapter 5.

4.1 Background to *enfin*

4.1.1 Previous Research on *enfin*

Recent studies by Bertand & Chanet (2005) and Buchi & Städtler (2008) have made an effort to summarise previous work on *enfin* by grouping the various uses described in the considerable literature into discrete categories. These two summaries are excellent, and broadly in agreement with each other regarding the categories they describe, although neither summary is fully exhaustive. An amalgamated chronological list of studies – with some additions – is therefore provided below. Although Buchi & Städtler's overview is taken as the main framework for the present research (see below), their summary is extremely concise. Many of the following studies have also therefore served to inform the analysis of *enfin*'s functions in the film corpus, and are referred to throughout chapters 4 and 5.

> Hosch (1895-97 – on *mais enfin*), Vet (1980), Cadiot *et al.* (1985), Métrich (1985 – contrastive study with German), Oguma (1987), Franckel (1989), Luscher & Moeschler (1990), Rossari (1989; 1990; 1997; 2000), Nølke (1991 – contrastive study with Danish), Hwang (1993), Barnes (1995), Griève (1996 – on *enfin bref* and *mais enfin*), Némo (2000), Beeching (2000; 2001; 2002; 2007; 2011), Razgouliaeva (2002 – on

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mais enfin), Paillard (2003), Chanet (2003; 2004), Hansen (2005a; 2005b; 2008), Bertrand & Chanet (2005), Waltereit (2007 – on *enfin bref*), Buchi & Städtler (2008).

As is evident from the list above, despite the large number of studies published between 1980 and 2009, there have not been any new contributions to this area in the past few years, perhaps because Buchi & Städtler have produced such a succinct and thorough overview of previous work. As the more recent of the two summaries, it is their categories that will (broadly) be adopted for the present study, and these are summarised below.

*Enfin*1 – *enfin* temporel	*Enfin*5 – *enfin* énumératif
*Enfin*2 – *enfin* aspectuel	*Enfin*6 – *enfin* rectificatif
*Enfin*3 – *enfin* épistémique	*Enfin*7 – *enfin* performatif
*Enfin*4 – *enfin* récapitulatif	*Enfin*8 – *enfin* réprobateur

I have made two departures from Buchi & Städtler's categorisations. Firstly, their *enfin*8 (*enfin* réprobateur) has been replaced with Bertrand & Chanet's *valeurs affectives* (renamed here 'emotional *enfin*'), as this is the only categorisation which, I believe, satisfactorily accounts for emotions other than impatience or anger. Secondly, a ninth category has been added – disagreement-mitigating *enfin* – as there is no category within the existing framework that adequately describes the use of *enfin* to soften disagreement: a function of the particle which occurs frequently in the present corpus. It should also be noted that the seventh category, *enfin* performatif, has been elaborated to include 'interruptive *enfin*', a term used by Hansen (2005a: 59-60; 63) to describe a use of the particle which shares many properties with the performative (see 4.2.6).

The categories used for the present study are therefore as follows:

*Enfin*1 – temporal *enfin*	*Enfin*6 – corrective *enfin*
*Enfin*2 – aspectual *enfin*	*Enfin*7 – performative &
*Enfin*3 – epistemic *enfin*	interruptive *enfin*
*Enfin*4 – synthesising *enfin*	*Enfin*8 – emotional *enfin*
*Enfin*5 – listing *enfin*	*Enfin*9 – disagreement-mitigating *enfin*

Explanations of these categories are given in 4.2, with the addition, for clarity, of some more detail and/or further examples from the literature. For the purposes of this study, the category names are given in English, with Buchi & Städtler's original French terms shown in brackets. For *enfin*4 and *enfin*6 I have adopted an English term already in common use in the literature; in all other cases, the term used is my translation of the French.

Unlike studies of *écoute* (see chapter 6), which make a clear distinction between the verb and the DM, the literature on *enfin* tends to cover both its core and facework functions. As such, Chanet (2004: 11) complains that '*enfin* est systématiquement étiqueté "adverbe"'. This is not true of every study, however. Beeching (2002: 151), for example, recognises the distinction, contrasting the use of *enfin* 'as a discursive marker signalling the end of an enumeration or to flag "in short", "to sum up" or "finally"' with its use as a pragmatic particle (see 2.2). Similarly, Buchi & Städtler (2008) assert that of their eight categories listed above, only *enfin*1 and *enfin*2 refer to *enfin* the grammeme (p160) – *enfin* used with referential meaning – and the others to the 'pragmatème' (p. 162), that is, *enfin* used with procedural meaning. Hansen (2005a: 46), meanwhile, refers to temporal *enfin* as '*enfin*'s only truth-conditional use', with the loss of truth-conditionality being one of the main tendencies in the creation of DMs (Traugott & Dasher 2002: 281, cited in Hansen 2005a: 40).

As for Chanet (2003; 2004) herself (cf. Bertrand & Chanet 2005), she distinguishes not two, but four types of *enfin*: adverb, temporal connector, textual organiser, and particle. The term discourse marker is used to encompass the latter three categories, with 'particle' referring to any token of *enfin* which in other studies would generally be termed a DM (Bertrand &

Chanet 2005: 8)[17], and which is shown to be the dominant form in speech (see 4.1.3). The temporal connector seems to roughly equate to *enfin*1, while the textual organiser can be either *enfin*1 or *enfin*5. The adverb meanwhile – also referred to as an aspectual marker (ibid.) – covers *enfin*2.

Given the various divisions above, it seems uncontroversial to class *enfin*1 (temporal *enfin*) as an adverb, and I follow Chanet (2003; 2004) and Buchi & Städtler (2008) in categorising *enfin*2 (aspectual *enfin*) the same way. While it is true that aspectual *enfin* may imply a certain expectation or, indeed, relief on the part of the speaker (Hansen 2005a: 54), this does not appear to be the primary function of this particular use of *enfin* (see 4.2.2). I have deliberately kept my interpretation of 'discourse marker' vague (see 2.2), but consider *enfin*6-*enfin*9 to denote the pragmatic particle. This is because *enfin* in these categories has evidently undergone significant pragmaticalisation, and is generally used on an interpersonal level.

It should also be noted that ascribing a particular token of *enfin* to a specific category is not always clear-cut. Cadiot *et al.* (1985), the first detailed study, tries to argue for a unified definition of *enfin*, as a metalinguistic marker whose 'function is to indicate that a given discourse fragment is meant to preclude the utterance of a previously possible discourse' (p. 199). Since then, studies have made sub-divisions into ever-increasing numbers of categories (the present study notwithstanding), yet these categories denote functions which have each gradually evolved from one another, and which remain interlinked. Hansen (2005a) maps this as a spider diagram showing core and peripheral functions (Figure 1), and a similar approach is adopted by Buchi & Städtler (Figure 2). Chanet (2003: 394), on the other hand, visualises the various uses of *enfin* along a continuum. She also provides a clear illustration of the potential difficulty of categorising *enfin* by the fact that 8% of the tokens from her spoken corpus, and 6% from her written corpus, remain classed as ambiguous (ibid.).

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[17] The authors' manuscript version of this article available online in the HAL archive (hal.archives-ouvertes.fr) does not include page numbers, but I have treated the first page of text after the title page and abstracts as page 1.

[This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons]

Figure 1: The evolution of French *enfin* (Hansen 2005a: 63)

[This image has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons]

Figure 2: Reconstruction of the diachronic organisation of the contemporary polysemous French marker *enfin* (Buchi & Städtler 2008: 165)

4.1.2 *Enfin* and Facework

As was noted in 4.1.1, four of the categories of *enfin* can be said to have a role in facework. Of these, correctives (*enfin*6) and disagreement-mitigating *enfin* (*enfin*9) arguably have the most obvious connection to politeness theory. For *enfin*9, the relationship is evident from the name, while the link between correctives and facework has been made explicit by Beeching (2001; 2002), Hansen (2005a; 2005b; 2008) and Riou (2013) (see chapter 5). In addition, performative and interruptive *enfin* (*enfin*7; see 4.2.6) is sometimes described in the literature in politeness terms: for example, Hansen (2005b: 154) ascribes it a 'topic-closing, mitigating function' and, regarding cases where it is interruptive, states that it:

> [H]edges the speaker's own virtual discourse and marks its replacement by something more circumspect […] this is a hedging use, typically for face-saving reasons (2005a: 60).

As will become clear in 4.2.6, not all instances of interruptive *enfin* could be described as hedges: this depends on both the reason for changing subject and the phrase occurring immediately after *enfin*. Returning to *enfin*7 more generally, Bertrand & Chanet add that it can be a 'marque de connivence entre les interlocuteurs' (2005: 5), while Cadiot *et al*. (1985: 208) speak of an implied 'renoncement aux récriminations entamées avant *enfin*'.

*Enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*) has not previously been explicitly linked with politeness, but can also be described in these terms. When conveying impatience, frustration or anger, *enfin* could be seen as an FTA or, indeed, impoliteness, and in some situations – regardless of the emotion it encodes – it could be said to contribute to positive politeness, as S is letting H in on his or her feelings.

4.1.3 *Enfin* in Spontaneous Speech

Many of the earlier studies of *enfin* rely on either invented examples, or data from written corpora such as the *Trésor de la langue française (TLF)*[18] and *Frantext*[19]. The focus is generally theoretical, with little indication of *enfin*'s frequency, either in general, or with reference to any of its individual functions. Later studies have moved to a sole or partial focus on spoken corpora, and it is clear from the data available that *enfin* is a relatively frequently-occurring item. Hansen's (2005b) study of six different corpora (totalling over four hours) has 117 tokens; Barnes' (1995) two-hour corpus contains 175; and Beeching's (2000; 2001; 2002) seventeen-and-a-half-hour corpus 432. Chanet (2004) uses the largest corpus of the four, combining 1,050,000 words from *CORPAIX* and 450,000 from the *Corpus de Référence du Français Parlé (CRFP)*. *Enfin* occurs 3574 times – an average of one token every two minutes and five seconds – ranking it eleventh in a list of the eight-five most frequent DMs in the corpus (rankings compiled using the average frequency figure). Furthermore, Beeching (2007: 91) points to evidence from a comparison of the *Orléans Corpus*, *Bristol Corpus*, and the *CRFP*, in suggesting that *enfin* use is increasing – especially

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amongst younger speakers – both because of a societal shift towards informality, and because it is still undergoing pragmaticalisation.

As for the different categories of *enfin*, *enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*) is the most common, accounting for around 72% of Beeching's tokens (2001: 27; 2002: 130) and 67% of Hansen's (2005b: 169). Barnes does not give figures per function, but does also find that the DM 'as an editing marker for self-correction or claim editing' is 'probably the most frequent monologic use of *enfin* in this corpus' (1995: 820). Regarding other categories, Hansen found in her corpus only one token of *enfin*1 (temporal *enfin*), while Beeching gives figures for all of her *enfin* categories, although her framework is slightly different from that of Bertrand & Chanet or Buchi & Städtler (see 4.1.1).

This is a common problem in the field, due to the large volume of literature which, until relatively recently, lacked a satisfactory overview. Many studies conflate the corrective and synthesising uses, for instance – a mistake which Hansen (2008: 206) underlines by referring to the corrective as 'the properly reformulative use' – and some identify very few functions altogether. Rossari (1997), for example, distinguishes only two categories of *enfin*: temporal and reformulative. Luscher & Moeschler (1990) also make a binary division, but into *enfin* marking *la fin d'un processus* and *la fin d'un discours* (see 4.2.7). Hansen (2005a), on the other hand, identifies a greater number of *enfin* uses than feature in the summaries referenced at the start of 4.1.1 (see Figure 1 in 2.2).

Beeching's framework is similarly wide-ranging. She finds fifty tokens of 'to sum up, in short' (which we can take to be *enfin*4); twenty each of 'resignation' (*enfin*8, though possibly *enfin*7; see 4.2.7), 'finally' (*enfin*1 or *enfin*2) and 'all in all' (*enfin*7, or possibly *enfin*9; see 4.2.8); fifteen of hesitation (which I take to be *enfin*6; see 5.1.2); and none of 'adversativeness' (*enfin*9), 'impatience' or 'relief' (*enfin*8) (2001: 27; 2002: 130). Chanet (2003), meanwhile, finds an enormous disparity between her written and spoken corpora. She gives detailed statistics for only 150 tokens from each corpus (she does not state how the 150 are chosen), she concludes that over 90% of the oral tokens are particles (see 4.1.1 for an explanation of her use of this term), compared to 0% of the written

tokens[20]. The written tokens are for the most part adverbs (50%) and textual organisers (40%), which in turn make up just 0.7% of the oral tokens (p. 394).

4.1.4 Overview of *enfin* in the Corpus

The most striking thing about *enfin* in the present corpus is how little it occurs: 119 tokens in around twenty-two hours. Again, this reflects Degand's (2015) finding for intralingual subtitles (see 3.1). Although this is far higher than the total for *écoute*, it is considerably less than is found in the oral corpora referenced in the previous section: about one quarter of the tokens found in Beeching's corpus of roughly the same size, and almost exactly the same total as found in Hansen's four-hour sample (see above). Secondly, the tokens have a different functional distribution. While corrective *enfin* still accounts for the highest number of tokens, at just over 40% it is a much lower proportion than in Beeching's or Hansen's corpora. This may to some extent be accounted for by the fact that tokens of 'adversativeness', which Beeching would class as a hetero-corrective used to correct an implicature, I have categorised as *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*). More importantly, this function of the particle may become to some extent redundant in scripted dialogue, due to the text being pre-planned. Indeed, *Entre les murs*, whose dialogue is improvised, yields a much higher frequency of *enfin* than any other film or TV episode in the corpus, as can be seen in Table 2, below. However, as with the traditional spoken corpora, the majority of *enfin* tokens have a discourse-marking function, with only one token of temporal *enfin* and one of aspectual *enfin*. This suggests, as stated in 4.1.3, that despite film dialogue being, in the majority of cases, a written text made to represent speech, it is relatively successful at mimicking authentic speech patterns.

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[20] Written particles are not completely unknown in the literature, however. Cadiot *et al.* (1985: 232) cite an example of a corrective (*enfin*6; see 4.2.5) from a 1983 edition of the newspaper *Libération*.

Film	No. of *enfin* tokens
Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis	6
Contre toi	2
De rouille et d'os	1
Engrenages, episode 1	11
Engrenages, episode 2	5
Engrenages, episode 3	2
Engrenages, episode 4	5
Entre les murs	30
Home	0
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime	19
Intouchables	13
Les Revenants, episode 1	3
Les Revenants, episode 2	3
Les Revenants, episode 3	3
Les Revenants, episode 4	3
Ne le dis à personne	5
Partir	8
Total	119

Table 2: Total *enfin* tokens per film/episode

As other researchers have found (see 4.1.1), categorising *enfin* is not always straightforward. This is especially true when it occurs in the first line at the start of a scene (or is even the first word), meaning the viewer does not have access to the context from the previous lines of dialogue. There are three such tokens in the corpus, which I have omitted from my functional analysis, as I am unable to ascribe them a function with any certainty.

There will now follow a detailed analysis of the nine *enfin* functions listed in 4.1.1, in relation to the present film corpus.

4.2 Functions of *enfin*

The following analysis draws on the categories set out by Buchi & Städtler (2008) in their review of previous research into the various uses of *enfin*. As explained in 4.1.1, there are two departures from their categories. Firstly, their *enfin*8 (*enfin réprobateur*) has been replaced with Bertrand & Chanet's *valeurs affectives*, renamed here 'emotional *enfin*'. Secondly, a ninth category, disagreement-mitigating *enfin*, has been added, based on evidence from the corpus, and from elsewhere in the literature (e.g. Beeching 2001; 2002). All of the nine categories are reviewed below, but the emphasis in this chapter is on *enfin*7, *enfin*8 and *enfin*9, which are discussed in more detail than categories 1-5, as these categories play an important role in facework. *Enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*) is also highly relevant to facework strategies, but due to both the high number of tokens (forty-nine), and detailed previous research into this category, it will be discussed separately in chapter 5.

4.2.1 *Enfin*1 Temporal *enfin* (*enfin* temporel)

Temporal *enfin* is the original, adverbial sense of *enfin*, attested since the 9th century (Hansen 2005a: 46), and marks the last in a chronological series of events, as shown in (14) and (15):

> (14)　Pierre a éteint la télé, il s'est brossé les dents, il s'est déshabillé, et **enfin** il s'est couché. (Hansen 2005b: 154)

> (15)　Paul est arrivé le premier, puis il y a eu Jacques, et **enfin** Michel (Bertrand & Chanet 2005: 3)

Hansen (2005a: 57) also describes a peripheral[21] form of temporal *enfin*, which she names 'interjectional' or 'prompting' *enfin*, as shown in (16), a 17th C. example from Pierre Corneille's *L'illusion comique*:

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[21] Hansen (2005a) devides the fourteen functions she identifies for *enfin* into three core functions (temporal, synthesising and repair functions) and eleven peripheral ones, the relationship between which was shown in Figure 1 (see 4.1.1). She explains (p.64) that 'peripheral' 'do[es] not necessarily mean infrequent [...] rather, a "peripheral" reading is one which is readily understood on the basis of one (or more) of the central senses, and which may therefore not need to be independently learned.'

(16)   Il me parle d'amour, et moi je le refuse;
        Je le quitte en colère, il me suit tout confus,
        Me fait nouvelle excuse, et moi nouveau refus.
        ISABELLE: Mais **enfin** ?

This is linked to temporal *enfin*, as the speaker is demanding to know the next stage in a story. There is also an emotional aspect here – excitement, or perhaps impatience – which could be an argument for classing this as an *enfin*8 (see below). There are no tokens of this in the corpus, however.

In line with other corpora, the proportion of temporal *enfin* tokens in the film corpus is very low, with just one token, shown in (17):

(17)   Ouais, ça fait beaucoup, hein. Regardez : *[consults his list]* ça commence par le tutoiement, ensuite la bagarre avec une blessée, et **enfin** il s'enfouit en quittant le cours sans autorisation.
                                    Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 32'52'')

4.2.2 *Enfin*2 Aspectual *enfin* (*enfin* aspectuel)

Also known as phasal *enfin* (Hansen 2005a: 53), this second category indicates that a process is either finally taking place, or coming to an end after a long period of time, as in (18) and (19):

(18)   Cela fait des années que Benoît et Cathy essaient d'avoir un bébé, et voilà **enfin** qu'elle est enceinte. (Hansen 2005a: 38)

(19)   Il regarda son fils pendant longtemps, et lui dit **enfin** d'une voix affaiblie: Ernest, mon enfant, tu es bien jeune ; mais tu as bon cœur… (Buchi & Städtler 2008: 161)

This is often linked (e.g. Cadiot *et al.* 1985; Luscher & Moeschler 1990) with an *enfin* of relief (*enfin de soulagement*), which I class under *enfin*8. Indeed, Hansen (2005a: 54) notes that:

> In contemporary French, it appears that the aspectual sense typically communicates an additional sense of relief that the expected state-of-affairs is now actual. Thus, native-speaker intuitions suggest that phasal *enfin* is nowadays incompatible with negatively evaluated states of affairs.

She illustrates this with the example shown in (20):

(20) $^{??}$Je regrette que Pierre soit *enfin* parti.

Buchi & Städtler (2008: 161) point out, however, that this sense of relief is only a secondary characteristic of aspectual *enfin*. They propose a subdivision for future studies of aspectual *enfin* into two categories, depending on whether it is the temporal or emotive aspect that is more prominent; a division not used in their 2008 study as both elements seemed to them to be equally present in all of the aspectual *enfin* tokens in their data (p. 169). The distinction will not be debated here, both because the focus of the present study is on discourse-marking rather than adverbial functions of *enfin*, and because there is just one token of *enfin*2 in the corpus, shown in (21):

(21)   Ben, pourquoi que j'sero fâchée ? Ch'est tout ce qu'eune mère elle demande, que sin cho gamin il trouve **enfin** sin bonheur.
        Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 1 hour 27'38'')

4.2.3 *Enfin*3 Epistemic *enfin* (*enfin* épistémique) and *enfin*4 Synthesising *enfin* (*enfin* récapitulatif)

*Enfin*3 and *enfin*4 are very similar, both introducing a conclusion relative to what has gone before. Synthesising *enfin* 'marks a (part) of an utterance which sums up the previous discourse, formulates it more pithily, or draws a conclusion from it' (Hansen 2005a: 47; 2008: 204), as shown in (22) and (23):

(22)   Cédric est grand, beau, intelligent, spirituel – **enfin**, parfait, quoi !
        (Hansen 2005b: 155)

(23)   [I]l fait du ski, de la voile, de la boxe, du vélo, **enfin** il est très sportif
        (Bertrand & Chanet 2005: 4)

Epistemic *enfin*, on the other hand, indicates that 'the speaker is drawing a conclusion based on available evidence' (Hansen 2005a: 50-51), as shown in (24), a 17th C. example from Honoré d'Urfé's *La Sylvanire ou la Morte-vive: fable bocagère*. However, it 'has not survived in modern French, except in more or less frozen collocations with a small handful of coordinating conjunctions' (Hansen 2008: 206; see 4.3).

(24) Et si nous esperons / De romper ces liens / Avec le mariage, / Que nous sommes deceuës, / Puisque d'autres liens / Mille fois plus serrez / Mettent en servitude / Encore nos volontez: Car les maris (**enfin** ce sont les hommes / Qui firent ceste loy) / Les maris, dis-je, avecque tyrannie / Vont s'usurpant toute l'authorité / Sur nostre volonté. (Hansen 2005a: 57)

Synthesising *enfin* can also be used dialogically, and like temporal *enfin*, it can often encode impatience when used this way (Hansen 2005a: 59), as in (25), another example from Pierre Corneille's 17th C. *L'illusion comique*:

(25) M.: L'un et l'autre, parbleu ! Cette Ambroisie est fade
          J'en eus au bout d'un jour l'estomac tout malade.
          C'est un mets delicat et de peu de soustien:
          A moins que d'estre un Dieu, l'on n'en vivroit pas bien.
          Il cause mille maux, et des l'heure qu'il entre,
          I allonge les dents et restressit le ventre.
     L.: **Enfin**, c'est un ragoust qui ne vous plaisoit pas ?

                                                    Hansen (2005a: 52)

As with temporal and aspectual *enfin*, we again find a very low number of tokens in the film corpus. There are four tokens of synthesising *enfin*, of which two are shown below:

(26) Ben, voilà, une fois qu'on fait le tri, voilà ce qui reste. *[Hands over a missing person's file]* Oh, le seul point commun c'est qu'elle est jolie, sinon ça a rien à voir. Elle est trop jeune, trop petite, trop brune, **enfin**, ça a rien à voir avec ce qu'on cherche.

                                    Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 19'41'')

(27) Patrick: Oui, il y en a combien qui sont menacés d'internat, euh... et des uns à l'internat mmm… On voit jamais la couleur, hein, de toute façon.
     Rachel: C'est pas toujours que des mots, hein.
     Frédéric: Enfin i… i'y en a beaucoup, ils passent leur temps à bon dire la, la menace et euh… *[turns to François]* **Fin**, c'est pas un truc que tu peux prendre en compte, toi, en tout cas.

                                    Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 41'44'')

The second of these examples acts as a good illustration of the overlap that exists between the various categories of *enfin*. This would seem to fit best as an *enfin*4, as Frédéric here appears to draw a conclusion from the idea that there

are many parents that spend time making threats, i.e. that François cannot know if the threats are real or not and, as such, should not let it concern him. However, this token also shares some properties with *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6), as it occurs after a trailing off, and allows the character to change direction slightly. Both synthesising and interruptive *enfin* often introduce the last phrase of an utterance, with falling intonation conveying finality.

4.2.4 *Enfin*5 Listing *enfin* (*enfin* énumératif)

Listing *enfin*, also known as enumerative *enfin*, introduces – as the name suggests – the last item in a list. This is illustrated in (28) and (29):

(28)   [I]l pleuvra au nord, le ciel sera variable dans le centre et dans l'est, et **enfin** il fera beau au sud (Bertrand & Chanet 2005: 3)

(29)   Marc possède plusieurs doctorats de linguistique, de philosophie, de littérature, et **enfin** de psychologie. (Hansen 2005b: 157)

These are very similar in structure to the examples of temporal *enfin* shown in (14) and (15) (see 4.2.1); the difference being, as Hansen explains (2005b: 157), one of chronology. In (14) and (15), the items are presented in chronological order of their appearance, whereas in (28) and (29), we encounter a 'backgrounding [of] real-world chronology to the point where the actual order of events becomes immaterial' (ibid.). That is, the items are listed in the order in which they occur to the speaker, which is not necessarily the same as the order in which they took place.

There is one token of listing *enfin* in the present corpus:

(30)   From.:   Non, mais, justement, hein, Gilou a vu un mec sortir de l'immeuble avec un gros sac.

        Laure: Il a un signalement ?

        From.:   Ouais, en fait i- il était un peu loin là, il a mal vu. **Fin**, il est même pas sûr qu'il sortait de l'immeuble, alors.

                                                    Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 26'47'')

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The categorisation of this as listing *enfin* is not entirely straightforward, however, as special emphasis is given to the final item in the list through the addition of *même*. This creates some overlap with *enfin*4 (synthesising *enfin*), as Fromentin builds on his first two statements with the idea of 'but worse than that…' Fromentin knows that Laure will be angry about the poor quality of Gilou's surveillance work, and tries to break the news to her gently. *Il est même pas sûr qu'il sortait de l'immeuble* is an addition rather than a reformulation of what has gone before, but at the same time it reframes the previous information to make his colleague appear less unlucky and more incompetent. Indeed, Hansen 2005b: 158) notes the similarities between synthesising and listing *enfin*, stating that the latter 'could be argued to be as closely related to the synthesising prototype as to the temporal one.'

4.2.5 *Enfin*6 Corrective *enfin* (*enfin* rectificatif)

Corrective *enfin* forms the basis of the discussion in chapter 5, but the following description is given by means of a brief overview. Also known as reformulative or 'repair' *enfin* (e.g. Hansen 2005a; 2005b), *enfin*6 is used to introduce a correction or adjustment to something the speaker or his/her interlocutor has said (or was about to say). Two examples are shown in (31) and (32), both taken from Beeching (2001; 2002).

(31)   [O]n leur dit pourquoi pas <u>faire les cons</u> **enfin** excusez-moi allez <u>faire l'imbécile</u> (2001: 30 ; 2002: 134)

(32)   Ah oui, enfin c'est une famille quand même assez, **enfin** moi je trouve, hein ! (2001: 31; 2002: 136)

Repairs often serve to protect the speaker's or hearer's face, being made (amongst other reasons) to downplay an initially over-strong assertion or a sweeping generalisation, or to replace a slang or vulgar lexical item with what is perceived to be a more acceptable alternative. Beeching also lists a separate category of hesitation, but from the example in (33), below, this would appear to be a type of corrective (see 5.1.1).

(33)   Et puis nous avons un directeur, un directeur qui…que…**enfin** qui n'est pas bien avec moi. (Hansen 2005a: 62)

Corrective tokens account for the largest proportion of the 119 *enfin* tokens in the film corpus at just over 40%, and the various subcategories will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

4.2.6 *Enfin*7: Performative *enfin* (*enfin* performatif) and Interruptive *enfin*

Performative *enfin* indicates an abandonment by a speaker of a particular argument that he or she had been making, thereby often bringing the discourse to a close. This does not generally mean the end of the interaction, however. In the words of Cadiot *et al.* (1985: 233) this type of *enfin* 'n'est pas destiné à arrêter *le* discours mais à arrêter *un* discours'. Performatives can occur before a trailing off (34); introduce a concluding phrase that either a) allows for things to be left unsaid (35), or b) for the situation to remain unresolved (36); or convey a sense of moving on rather than dwelling on a negative point (37).

> (34)   *[Customer in a restaurant, on being asked by a waiter if the steak is to his satisfaction]* Elle est un peu trop cuite, **enfin**… (Cadiot et al. 1985: 208)
>
> (35)   Untel s'est suicidé en prison, **enfin** tu me comprends / tu vois ce que je veux dire / tu sais ce que ça veut dire / etc. (ibid.: 227)
>
> (36)   Ça serait gentil d'aller voir Pierre, **enfin**, tu fais ce que tu veux. (ibid.: 210)
>
> (37)   C'est n'importe quoi. **Enfin** ! On va essayer de se débrouiller. (Némo 2000: 500)

Hansen (2008: 208) describes *enfin*7 used alone – as in (34) – as an interjective, commenting that:

> *[E]nfin* is used for face-saving reasons, and the projected reformulation or synthesis remains entirely implicit, something for the hearer to work out, while the speaker him- / herself abstains from belaboring the point.

In cases where this type of *enfin* does not bring the discourse to a close – but instead functions to allow the speaker to abandon one point and move on to another – Hansen (2005a: 59-60; 63) refers to it as 'interruptive *enfin*', or later (2008: 208), as a 'self-interruptive'. An example of this is shown in (38), from Julie de Lespinasse's 18th C. *Letters to Condorcet*:

(38)   M. le duc de Choiseul est au sacre; ses amis ne possèdent pas de joie de cet exil ; ils espèrent sans doute… **enfin** nous verrons ; mais ce qu'il y a de vrai, c'est que M. de Maurepas n'est pas curieux. (Hansen 2005a: 60)

The distinction between the performative and the interruptive function is difficult to establish, as examples in the literature such as those given by Cadiot *et al.* and Némo, above, are not supplied with further context. It should be noted that these authors do not use the term 'performative' themselves; rather, these are examples which I or others have retrospectively categorised as *enfin*7. Information regarding the immediate aftermath of these utterances would therefore be extremely useful in establishing the definitions of performative and interruptive *enfin*. For example, is the token in (38) an interruptive because it introduces the phrase *nous verrons*, or because – unlike (34) – it does not signal the end of S's turn? Certainly, Hansen appears to take the former view, making a binary distinction between performatives such as (34) and the self-interruptive, which 'hedges the speaker's own virtual discourse and marks its replacement by something more circumspect' (2008: 208).

How then, would Hansen classify tokens such as that shown in (39), a telephone conversation?

(39)   Mother: Et tes vacances ? Je me suis inquiétée. T'es rentrée quand ?
         Anna: Euh, j'suis rentrée hier soir, mais tard. J'aurais dû t'appeler avant mais c'était, c'était un peu compliqué. *[Pause]* **Enfin**, c'était, c'était super, euh oui, la plage était belle, était déserte *[laughs]*.
                                        Contre toi (*enfin* at 7'54'')

Here *enfin* is used to allow the speaker to abandon one topic and move smoothly onto another. Its function is more structural than face-saving, but the similarity with (38) is nonetheless strong. For this reason, I have chosen to take performative *enfin* to be any token which allows S to end his or her turn (with or without a concluding phrase), such as in examples (34)-(37). The interruptive, meanwhile, refers to the monologic use of *enfin* to change topic, however slightly or abruptly, and whether or not it occurs due to face concerns.

In summary, *enfin*7 is used to bring a particular line of conversation to a close. The performative variant occurs in situations where S is unwilling or unable to complete his or her utterance, often for face-saving reasons. Rather than make a correction, S either gives up on his or her utterance (and, ultimately, his or her turn), or makes a deliberate decision to leave it unfinished in order to allude to something left unspoken. *Enfin* here may be found on the right periphery, as in (34), or it may introduce a concluding phrase (such as *tu me comprends*) which signals S's discomfort or confusion, or functions as a 'marque de connivence' (Bertrand & Chanet (2005: 5). The interruptive variant of *enfin*7 occurs mid-turn and is used to make what might be an otherwise abrupt change of topic, in a similar way to English 'anyway', as in (39).

There are twenty tokens of *enfin*7 in the corpus: eight of the performative, and twelve of the interruptive; surprisingly small totals given the high number of correctives. Unfortunately, in the absence of any reports on the frequency of *enfin*7 in spontaneous speech, it is impossible to compare how the film usage matches up to normal speech patterns. There is certainly a good variety of tokens, and although it is not frequently occurring, it is interesting that this type of *enfin* use is salient enough to native speakers to be adopted by scriptwriters as a device to signal characters' discomfort, or to allow an interaction to progress by the introduction of a natural-sounding topic-changer. The dynamics found with performative and interruptive *enfin* across the corpus are relatively mixed: tokens occur in both formal and informal situations, and in interactions between characters with a range of relationships (e.g. mother-daughter, interviewer-interviewee, patient-carer, former lovers, sisters).

Five of the eight tokens of performative *enfin* occur in phrase-final position, while the other three introduce a concluding phrase such as *tu me comprends* or *tu fais ce que tu veux*. Four of the phrase-final tokens are shown in (40)-(43):

(40)   Philippe: Mais, mais c'est quoi ça ?
       Julie: Mes valises. Je pars avec toi.
       Philippe: Euh… et, et, et Raphaël ?
       Julie: Ah, *[lifting suitcases into the boot of the car]* mes parents le récupèrent ce soir, et dès qu'on lui trouve une école dans le Nord on le fait venir.
       Philippe: Mais ton…ton, ton magasin, le, le travail, **enfin** ?

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 1 hour 12'28'')

(41)   Apparemment c'est un suicide. J'attends confirmation. *[Pause]* J- je suis désolée de te dire les choses comme ça mais je v- vou- je voulais t'appeler pour- **fin.**

Les Revenants episode 4 (*enfin* at 45'57'')

(42)   François: Fondamentalement on attend quoi à un conseil de discipline ?
       Patrick: I- il y a des étapes avant, tu sais bien, François, vous avez au collège i- il y a des, des commissions prédisciplinaires, on… on informe les parents, euh, les élèves sont prévenus **enfin** mmm...

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 40'37'')

(43)   *[Bank clerk, looking through the cheques his client has brought to pay in, then at her bank balance on screen]* C'est tout, Madame Vidal, **enfin**…?

Partir (*enfin* at 49'34'')

The first two examples are taken from scripted films, and here both characters come to a deliberate stop. In (40), Philippe is both startled and dismayed by his wife's sudden proposal to come and live with him in the north of France, where he has been sent to work as a punishment by his company. He has been lying to her about his lifestyle since moving there, and her arrival would be a personal disaster. Panicking, he finds it hard to find the right words, switching between *ton magasin* and *le travail*, before leaving the rest of the question unsaid (something along the lines of 'What does your boss think?', or 'You can't just quit your job like that!').

(41) is taken from a phone call between Laure, a police *lieutenant*, and Julie, her former lover, who survived a near-fatal stabbing seven years ago, and whose neighbour has also now been stabbed. The couple have been estranged

since Julie's attack, but are both worried that her aggressor has returned to the area, and Laure, the speaker in this example, feels obliged to call when she hears the results of the autopsy. The conversation is strained, given both the subject matter and the characters' past, and Laure is unable to find the right words to reassure her ex-lover.

In both of these examples, the use of *enfin* is scripted and a deliberate choice. In each case it appears to mark a character's emotional state: in (40) panic, and in (41) regret at not having been in touch for seven years, coupled with a resurgence of affection and the worry of rejection. Both follow one or more repetitions or self-corrections, indicating the speaker has already come 'unstuck' earlier on in the phrase.

(42) is very different. It is taken from the improvised dialogue of *Entre les murs*, and the characters here are expressing their opinions within a long and complex discussion surrounding the fairness of the school exclusion process. Both François and Patrick, and indeed the other teachers present, struggle to formulate responses which clearly and concisely convey their ideas. Whereas Philippe and Laure in (40) and (41) come to a definite full stop, Patrick ends up trailing off when he is unable to find a better way to express his ideas.

This device is also used once in scripted dialogue, shown in (43), but with a different purpose. Rather than simulate the effect in unplanned speech of being unable to find the right formulation, here the script writer uses *enfin*7 to signal discomfort. By trailing off, the speaker is able to allude to an FTA, without speaking the words. In this case, the clerk is embarrassed that Madame Vidal, a longstanding and wealthy customer of his bank, has found herself in debt and unable to deposit enough money into her account to pay off her substantial overdraft. He is clearly uncomfortable with needing to ask her for more money, so trails off in the hope that she will provide an explanation for her lack of funds.

The remaining three tokens introduce a concluding phrase, which in (44) and (45) is (wholly or partly) composed of *j'sais pas*.

(44)   Si tu rends compte pour chaque gamin tu fais plus rien, quoi, c'est fini, quoi. Si, euh, i'y a la, y a- i'y a la violence, il y a le retour au bled, quoi, fin, c'est sûr tu veux le prendre en compte, mais au bout d'un moment il faut… **fin** j'sais pas.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 42'42'')

(45)   Non, euhm, c'est pas ça, c'est… Vous savez, j'étais au labo, je voyais que des éprouvettes et les microscopes. Non, c'est plutôt le fait de- de, de recommencer, que quelque chose recommence. *[Pause, shakes her head]* **Enfin,** j'sais pas *[laughs]*. Et j'ai du mal à expliquer.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 1 hour 8'58'')

Whereas in (40)-(43), characters abandon a point which they feel H has already understood, here the speakers feel the need to comment on their poor responses; to acknowledge their perception that they cannot answer in a way that H will find satisfactory.

The other concluding phrase is shown in (46):

(46)   Quoiqu'il en soit, si jamais il est d'accord, il faudra ici que personne ne sache que vous étiez médecin et encore moins bien sûr que… **enfin** vous me comprenez.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 41'43'')

This is taken from a job interview for the post of medical secretary. Juliette – a former doctor – has recently been released from prison, having served fifteen years for murder, and having trained for secretarial qualifications while she was incarcerated. Her interviewer treats her with disdain, but is pragmatic and can see that she would be ideal for the post. Better educated and of a higher social class than the employer at Juliette's previous interview, who asked her directly who she had killed, and then on hearing her answer, ordered her to leave, she handles the issue diplomatically, protecting her prospective employee's face by alluding to her crime rather than referring to it explicitly. Rather than trail off due to emotion or to the difficulties of expressing a complex idea, S here chooses to omit certain information on purpose. Meanwhile, her authoritative tone of voice allows her to remain in control of the interaction.

This fits with Beeching's finding in regard to the corrective use of the particle, that 'the older one is and the higher the level of education, the greater tendency there is to use *enfin*' (2002: 149-50). It may be that age and education bring

with them an increased awareness of face needs generally, which leads to increased use of *enfin* as a pragmatic particle across different functions. Beeching also speculates (p. 151) that frequent *enfin* use by those with a higher level of education may also indicate higher status. Certainly, the ability to omit certain details is a privilege afforded only to those in a position of power: were it to be the interviewee who were attempting to gloss over her past, she would most likely be pressed for more information. Indeed, it is a mark of Juliette's character development later in the film that she feels able, in a meeting with the Hospital Director, to challenge him directly on the vagueness of his language (see (151) in 5.2.6).

Due to the small number of tokens, the range of concluding phrases used with performative *enfin* is smaller than in the literature. Only one of the examples in (34)-(37) is attested here: *vous me comprenez*. Interestingly though, the other phrase used in the film corpus, *j'sais pas*, is barely mentioned in the literature. Chanet (2003: 396) does briefly refer to it, stating that she views *enfin j'sais pas* as a compound DM (see 4.3). She does not elaborate on its function or give any examples, but her recognition of this particular combination suggests that it is relatively frequent in her corpus.

Interruptive enfin

As with the performative, the twelve interruptive tokens are also not homogenous. The first eight – of which we have already seen one in (39), and a further two are shown in (47) and (48), below – all occur after a slight pause, and allow S to continue speaking on either a related or an unrelated topic.

> (47) M. Lab.: Ce sont des gens de chez vous. Vous êtes de Bordeaux, si je me souviens bien ?
> Benoît: Oui, je suis de la région, oui.
> M. Lab.: Bordeaux. **Enfin**, passons. J'ai l'impression que ce juge qui vient de la toute petite bourgeoisie bordelaise vous a comme qui dirait dans le collimateur.
>
> *Engrenages*, episode 4 (*enfin* at 33'27'')

(48)   Juliette: J'étais dans la bibliothèque et i'y avait un vieux monsieur…

            Léa: Ah oui. J'suis bête d'oublier de te prévenir. **Fin** c'est le père de Luc.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 6'37'')

In (39) and (47), *enfin* comes after a definite full stop and pause by S, who uses the particle in order to either change topic entirely (in (47)),– or return to a previous topic from which she had been side-tracked (in (39)). In (48), by contrast, *enfin* is used to add more relevant information, changing the direction of Léa's discourse slightly, without changing topic.

The tokens shown in (49) are slightly different. Here, Antoine is lecturing his disabled friend Philippe about his choice of carer.

(49)   Ben tu d- tu doutes bien pourquoi je suis là. Non ? *[Philippe raises his eyebrows]* **Fin** c'est qui ce type-là ? Autour de toi tout le monde s'inquiète. Yvonne me dit qu'il est inconscient, violent. Il a frappé un voisin ? *[Philippe doesn't answer]* **Enfin,** Philippe c'est pas à toi que je vais expliquer qu'il faut être vigilant. Tu dois pas laisser entrer n'importe qui chez toi. *[Pause]* Surtout dans ton état.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 33'35'' and 33'44'')

As with the other interruptive tokens, these occur after a pause. However, rather than change topic, Antoine here continues to develop his argument. In this sense they are similar to the *enfin* tokens in (48), where Léa merely changed course slightly rather than fully changing topic. Here, Antoine uses *enfin* to introduce a slight change of approach each time that Philippe ignores his questions: first moving from indirectness to directness, and then from talking about the people around Philippe to talking about Philippe himself. These two tokens of *enfin* are confrontational, and have shades of *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*), suggesting frustration on the part of Antoine. Unlike monologic *enfin*9, however (see 4.2.8), they are not concessive.

The remaining three tokens combine with another DM (*bon fin*, *ben enfin* and *m'enfin*), and will therefore be discussed separately in 4.3.

4.2.7 *Enfin*8 Emotional *enfin*

Emotional *enfin* is, as the name I have created suggests, used to convey a speaker's emotion or attitude. As noted in 4.1, this category is adapted from Bertrand & Chanet's (2005) *valeurs affectives*, as Buchi & Städtler's (2008) name for *enfin*8, '*enfin* réprobateur', appears too limited in the scope of emotions which it can arguably convey or which can be pragmatically derived from it. Bertrand & Chanet identify four main emotions (or contextual side effects) documented in the literature: relief (50), impatience/exasperation (51), resignation (52), and surprise/astonishment (53).

> (50)   **Enfin** seuls ! (Beeching 2002: 128)
>
> (51)   Vas-tu te taire, **enfin** ! (Bertrand & Chanet 2005: 5)
>
> (52)   Il va encore pleuvoir demain. **Enfin** on n'y peut rien. (ibid.)
>
> (53)   Mais **enfin**, c'est incroyable, une aventure pareille ! (dictionary example, cited in Beeching 2002: 128)

Luscher & Moeschler (1990: 94) also identify anger (54) and anxiety (55).

> (54)   **Enfin** ! je vous ai déjà dit de vous taire (example taken from Cadiot *et al.* 1985 : 222)
>
> (55)   Brusquement, elle (…) lui dit d'une voix étouffée par la peur que les domestiques n'entendissent et par sa propre angoisse : – **enfin**, Antoine, qu'est-ce que tu as ? Tu as quelque chose… Si ! tu caches quelque chose… Est-ce qu'il y a un malheur ? Est-ce que tu es souffrant ? (early 20th C. example from Jean-Christophe Rolland, *TLF*)

This category shares considerable overlap with various others, making it potentially difficult to establish tokens. (50), for example, shares properties with *enfin*2 (aspectual *enfin*), as was noted in 4.2.2. Similarly, (52) is very close to *enfin*7 (performative or interruptive *enfin*, depending on the context that follows). Indeed, Cadiot *et al.* (1985: 208-09) class performatives such as (34) (see 4.2.6) as examples of *enfin* of resignation. It is for this reason that it is difficult to equate absolutely Beeching's (2001: 27; 2002: 130) twenty tokens of 'resignation' (see 4.1.3) with one of the categories in the present framework. There is also a difficulty, identified by Bertrand & Chanet (2005: 5) in differentiating impatience/exasperation (such as (51)), from *enfin* of

indignation/protest or objection/opposition which could, depending on the tone of voice, fall under what I am terming disagreement-mitigating *enfin* (*enfin*9; see 4.2.8), as S registers an opposing point of view.

Luscher & Moeschler (1990: 90) make the point that the same utterance, shown in (56) and (57) can be interpreted as either indicating relief or resignation, depending on the tone of voice and context.

> (56)   **Enfin**, il est parti ! (depuis le temps que j'attendais cela !)
> (57)   **Enfin**, il est parti ! (que vous voulez que j'y fasse ?)

Evidently, these examples would both belong to *enfin*8, but the same criteria can be used in judging broader *enfin* functions, information which, as Dekhissi points out (2013: 80), is more readily available when dealing with a film corpus than with an audio-recording of a spoken corpus. For the purposes of this study, in categorising tokens as *enfin*8 I have decided to be guided primarily by the emotionally-charged nature of the context in which they are uttered.

It is somewhat surprising that the *enfin*8 category is still in need of elaboration. The first link between examples such as (50)-(53) was in fact made by Luscher & Moeschler (1990), albeit not in the same terms, and emotional *enfin* plays a central role in their analysis. They divide *enfin* into two main types: one marking *la fin d'un processus* and the other *la fin d'un discours*. The latter places an emphasis on interaction with an interlocutor, while the former – which is dominated by examples I would class as *enfin*8 – centres on the speaker, and his or her thought processes. Furthermore, the importance of the *enfin*8 function can be seen in the overview of traditional French dictionary definitions of *enfin* given by Beeching[22] (2001: 23; 2002: 127-28): of the nine functions listed, four denote emotions (relief, resignation, impatience and surprise)[23]. This suggests a particular salience with regard to the emotional use of *enfin*.

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[22] The *enfin* categories are re-organised for the sociolinguistic analysis in the second part of her book chapter, this time into ten categories: 1. finally; 2. relief; 3. to sum up; 4. resignation; 5. objection; 6. impatience; 7. corrections; 8. all things considered; 9. perplexity; 10. hesitation (2002: 152).
[23] Surprise does not appear in the list given in the earlier of the two publications (2001: 23); rather the ninth function is instead 'perplexity'.

This salience appears to be borne out in the film corpus, as there are twenty tokens of *enfin*8 – an identical number to *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*) and *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*). As with *enfin*7, there is a good spread of tokens across the corpus, indicating that it is a useful communicative device on screen. Interestingly, there are no tokens found in *Entre les murs*, although there are four in the various episodes of *Engrenages*, suggesting that the absence of *enfin*8 from this film may be more to do with its subject matter than the improvised nature of its dialogue.

The twenty tokens found in the corpus demonstrate a greater range of emotions than those listed by Bertrand & Chanet (2005). Four convey varying degrees of impatience, of which two are shown in (58) and (59).

(58)   Ali: *[Holding out a wad of money]* Tiens, c'est pour toi.
           Anna: *[Taking the money in suprise]* Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça ?
           Ali: **Fin**, c'est tout ce que je vous dois, et pour les mois à venir.
De rouille et d'os (*enfin* at 58'02'')

(59)   *[Having slammed the door in the face of a man who was asking her stupid questions]* **Enfin** ! Qu'est-ce que c'est que ce type !
Les Revenants episode 2 (*enfin* at 13 '50'')

In (58), Ali appears mildly irritated that his sister is seems unable to make the connection between the rent money that he owes her, and the cash that she has just been given. In (59), the speaker is obviously irritated by a man at the door who was refusing to leave her alone, despite the number of times she had tried to end the conversation and close the door. *Enfin* is more of an interjection here, a clearly emotionally-charged exclamation.

The next four display excitement (60), bewildered amusement, (61), grief-fuelled anger (62), and relief mixed with amusement (63).

(60)   *[On opening her door to find the little boy who has been staying with a neighbour on the doorstep]* Bonjour mon p'tit garcon. *[glances over at the flat opposite]* T'as un souci ? *[smiles]* Elle est partie ? *[standing aside to let him enter]* Entre, **enfin** ! Tu as faim ?
Les Revenants episode 3 (*enfin* at 33'22'')

(61) Samuel: Tu t'es fait mal ?
      Suz.:   Non, j'ai des courbatures.
      Samuel: Pourquoi des courbatures ?
      Suz.:   Parce que j'ai aidé l'ouvrier à débarrasser l'atelier.
      Samuel: M'**enfin**, qu'est-ce qui t'as pris ?

Partir (*enfin* at 5'43'')

(62) Juge: Elle a été examinée par plusieurs médecins et tous ont conclu qu'elle était irresponsable au moment des faits.
      Client 4: Ce qui était irresponsable c'était de lui confier le bébé, oui.
      Client 3: *[Puts her hand on his knee]* Oh Paul !
      Client 4: *[Shrugs her off]* Non, je, je, je sais ce que je dis. *[Pause]* Et quoi, **enfin**, on- on donne pas son bébé à garder à une folle.

Engrenages, episode 3 (*enfin* at 27'55'')

(63) Laure: C'est à propos de la nuit dernière ?
      Interpr.: En fait, euh… j- j'suis fiancé. *[Laure laughs]* J'suis bientôt marié en fait.
      Laure: **Fin** ! On a couché ensemble, on ne va pas faire une histoire, hein. *[laughs to herself]*

Engrenages, episode 2 (*enfin* at 31'16'')

In all but two of the six examples so far, *enfin* has been turn-initial or near turn-initial. In (62), it occurs near the start of a phrase, leaving (60) as the only example which is phrase-final, although even here the phrase is only two words long. This runs contrary to Chanet's assertion that *enfin* at the start of an utterance is usually a textual organiser (2003: 395).

As with *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6), emotional *enfin* is used by characters across a range of ages and social backgrounds. Eighteen of the twenty tokens occur in dialogue with another character, with a range of relationships represented, including husband-wife, colleagues, friends, and lawyer-client. The exclamation in (59) is more ambiguous as to whether S here expects someone to be listening: the remark does not appear to be directed at anyone in particular, but at the same time she expects another character to be waiting for her in her flat. Emotional *enfin* tokens without an addressee are certainly possible: Luscher & Moeschler (1990: 93) give the following example, taken from the *TLF*, of a man's thoughts:

(64)   Il pense : « Elle est morte… C'est fini… **enfin** ! » Une sensation de détente, de bien-être, de repos.

Indeed, they conclude (ibid.) that the presence of an interlocuteur does not necessarily mean the existence of an addressee in terms of *enfin*8, as emotions such as relief might be communicated by means of tone of voice either deliberately or involuntarily. In the case of the latter, the hearer is able to decode the speaker's emotional state, but this information has not been specifically *addressed* to him or her.

4.2.8 *Enfin*9 Disagreement-mitigating *enfin*

There is considerable evidence in the corpus for *enfin* being used to mitigate disagreement, something which is not satisfactorily covered by any of the eight categories described by Bertrand & Chanet (2005) or Buchi & Städtler (2008). I have chosen to name this category *disagreement-mitigating enfin*, as I feel this best encapsulates the facework role that the particle plays. This particular function of the particle is often used dialogically and in turn-initial position (or near turn-initial, if combined with *oui* or *non*, or with another DM; see 4.3), and therefore it might be tempting to view it as displaying an objection. However, I believe it is not, in fact, part of an FTA, but rather a mitigator of the FTA it introduces. Writing about *enfin* as a hetero-corrective, which I interpret not as a corrective but as *enfin*9, Beeching states that the particle 'serves as a gentle introducer to an objection raised by H, indeed softens the blow, thus contributing to reducing what might be perceived as an FTA.' That said, I do not rule out the possibility that interactants may come to view the particle as an objection (and therefore an FTA) in itself, by means of association (cf. 2.1). DMs are multifunctional, and it is by no means impossible for one to take on two apparently contradictory functions simultaneously.

There are thirteen tokens in the film corpus which appear to function in this way, and some examples are shown in (65)-(67). A further seven tokens occur mid-turn and are used to strengthen an argument, and these will be discussed later on.

(65) François: Non, moi je sais, c'est même sûr, je suis au conseil de discipline, donc je les ai vus passer moi. On a fait en moyenne deux, deux par mois, quoi, peut-être un tout petit peu moins, mais ça fait douze. Et à chaque fois il y a eu une exclusion.

Hervé: Ah **enfin**, le conseil de discipline c'est quand même le lieu du, du débat aussi, donc bon, vous savez que là, en l'occurrence, fin i'y a eu douze exclusions, quoi, mais, euh, c'est peut-être qu'i'y avait plus de solutions, quoi.

Rachel: **Fin**, douze sur douze, euh, on peut quand même là penser que la discussion a pas beaucoup pesé, malheureusement.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 39'58'' and 1 hour 40'07'')

(66) Frédéric: Pour moi, c'est typiquement, euh, la fausse bonne idée.

Head.: Alors dans ce cas on pourrait peut-être trouver une sanction qui puisse faire perdre tous les points en seule fois à l'élève, mais du coup le permis perd, euh, tout son intérêt. *[laughter]* C'est pas facile.

François: *[To Frédéric]* Oui, **enfin**, ce que t'appelles, euh… un sentiment d'impunité, c'est aussi ce qui nous laisse u- une marge de manœuvre, parce que je crois justement ce qui… c'est quand on a affaire à des, à des, des sanctions qui soient des espèces de couperets très tranchants qu'on peut pas s'adapter au cas par cas aux situations.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 42'49'')

(67) Patrick: Oui, il y en a combien qui sont menacés d'internat, euh... et des uns à l'internat mmm… On voit jamais la couleur, hein, de toute façon.

Rachel: C'est pas toujours que des mots, hein.

Frédéric: **Enfin** i.. i'y en a beaucoup, ils passent leur temps à bon dire la, la menace et euh… *[turns to François]* Fin, c'est pas un truc que tu peux prendre en compte, toi, en tout cas.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 41'44'')

All of the four tokens shown above come from the film *Entre les murs*, and indeed this film accounts for twelve of the twenty *enfin*9 tokens in the corpus. This type of *enfin* is generally found in discussions or debates, where characters express their opposing opinions respectfully, in an attempt to move the conversation forward and to build a consensus; and this is a central feature of the plot of *Entre les murs*, in which characters openly discuss complex issues such as identity, moral dilemmas, and the role and nature of discipline. In each of the above examples, *enfin* is used to introduce an opinion which challenges that of the previous speaker; in (65), Hervé disagrees with François' view that

the *conseil de discipline* is an empty ritual that signals the imminent expulsion of a child, while Rachel points out that the facts don't appear to support Hervé's argument; in (66), François attempts to convince Frédéric that flexibility within school rules is important for student-teacher relationships; while in (67), Frédéric does not overtly disagree with either of the previous two speakers, but suggests that Patrick and Rachel's disagreement is not important, as parents' threats should not be a matter for teachers' concern, whether or not those threats are proved to be real.

The difference between an *enfin* of protest (Cadiot *et al.* 1985: 220-21; cf. Barnes 1995: 820) and *enfin*9 is well illustrated by the tokens shown in (68). The examples given by these authors suggest interjections which would best fit into *enfin*8, as is the case for the second token here, while *enfin*9 registers an opposing point of view in a way that is less emotionally charged, and more considerate of H's face needs.

(68)   Philippe: Il se bat pas devant la poste en tenue de postier, ça c'est intolérable. Il sait peut-être pas dire non, mais moi j'sais dire stop.

Anna.:   **Fin**, un blâme, ch'est peut-être beaucoup, Monchieur le directeur.

Philippe: **Enfin**, vous n'allez quand même pas prendre sa défense, Annabelle !

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 59'30'' and 59'33'')

Here we have a disagreement between two post office workers as to whether the more senior (Philippe) is right to punish Annabelle's colleague (Antoine) for getting into a drunken fight at work, which resulted in Philippe receiving a punch to the face. The discussion takes place in the immediate aftermath, as Annabelle is treating Philippe's wounds, and both are in agreement that Antoine's drinking is out of control and that something needs to be done to help him. Annabelle's objection *Fin, un blâme, ch'est peut-être beaucoup* is in no way confrontational. Rather, it is an amicable effort to persuade her boss that he is being too harsh on her colleague. *Enfin* here appears to act as a mitigator, softening the FTA of criticising her boss. The second token, by contrast, is an *enfin*8 (see 4.2.7). Though it too accompanies an opposing point of view, the primary function here is to signal an emotional outburst, conveying indignation

that Annabelle should be defending her ex-boyfriend, when his behaviour has been so obviously out of line.

Hansen (2008: 209) also documents an 'indignant' *enfin*, of which an example is shown in (69), an 18th C. example from Thomas Simon de Gueullette's *Léandre fiacre*:

(69) Gilles: Oui, elle est belle; mais un homme qui a une belle femme, tout le monde est son cousin.

Cass.: Hé bien tant mieux, on me fera plus d'honneur.

Gilles: Mais pardienne, ne savez-vous donc pas qu'une bonne chèvre, une bonne mule, et une bonne femme sont trois mauvaises bêtes ?

Cass.: **Enfin**, je te demande conseil, mais ce n'est pas pour me contredire.

She describes this as 'a dialogical variant of the monological self-interruptive use' (ibid.). Here I must disagree with Hansen, as there does not appear to be any interruption taking place, although Cassandre slightly changes the direction of the conversation by refusing to answer Gilles' question directly. Rather, I believe the above example to show either an *enfin*8, or an *enfin*9, depending on tone of voice, as Cassandre is registering an objection to Gilles' reply.

In contrast to *écoute* (see 6.2.3), disagreement-mitigating *enfin* is used between peers, or in situations where any power difference is put to one side. In (70), for example, although the conversation takes place in a formal school meeting chaired by the headmaster, all of the teachers are working together to make a decision about a particular pupil's school report.

(70) Head.:   Oui. Alors, de toute façon, pour l'instant on ne parle pas
                des résultats, mais l'on parle du comportement.

      Vincent: Là m'**enfin** j- moi, j'ai l'impression que… il faudrait quand
                même commencer à envisager sérieusement pour une
                sanction là. C'est pas une attitude d'élève, quoi.

      Anne: *[Speaking over the top of her colleague]* Non, moi, c'est,
                c'est… c'est bien simple, hein. Un cours sur deux, euh, je,
                je le vire.

      Patrick: Non, **enfin**, moi, je le mets même plus dehors puisque à
                chaque fois que… ça arrive euh, il est, il est trop content et
                donc c'est pas la peine, hein.

                         Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 24'20'' and 1 hour 24'30'')

As the first of the two tokens here illustrates, *enfin*9 does not necessarily have
to introduce a contradictory opinion. Here, Vincent is the first to venture any
thoughts on this issue, and without the security of having heard others' views
and gauged the feeling in the room, he appears to use *m'enfin* to mitigate any
potential disagreement with what is a very strong statement about the pupil's
behaviour. He is immediately met with overwhelming support however, and
Patrick's intervention can be described as disagreement only insofar as it
implies that the previous speaker had not gone far enough. Although the two
teachers who have already spoken have both been in agreement, there is
always the risk when making a bold admission such as this that one will be
seen as having gone too far. *Enfin* is therefore arguably used to mitigate
anticipated disagreement in much the same way as with the previous token, as
well as softening the implied criticism of Anne's decision to repeatedly remove
this pupil from her classroom.

Similarly, in (71) we find *enfin*9 used as a hedge to reduce the potential for
disagreement:

(71) M. C.:   Mais dans combien de temps ?

      Julie: **Enfin**, le temps de venir, euh, on n'habite pas à côté à
                côté.

                         Les Revenants (*enfin* at 15'39'')

In this example, Julie has received a phonecall from an audibly panicked
Monsieur Costa, explaining that he has palpitations and requesting an urgent
injection. She agrees to leave straight away, and does her best to calm her

patient, whilst at the same time apparently mitigating her lack of a direct answer regarding her arrival time. This is almost certainly a safer option than supplying a time estimate and then risking arriving late, which might provoke an angry confrontation.

Another type of *enfin* that could be grouped together with this category is a reformulative use described by Riou (2013: 273), but of which there are no tokens in the film corpus.

> (72)　Obs:　puis ben il est à fond lui hein ah genre [im nan mais euh la Bretagne elle devrait être indépendante im] quoi // la Bretagne c'est pas la France
> Ewen:　ouais
> Glenn:　ouais **enfin** un con quoi ↓ (p. 273)[24]

Riou explains that this reformulation allows Glenn to protect the observer's face by disagreeing with her indirectly, implying that *un con* was what she in fact intended to say. This is a hetero-reformulation, and therefore does not fit with the description of *enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*) given in chapter 5, where speakers use *enfin* to correct their own speech by, for example, downplaying an initially over-strong assertion. Rather, *enfin* here could be said to function in much the same way as the tokens of *enfin*9 discussed above to mitigate the face threat from expressing an opposing point of view.

As well as the thirteen turn-initial tokens of *enfin*9 in the film corpus, a further seven tokens occur mid-utterance. These help S to strengthen his or her argument by acknowledging an opposing point of view, or other circumstances in which he or she might think differently. Three examples are shown in (73), (74) and (75):

> (73)　Et sans aller, euh, jusqu'aux, euh, hypothétiques, euh, 34 points, euh, 6 points sur un permis, ça signifie qu'euh, un élève peut poser de réels problèmes sans être sanctionné, parce que… **fin**, j'suis désolé, mais un ou deux points sur le permis, euh, j'appelle pas ça une réelle sanction.
>
> *Entre les murs* (*enfin* at 42'22'')

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[24] Under Riou's transcription system, superscript square-bracketed 'im' indicates S mimicking another speaker's (real or imagined) way of talking, a double forward slash signals a long pause, and a downwards arrow shows falling intonation.

(74) J'ai eu Sivot à la chancellerie. Ben, c'est pas Mesrine mais, il a quand même un petit casier bien rempli, ton Driss. Il vient de faire 6 mois pour le braquage d'une bijouterie *[Pause]* **Fin**, si au moins il était qualifié mais, il paraît qu'en plus il est nul.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 34'15'')

(75) Ouais, i'y a 24 familles qui ont signé pour qu'elle soit remplacée, 24. Qu'une enfant, euh, raconte des mensonges, ça, ça existe, **m'enfin**, 24, ils peuvent pas avoir tous inventé la même histoire au même moment, quoi.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 3'44'')

As with the utterance-initial tokens, all of these occur while S is expressing an opinion. However, whereas the previous tokens were mainly used to introduce a conflicting point of view, here *enfin* functions to aid S in the development of his or her argument. In six of the seven cases in the corpus, it serves as a link between S's main point and a concession, which is both face-saving and makes S appear more reasonable for having considered the other side of the argument: in the first two examples above it introduces a concession (*j'suis désolé* and *si au moins il était qualifié*), while in (75), it allows S to return to the main thrust of his or her argument following the concession. (73) is, admittedly, very close to *enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*), as it comes after a hesitation, but the fact that the speaker resumes his sentence after the parenthetical remark *fin, j'suis désolé, mais* suggests that this token possesses more properties of *enfin*9.

We might term this mid-utterance *enfin*9 'concessive *enfin*'. A good example can be found in Beeching (2002), reproduced in (76), below, where *enfin* is described as having a sense of *tout compte fait*. As with (73)-(75) it accompanies an an opposing position (*n'est pas sot*), although in this case it is with a view to explaining a problem or contradiction, rather than strengthening an argument.

(76) Cet élève qui, *enfin*, n'est pas sot, ne réussit pas dans son travail. (2002: 128)

Lastly, an interesting token can be found in (77), below. Samuel has been arguing with local builder Rémi over the quote for converting one of his out-buildings. In the end, Rémi does not express a fully opposing view, but instead

holds fast to his previous position. However, at the same time he proposes a compromise, introduced by *enfin*, which allows him to reject a lower payment, whilst enabling Samuel to pay a lower price.

(77)   Rémi: J'suis déjà descendu au max, hein, Monsieur Vidal.

         Samuel: Allez, faut encore faire un petit effort, hein. Ma femme ouvre son cabinet, pour l'instant elle a pas de clientèle. *[They join Suzanne, who is pouring coffee]*

         Suz.:   Un peu de café ?

         Samuel: Un café ?

         Rémi: Merci, non. *[pause]* **Enfin**, la solution ça serait que mon gars fasse lui le boulot, et que moi je passe de temps en temps. C'est un Espagnol, vous verrez qu'il travaille très bien.

Partir (*enfin* at 2'21'')

This token has similarities with interruptive *enfin* (see 4.2.6), but the difference here is that S does not change topic within his own monologue. Rather, *enfin* refers back to Samuel's *faut encore faire un petit effort*, with the exchange about the coffee merely an aside.

One final point to note about *enfin*9 is that only five of the twenty tokens are produced by women. Further research would be needed in order to investigate whether this trend would be confirmed over a larger film corpus, and indeed in spontaneous speech. A useful indicator is perhaps that the *enfin*9 data is skewed by the large number of tokens from *Entre les murs*. As previously stated, this may be due to the focus of the plot which invites the viewer to consider a number of challenging, unanswered questions, surrounding the education system and the best way to reach out to children from deprived backgrounds. Throughout the film we witness a number of thought-provoking discussions between colleagues and parents, as well as classroom debates where the students in François' class wrestle with complex issues such as their own identity. However, even if the nature of the plot is the main reason for the large number of *enfin*9 tokens in *Entre les murs*, the fact that the dialogue has been mainly devised through improvisation could indicate that this gender difference is a feature of spoken French. This would make for a very interesting point of investigation; Beeching (2002) has shown that men and women use *enfin* in different ways, with men tending towards a larger number of correctives.

However, her corpus did not include any tokens of adversatives, objection or perplexity (terms that might suggest a similar category to *enfin*9).

Disagreement-mitigating *enfin* often occurs in combination with *mais*, a point that I return to in the next section.

4.3 Combinations with *enfin*

Enfin occurs frequently in the research that exists on DM combinations: Razgouliaeva (2002), Waltereit (2007) and Hansen (2008) all write on the subject, while Hancock & Sanell (2012) find five combinations with *enfin*[25] among the seventeen complex DMs attested in their corpus.

In the film corpus, there are twenty-one tokens of *enfin* combined with another DM, and the majority of these are *mais enfin* (or *m'enfin*) or *enfin je veux dire* (nine and six tokens respectively). Of the remaining seven tokens, two are combinations with *ben*, and one each with *bon*, *oh*, *ah*, *ok*, and *écoute*. In all cases except *enfin je veux dire* and *enfin écoute*, *enfin* is the second DM in the sequence. There is only one token of a combination of more than two markers: *là m'enfin*, which I have treated for the purpose of my analysis as a variant of *mais enfin*.

These results are to some extent surprising, given those obtained by Hancock & Sanell (2012) in their study of complex DMs in a subcorpus of *InterFra* (University of Stockholm)[26]. In the 42,828 words produced by the two groups of native speakers in this corpus, they found *mais enfin* to be the sixth most frequently occurring French DM combination in terms of the number of tokens (four tokens, compared to thirty-three for the most common combination, *mais bon*; p. 309), and the fifth most frequent in terms of the number of speakers (four of the sixteen native speakers produced this combination, compared to twelve for *mais bon*; p. 308). The combination *enfin bon* was in second place according to both criteria – with double the number of speakers and more than

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[25] *Enfin bon, mais enfin, mais enfin bon, voilà enfin* and *enfin donc* (p. 309). Hancock & Sanell only counted those combinations which were produced by at least two speakers (p. 305).
[26] For more information on the corpus, Hancock & Sanell direct the reader to Bartning & Schlyter (2004).

five times the number of tokens (ibid.) – yet this does not feature at all in the present film corpus. Hansen (2008: 209), on the other hand, finds the two most prominent *enfin* combinations in her corpora to be *mais enfin* (as is the case in the present study) and *car enfin*, which does not feature here. In addition, Hancock & Sanell found three tokens of *mais enfin bon* (p. 309), which also does not appear in the film corpus.

In the next two subsections, I present a more detailed account of each of the various *enfin* compounds, except for *enfin je veux dire* and *enfin écoute*. *Enfin je veux dire* only occurs with corrective *enfin*, and will therefore be discussed in chapter 5, while *enfin écoute* will form part of the discussion of combinations with this second particle in chapter 6.

4.3.1 *Mais enfin / m'enfin*

Hansen suggests (2005a: 55; 2008: 210) that what she terms the collocational connectives *mais enfin* and *car enfin* encode the epistemic form of *enfin*, because the adversative/concessive meaning of *mais* and the justifying meaning of *car* imply that 'these collocations with *enfin* are justified by some additional element of meaning' (2008: 2010). The examples she gives (ibid.) are both monologic, and I therefore believe that in the context of the dialogic tokens in the film corpus (eight of the ten tokens of *mais enfin*), it is more logical to apply the adversative/concessive (i.e. disagreement-mitigating) sense of both markers as the dominant function in the collocation (although two are closer to *enfin*8; see 4.2.8 for an explanation of the overlap between these categories).

Barnes (1995: 820) confirms Cadiot *et al.*'s (1985: 224) observation that the variant *m'enfin* only occurs in dialogic uses, and adds that it usually 'belies a certain impatience with respect to the interlocutor.' Rapid delivery means that in some cases in the film corpus it is difficult to decide absolutely on whether a character has produced *mais enfin* or *m'enfin*, but the majority of these ten tokens certainly appear closer to the second variant. However, not all the tokens are dialogic (although this does apply to the majority). (78) shows an example of monologic *m'enfin*, previously seen in (75) (see 4.2.8).

(78)　Ouais, i'y a 24 familles qui ont signé pour qu'elle soit remplacée, 24. Qu'une enfant, euh, raconte des mensonges, ça, ça existe, **m'enfin**, 24, ils peuvent pas avoir tous inventé la même histoire au même moment, quoi.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 3'44'')

This is a token of concessive *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*), used to strengthen an argument by acknowledging the opposing point of view (see 6.2.8). The other monologic token is shown in (79), and is one of the only *mais enfin* / *m'enfin* tokens not to fall under the category of *enfin*9.

(79)　Je, je pense que ces réunions nous ont beaucoup aidés après l'accident et que… *[pause]* Voilà, c'est beaucoup grâce à vous si on a pu euhm… *[shakes her head]* faire le deuil, je sais pas, **m'enfin** *[pause]* continuer, avancer.

Les Revenants (*enfin* at 5'53'')

This is an interruptive, and as such a monologic, rather than a dialogic, use of the combination. It is also the clearest example in the corpus of *m'enfin*, as it occurs in semi-formal speech (the character is making an announcement to her grieving parents support group), with slow delivery, making the contraction unmistakeable. Unusually for an interruptive, the pause here comes after *enfin* rather than before.

As for dialogic *m'enfin* conveying impatience, this seems to be oversimplifying a little. In (80), for example – previously presented as (70) (see 4.2.8) – it is not H that S is impatient with, but the problem student who is the subject of their conversation at the staff meeting.

(80)　Head.:　Oui. Alors, de toute façon, pour l'instant on ne parle pas des résultats, mais l'on parle du comportement.
　　　　Vincent:　**Là m'enfin** j- moi, j'ai l'impression que… il faudrait quand même commencer à envisager sérieusement pour une sanction, là.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 24'20'')

In (81), S is taken aback with surprise and compassion, unsure how to respond to such a worrying concern as has been brought to him by one of his students.

(81) Henri.: Ben, tout à l'heure tout le monde a, a dit qu'i, qu'ils avaient appris quelque chose. *[Pause]* Et moi, par rapport à eux, j'ai rien appris.

François: Oui, **m'enfin**, tu veux dire euh… C'est pas vrai ce que tu dis, t'as appris autant de choses qu'eux, tu vois, euh, tout à l'heure chacun cherchait aussi, c'est- c'est pas forcément facile, tu vois de, de, d'essayer de se souvenir comme ça de but en blanc de ce qu'on a appris donc, bon.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 59'47'')

Indeed, the most openly impatient token (an example of *enfin*8) is in fact far closer to *mais enfin*:

(82) Luc: Qu'est-ce que tu vas lui dire après ? La vérité ?

Léa: Mais je n'en sais rien. J'en sais rien. Laisse-moi tranquille. C'est notre premier soir et je viens de retrouver ma sœur. *[Pause]* Je sais pas si tu comprends bien ce que ça veut dire pour moi. Je viens de la trouver.

Luc : **Mais enfin**, tu la connais à peine ! C'est pas parce que t'es allée la voir quelques heures ces derniers mois que…

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 9'26'')

Mais enfin has also been studied in detail by Razgouliaeva (2002), but the focus of her analysis is on the binary division (as in Rossari 1997) into temporal and reformulative *enfin*.[27] Razgouliaeva notices a change in function for the reformulative when it is used in combination with concessive *mais*:

> Employé seul, *enfin* correctif qui enchaîne sur le contenu propositionnel s'attaque toujours à la proposition p relative à l'énoncé X, tandis que se combinant avec *mais*, *enfin* ne supprime pas p elle-même, mais une implicature conventionnelle de p. (p. 167)

Mais, she argues, takes on a dominant role in this context, with *enfin* functionally dependent upon it (ibid.). *Enfin* moves from being a corrective (*enfin*6) [28] to what I in this study argue to be a disagreement mitigator (*enfin*9)

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[27] Which Rossari describes as: '*enfin* temporel qui marque la fin d'un procès et transmet explicitement ou implicitement l'idée d'une attente […] et *enfin* reformulatif qui indique que l'énoncé X est réexaminé par l'énoncé Y' (1997: 148-49).

[28] What I have identified as corrective *enfin*, Razgouliaeva has termed '*enfin* reformulatif enchain[ant] sur le contenu propositionnel' (2002: 19). As with Bertrand & Chanet (2005; see previous footnote) the version of this article freely available online at <http://clf.unige.ch/files/7614/4102/7697/06-Razgouliaeva_nclf24.pdf> does not have page numbers, but I have treated the first page of text as page 1.

and Beeching (2001; 2002) would term a hetero-corrective, making a correction to an implicature (see chapter 5).

4.3.2 Other Combinations with *enfin* (*ben, bon, oh, ah* and *ok*)

Combinations of *enfin* with *ben*, *bon*, *oh*, *ah* and *ok* are much less frequent in the corpus than those with *mais* (see above) or *je veux dire* (see 5.3), with only one token of each of these combinations, except for *ben enfin*, of which there are two. Beginning with *ben enfin*, this compound appears to be relatively versatile, with the two tokens incorporating a disagreement-mitigator (83), and an interruptive (84).

(83)   Parent 1: Et quand on arrive à zéro, que se passe-t-il ?
            Stéph.:   Ben, quand on arrive à zéro, c'est le conseil de discipline.
            Parent 2: **Ben enfin**, moi, ce que je constate, en tant que parent d'élève, c'est qu'une fois de plus, euh… ben, on est dans la… droite lignée de ce qui se passe, euh, toujours dans ce collège. C'est que, euh… vous pensez beaucoup à pénaliser, et jamais à va- à valoriser les élèves.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 41'19'')

(84)   Suz.:   Mais vous m'aviez promis de ne pas vendre avant six mois.
            M. Lag.: Non, j'suis vraiment désolé mais, c'est une aubaine pour moi, et je peux pas me permettre de refuser. **Ben fin**, ça vous laisse le temps de trouver une solution.

Partir (*enfin* at 49'02'')

The first *ben enfin* token occurs in the discussion at a school council meeting of a proposed new points-based punishment system. The parent here is the first person to put forward an opinion on the proposal, the previous remarks all having been to establish the facts of the new scheme. The use of *ben* therefore appears to serve to signal, as well as to mitigate, the fact that she is changing the course of the conversation. One could imagine it also being used had she been in favour of the proposal, but e*nfin* is arguably then used to mitigate her opposition to the idea.

The second *ben enfin* token occurs with an interruptive (*enfin*7; see 4.2.6), as does the one token of *bon enfin*:

(85)　Ah, ça c'est important. C'est important la famille. Vous avez de la chance. Vous savez, la solitude, c'est pas bon, hein. L'homme est pas fait pour ça. *[Pause]* **Bon fin**, je vais pas vous raconter ma vie. Bon, on se revoit dans quinze jours.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 15'28'')

In both of these examples, the characters move on from their previous line of conversation, with a view to ending the interaction. In this way the tokens share considerable similarities with *bon/ben écoute* (see 6.3). *Bon fin* is used by a person in authority (a police captain) to close an official engagement (a parole meeting) which has gone off at a tangent. The use of *bon* is an acknowledgement by S that he is wasting H's time, and should allow her to get on with her day. This can be contrasted to the token of *oh ben écoutez* in (209) (see 6.2.3), taken from the same film, in which we suppose that S wishes to maintain the idea of a mutual consensus that the meeting has been efficient, but that all the important information has now been covered. Similarly, in (84), S uses *ben* to try to build a consensus, introducing a more positive interpretation of the bad news he has just delivered. Again, it comes from a character in a position of power – this time H's landlord and former boss – and thus from someone with control over the length and direction of the interaction.

Neither *bon enfin*, nor the tokens of *oh enfin*, *ah enfin* or *ok enfin* occur frequently enough to provide evidence of the combination being a compound DM rather than mere juxtaposition. However, I include them here as avenues for future research into complex DMs. *Bon enfin* and *ben enfin* aside, the remaining three combinations with *enfin* continue the diverse range of functions. Firstly, *oh* occurs with one of the emotional *enfin* tokens conveying frustration (see 4.2.7), and is shown in (86):

(86)　**Oh enfin,** vous avez une idée !

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 8'40'')

Ah enfin is the disagreement mitigator previously seen in (65) (see 4.2.8):

(87)　**Ah enfin**, le conseil de discipline c'est quand même le lieu du, du débat aussi.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 39'58'')

Lastly, the sole token of *ok enfin* is a corrective (see 5.3):

(88) Non. *[Pause]* **Ok enfin**, si si si ! l'y avait un grand mec avec un gros sac, euh, mais j'suis même pas sûr qu'il sortait de l'immeuble, alors.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 25'22'')

Another point to consider in an analysis of combinations with *enfin* is the question of concluding phrases after *enfin*7 (such as *j'sais pas*, *vous me comprenez* or *tu fais ce que tu veux*), and whether these could also be considered to be forming a combination with the particle. I would argue that this depends on the degree of pragmaticalisation, which would be attested, as in Hancock & Sanell's criteria (2012: 305), by frequency of use (taking into account the numbers of speakers adopting the form, as well as the overall total within a corpus). By this reasoning, I do not have enough tokens to judge whether any other co-occurrences with performative *enfin* form a compound DM, but this would be an interesting area for future research.

4.4 Summary

The results of the analysis in this chapter confirm the findings of previous studies in showing that adverbial uses of *enfin* are rare in speech (and representations of speech). Although corrective *enfin* is once again shown to be the most common form (41% of tokens), the percentage is significantly lower than in previous corpora, suggesting that the use of a film corpus has been productive for finding a wider range of contexts for and uses of *enfin*. In particular, I have identified a large number of tokens which are arguably used to mitigate disagreement, introducing an opposing point of view, or a concession which serves to strengthen the speaker's point. This is a function of *enfin* not described in previous studies, and often occurs in combination with *mais*.

Other important uses of *enfin* highlighted in the film corpus are as an affective marker (*enfin*8) – conveying a wide range of emotions including frustration, excitement and relief – and as a performative or interruptive (*enfin*7). Both types of *enfin*7 can play a role in facework, or merely act as structural markers; the performative allows a speaker to abandon their utterance if struggling to

organise their thoughts on a complex theme, and the interruptive is a tool to facilitate a change of topic.

In the next chapter I look in more detail at *enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*).

Chapter 5 – Corrective e*nfin*

In the previous chapter I gave an overview of the different functions of *enfin* identified in the literature and in the corpus, and a detailed discussion of *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*), *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*) and *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*). The current chapter presents a more in-depth analysis of the most commonly-occurring type of *enfin*: *enfin*6, or corrective/repair *enfin*. This is used as a means for S to make a change to something he or she has just said, or was about to say, often in order to attend to face needs. This may involve, for example, selecting a more accurate word in order to appear more sensitive, or rephrasing in order to introduce further mitigation to an actual or potential FTA. Beeching (2002: 53) notes that some corrections may be 'purely referential', but this may still reflect a desire to be seen as competent (negative face) by, for example, reporting facts accurately, or making 'correct' linguistic choices. I interpret corrective *enfin* to be a self-corrective, with adversative tokens which Beeching would class as a hetero-corrective actually falling under *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8).

The basis for the present analysis is Beeching's (2001; 2002) research into corrective *enfin*, which is outlined, along with a discussion of tokens from the corpus, in the second part of the chapter (5.2). The first section (5.1) is devoted to a brief review of other literature on corrective *enfin*, and an initial presentation of Beeching's six corrective categories.

5.1 Background to Corrective *enfin*

As noted by Bertrand & Chanet (2005: 3), corrective *enfin* is attested universally across the literature (see 4.1.1), making this perhaps its most salient use, as well as the most frequent (see 4.1.3). This section sets out some of the key studies in the development of corrective *enfin* research. Beeching's (2001; 2002) are undoubtedly the most detailed, and therefore form the framework for the present investigation. These are presented in 5.1.1, followed by a summary of the other studies in 5.1.2.

5.1.1 Beeching's Corrective *enfin* Categories

The only author to have provided a very detailed analysis of corrective *enfin*, using evidence from authentic spoken data, is Beeching (2001; 2002). Her seventeen-and-a-half-hour corpus contains 432 tokens of *enfin*, of which 311 are identified as correctives (2001: 23; 2002: 127). This is consistent with studies by Hansen (2005b) and Barnes (1995), which also revealed correctives to be the most common form of *enfin* in this type of data (see 4.1.3). Beeching gives an excellent analysis of these tokens in her 2001 article, which was reprinted in a slightly briefer form in her 2002 book, along with an investigation of the social stratification of *enfin*. Together these two works are used as a framework for the current study.

Beeching (2001; 2002) divides corrective *enfin* into six categories:

1. *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*
2. precision *enfin*
3. *enfin* used to express uncertainty – in one's personal experience at least
4. *enfin* used to move from the particular to the general case
5. restrictive *enfin*
6. syntactic repair *enfin*

These are detailed in 5.2. In addition, Beeching also discusses an echo or self-mimic *enfin*, which Bertrand & Chanet (2005: 4) interpret as a seventh category in their overview of research into *enfin*'s *valeurs correctives*. However, this actually refers to a particular structure in which repairs formulated with *enfin* can be presented. The same structure is not used with tokens of corrective *enfin* in the film corpus, but I do observe another structure similar to self-mimic *enfin*, which is discussed in 5.2.7.

Beeching's (2002) analysis of corrective *enfin* is rooted firmly within a politeness/facework context, and in particular she notices a large number of corrective tokens used to introduce a hedge. This term, which she says 'has not yet been fully defined by linguists', more or less equates to 'fuzziness' (2001:

26; 2002: 27), a mitigation strategy which 'downplay[s] the force of an utterance' (2002:147). In the second part of her (2002) analysis, she re-organises corrective *enfin* into just four categories (hedges, precision/restriction, paraphrase and denying the implicature of an interlocutor's utterance; p. 152), and here contrasts hedges with the latter three which are 'used to clarify or make an expression more specific on a referential level' (p. 147). It is the hedges which she finds to be more common (54% of the tokens; ibid.), highlighting the important facework role that *enfin*6 plays in interactions. I should add to this that precisions, restrictions, paraphrases and denials can all also play a part in facework, even if not in the same sense of mitigating the force of an FTA. Precisions, for example, can serve to enhance the face of the speaker by making him or her appear more knowledgeable, and attentive to H's communicative needs.

Unlike Hansen (2005a; 2005b; 2008; see 5.1.2), Beeching interprets hesitation as a separate category from correctives, using it to cover instances 'where a speaker stumbled, repeated words and seemed to be searching for words and also where none of the other categories were appropriate' (2002: 145). I have chosen to follow Hansen's lead in classing hesitant tokens, such as that shown in (89), as correctives.

(89)   Non, mais non. J- je n'ai jamais dit ça ! Mais… n'oubliez pas que…
        vous êtes à l'essai. Faites un effort, hein. Voilà. F- faites un effort,
        euh, soyez… moins repliée sur vous-même, euh, ouvrez-vous un
        peu. *[Pause]* Bien sûr j- je comprends que… ça ne doit pas être,
        euh… **Enfin**… Je comprends, mais…
                        Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 1 hour 14'06'')

Hansen (2008: 208), however, does note the similarity between hesitant examples of *enfin*6, and *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6), stating that 'it is probably reasonable to consider this hedging use a subtype of the reformulative use, although it may also have elements of the self-interruptive'.

Beeching does not give detailed figures for the six categories used in her initial (2001; 2002) analysis, apart from to state that precision *enfin* accounts for the highest number of correctives, and syntactic repair the lowest (only two tokens).

However, she does give a more detailed breakdown for the re-organised categories: hedges account for one hundred and fifteen of the three hundred and five tokens[29]; precision/restriction for ninety-six; paraphrase for eight, and denial for five (p. 147).

I aim to build on this analysis by giving more detailed information in 5.2 regarding the frequency of each of the six categories of corrective *enfin* used in this study, as well as discussing any differences observed between these tokens and those described by Beeching. In 5.3 I then highlight patterns in the use of corrective *enfin* when it occurs as part of a compound DM, generally in combination with *je veux dire*.

5.1.2 Other Research on Corrective *enfin*

In addition to Beeching (2001; 2002), a number of other studies have also made significant contributions to our understanding of corrective *enfin*, and these are summarised below.

Cadiot et al. *(1985)*

The first study to give real attention to corrective *enfin* was that of Cadiot *et al.* (1985). The purpose of this study was to argue for one unified definition of *enfin* (adverb and DM), so the authors do not delineate separate functions for *enfin*, but rather discuss a range of its uses in order to argue for a single underlying structure. However, they do devote a number of pages (pp. 230-35) to examples which illustrate the corrective, many of which are referred to as *les cas de rature* (p. 230). They cover a number of different nuances and contexts, both monologic and dialogic, such as where S has made a grammatical error (e.g. (90)), wants to avoid a misunderstanding (e.g. (91)), anticipates a potential objection from H (e.g. (92)), or corrects an assumption made by H (e.g. (93)).

> (90)   Il y a cinquante ans, à Paris, on voyait encore pas mal de cheval, **enfin** de chevaux. (p. 230)

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[29] For the analysis in the second half of Beeching (2002), the data is adjusted to remove one speaker who produces an unusually high number of tokens.

(91)　　Maintenant tu tournes à droite, **enfin** à gauche. (ibid.)

(92)　　J'oubliais de te dire, je crois que je ne peux pas aller à notre rendez-vous, **enfin** j'en suis même sûre. (p. 232)

(93)　　A:　Oh, il skie bien ce type.
　　　　　　[They watch as the skier makes a mistake]
　　　　　　B:　**Enfin**, pas mal. (p. 234)[30]

Corrections such as (90) and (91) are described as *les cas de rature* (p. 230) or *les cas de maintien intégral de l'intention communicative* (p. 232), whereas in the latter two examples, *enfin* is used to signal a 'modification' (p. 232) made either to the modality of the utterance (in (92)) or to the predicate (in (93)).

Hwang (1993)

Hwang's (1992) PhD thesis, summarised in Hwang (1993), is the first to single out the reformulative use of *enfin* as worthy of specific attention, devoting an entire chapter to the corrective, although this is approached from the point of view of contrasting monologic and dialogic uses of the marker. He distinguishes two uses of corrective *enfin*: as a self-corrective and as hetero-corrective. However, his interpretation of *enfin* as a reformulative marker is much broader than that adopted in the present study, as he includes in the category of *hétéro-rectification* uses of the marker 'pour refuter l'autre' (2003: 48), something which I would class as *enfin*9 (see 4.2.8). Indeed, Beeching states that corrections which are not self-corrections are 'atypical' (2001: 29; 2002: 133), and even here she envisages tokens that are not turn-initial, occurring after *oui*, *non* or *si* (see 5.2.1).

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[30] The description '*[They watch as the skier makes a mistake]*' has been added for clarity. This scene is first described on p. 234 in relation to their example (68), a monologic version of their (70), whereby S makes a self-correction:
　　　'Deux personnes regardent passer un skieur. L, admiratif: « Oh, il skie bien ce type ». A ce
　　　moment le skieur commet une petite erreur et L se reprend:
　　　(68)　　Enfin, pas mal.'
I have assumed that the dialogic version in (70) – my (93) – refers to the same situation.

Rossari (1997)

Rossari (1997) includes a detailed comparative analysis of *enfin* with equivalent reformulation markers in Italian. She views the corrective as just one of three types of the reformulative marker – which she differentiates from temporal *enfin* (see 4.1.3) – and these are shown in (94), (95) and (96).

(94)   Il skie bien ce type, **enfin**, il skie pas mal. (p. 32)[31]

(95)   Ce serait gentil d'aller voir Pierre, **enfin**, tu fais ce que tu veux. (ibid.)

(96)   Paul est arrivé, **enfin**, je n'aurais peut-être pas dû te le dire. (ibid.)

In all three cases, Rossari argues that *enfin* functions as an act of renunciation. In (94), which shows what Rossari classes as the corrective, S corrects the propositional content of what he or she has said. In (95), the correction is made to the act of going to see Pierre (*l'acte illocutoire*), and in (96), to the fact of having spoken at all (*l'acte de l'énonciation*). Using the framework set out in chapter 4, however, only (94) and (96) would count as correctives, while (95) would be an example of *enfin*7 (performative *enfin*).

Rossari's *enfin reformulatif* also encompasses those uses of *enfin* which exhibit some form of 'mécontentement' (p. 32), whether that be an *enfin* that I would class as a performative (*enfin*7), as in (97), or one that I would class as emotional *enfin* (*enfin*8), as in (98).

(97)   Ce steak est trop cuit, **enfin**… (p. 31)

(98)   **Enfin**, cessez ce chahut ! (p. 27)

Némo (2000)

Némo's analysis of *enfin* is very brief, but he does make the point (p. 501) that, whereas other uses of *enfin* will refer to a problem which is non-linguistic (as in (99), which refers to Paul's lateness), corrective tokens deal only with problems relating to the utterance itself: vocabulary, structure, potential for misinterpretation, and so on.

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[31] This example also appears in Cadiot *et al.* (1985)

(99)   Paul, **enfin**, réapparut ! (p. 500)

Chanet (2003)

Rather than separate the various pragmatic functions of *enfin* (e.g. the corrective, performative or emotional marker), Chanet (2003) instead approaches all forms of the particle (see 4.1.1 for an explanation of her use of this term) on four 'levels': *le niveau syntagmatique*, *le niveau des 'taches' discursives*, *le niveau sémantico-référentiel* and *le niveau des enjeux interactionnels*. Several of her examples feature correctives, such as that shown in (100).

(100)   [J]'ai engagé deux comédiens euh et j'ai organisé un atelier sur la poésie africaine donc moi j'avais séléctionné une cent- euh 80 textes je crois de d'auteurs africains et haï- **enfin** c'était Afrique et Caraïbes donc d'auteurs africains haïtiens et mauriciens (p. 396)

This example is analysed on the *niveau syntagmatique*, and *enfin* is described as signalling a revision to introduce an aside. This is difficult to apply to Beeching's categorisations (see 5.1.1), but could perhaps be said to be closest to a syntactic repair, as a change is made to the structure of the phrase by introducing additional information. Certainly, this is a phenomenon that Beeching comments on, stating that '[o]ften [corrective] *enfin* introduces an insertion into the syntactic structure which continues to left and right of the inserted "aside"' (2001:27; 2002: 131). However, she does not ascribe this to any particular category of *enfin*[6].

By contrast, all of Chanet's examples analysed on the *niveau sémantico-référentiel* would easily fit into Beeching's framework for corrective *enfin*. These are shown in (101)-(104):

(101)   [E]st-ce que par exemple au Canada au Québec vous avez des des résonances, **enfin**, il y a il y a est-ce il y a des il y a des organismes comme ça un petit peu francophonisants dans la culture (p. 397)

(102) [I]l a il a glissé sur la barrière parce que c'était en hiver et elle était sûrement un peu glissante {rire} et il est très mal retombé {rire} pour un garçon – disons que il est il est tombé jambes écartées sur la barrière – il a fait un un saut périlleux **enfin** il a – il a tourné autour de la barrière il s'est fracassé sur la ba- sur la deuxième barrière qui était en dessous – et il est tombé par terre donc il était il était très très mal en point (p. 397)

(103) [C]ette cave je sais elle a servi aussi parce que on a encore des traces à mettre très X très logiquement du vin – donc il y avait aussi un côté pratique je pense à la construction quand tu avais un – quand tu avais un grenier pour mettre par exemple la récolte **enfin** je pense surtout dans les campagnes pas pas dans les villes – tu avais une cave ici aussi pour emmagasiner je pense la nourriture et pour la conserver au frais (p. 397)

(104) [E]t ensuite bah effectivement il faut savoir reconnaître des cultures hein euh il faut savoir reconnaître euh faire la différence entre une prairie et du blé entre **enfin** – t – tous les types de production qui existent (p. 397)

The first two examples are described as introducing a reformulation: either paraphrastic (for (101)) or semantic-cognitive (for (102)). Under Beeching's categories they would be termed syntactic repair *enfin* and precision *enfin* respectively. For the latter two, Chanet is in fact in perfect agreement with Beeching: (103) shows a change from generic information to the more specific (Beeching's from the particular to the general case), and (104) the opposite (Beeching's restrictive *enfin*).

Hansen (2005a; 2005b; 2008)

Hansen refers to a repair sense of *enfin*, which she describes as 'mark[ing] the discourse in its scope as constituting a corrective reformulation of some aspect of the previous discourse' (2005b: 155). Taking a diachronic as well as a synchronic approach, she finds evidence of repair *enfin* from the 19th century onwards, and hypothesises that this evolved from the synthesising (enumerative) sense of *enfin*, as 'a synthesis of previous discourse will normally constitute a restatement of what has already been said in a different form' (ibid.: 156). The main motivation, she continues, is for speakers 'to save face by masking a reformulation of an unclear, and possibly even incorrect, statement as a synthesis' (2005a: 58; 2005b: 156; 2008: 207). The particle then becomes

entrenched as a hedge; a face-saving-device 'designed to forestall objections to less than truthful and/or felicitous formulations' (2005a: 58; 2008: 207). It is this face-saving, repair sense of *enfin* which distinguishes it from *finalement*, a particle which shares many of *enfin*'s other functions, but which has not developed an equivalent corrective use. Hansen argues that a 'division of labour' has developed between the two markers, whereby *finalement* is used predominantly as a temporal marker (compared to only one token of temporal *enfin* in her corpora), while *enfin* tends to be used for repairs (two thirds of the *enfin* tokens in her corpora are correctives) (2005b: 169)[32].

Hansen (2005a) describes three main types of corrections made with repair *enfin*:

1. replacement of what S believes to be an inadequate formulation, e.g.:

(105)   Je crois être dans un autre climat, un pays bas et couvert comme la Bretagne, **enfin** sombre fôret où le soleil ne luit que rarement. (p. 58)

2. after hesitation i.e. indicating the formulation finally chosen, e.g.:

(106)   Et puis nous avons un directeur, un directeur qui… que… **enfin** qui n'est pas bien avec moi. (p. 62)

3. direct contradictions of S's previous discourse, e.g.:

(107)   *Bartholoméus*: Enfin, votre pièce est-elle écrite, ou non?
        Ionesco, cherchant sur la table parmi ses papiers : Oui…**enfin**, non… n'est-ce pas… pas tout à fait. (p. 62)

The first category is the closest to synthesising *enfin*, and so appears first: it is attested at the end of the 17th century (p. 58), but is not frequent until the 19th (p. 61). The other two do not appear until later: they are first evidenced in Hansen's 20th century data (p. 62).

If we compare these categories to Beeching's (2001; 2002; see 5.1.2), no. 3 (direct contradictions) appears to be roughly equivalent to Beeching's 1 (*enfin*

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[32] For her comparative study of *enfin* and *finalement*, Hansen uses data drawn from *Frantext*, three radio debates, one telephone conversation and two face-to-face conversations (2005b: 154)

after *oui*, *non* or *si*), and no. 2 (after hesitation) to Beeching's 6 (syntactic repair *enfin*). Hansen's first category (replacement of an inadequate formulation) is effectively subdivided into Beeching's 2-5 (precision *enfin*, *enfin* used to express uncertainty, *enfin* used to move from the particular to the general case, and restrictive *enfin*). The equivalence is not perfect, however. Syntactic repair *enfin*, for example, could also certainly be said to be replacing an inadequate reformulation.

Hansen's study is the closest to Beeching's, in that the category of corrective *enfin* is clearly established as separate from any of the other categories described in chapter 4, and there is an explicit reference to facework. Indeed, her study was produced later than Beeching's, but she makes no comparison between Beeching's six categories of the corrective particle and her own three identified uses of repair *enfin*. Instead, Hansen is critical of Beeching, as well as of Vet (1980) and Rossari (1994), for what she views as an exclusive focus on one sole use of *enfin* which does not 'account for any possible relations between the different senses they distinguish' (2005a: 43). However, whilst it is certainly true that it is important to recognise the overlap between the various functions that DMs perform, I do not feel that it is wrong for a synchronic study to devote its attention to one particular use of an item, especially when that use accounts for an extremely large proportion of tokens in several corpora (see 4.1.3). Beeching's (2001; 2002) analysis is extremely informative regarding the different ways in which speakers make real-time adjustments to their speech in line with face needs, and provides a very useful point of comparison for the tokens in the film corpus.

Waltereit (2007)

Waltereit's (2007) study of DM combinations includes a description of *enfin bref*, a compound marker which he describes as having 'une fonction reformulative-synthétisante' (pp. 107-08), whereby the speaker indicates that the correction will be pithier than the original formulation. This is illustrated in (108), a 19th C. example from Stendhal's *Lucien Leuwen*.

(108) [V]ous avez servi De Vaize et si vous cachez vos principes jacobins (c'est le roi qui m'a dit que vous étiez Jacobin, c'est un beau métier, et qui vous rapportera gros;) **enfin, bref,**[33] si vous êtes adroit, avant que la pension de 4 000 francs ne soit supprimée vous aurez accroché six ou huit mille francs d'appointements. (p. 107)

This would suggest similarities with Beeching's category 4 (from the particular to the general case; see 5.2.4), except that in her examples the replacement made is generally a noun phrase. Here it is a complete paraphrase – something, in fact, far closer to Beeching's syntactic repair *enfin* (see 5.2.6).

According to Waltereit, in more modern French *enfin bref* can also indicate that S dismisses his or her (or H's) preceding utterance as unimportant, often with an ironic or even condescending tone, as in (109), taken from Anne Vergne's *L'Innocence du Boucher*.

(109) C'est fini ? Ou on se remet au lit ? demanda Géraldine en se versant un trait de gin dans du champagne.
– Pfff… souffla Jean Chapot. **Enfin bref**, je tenais à te dire que je t'ai toujours beaucoup aimée et admirée, et…
– Et que pour cette excellente raison tu vas épouser une Geneviève à Montpellier. J'ai compris. (p. 108)

These are very interesting observations, but unfortunately there are no tokens of *enfin bref* in the current corpus against which to test Waltereit's analysis. The overview has been included here for completeness.

Riou (2013)

Riou's (2013) analysis of mitigation strategies used in preconflictual discourse between friends identifies various macro- and micro-strategies for mitigating disagreement and criticism within her corpus. Of these, reformulation was the most frequently used micro-strategy within the creation of a didactic, clarificatory speech style, and she identifies three markers used to facilitate this: *enfin*, *en fait* and *quoi*.

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[33] This is an early example of the combination, so appears with a comma separating *enfin* and *bref* (see 3.4).

As with Rossari (1997; see above), *enfin* is approached here as a reformulation marker, but again with some of the examples Riou gives falling outside of the category of *enfin*6. However, the overlap with other categories is different from that in Rossari's study. Rather than include performative or emotional tokens, Riou cites examples of reformulation used to summarise or draw a conclusion, as in (110) (discussed in 4.2.8, and reproduced below); or to conclude an argument, as in (111).

(110) Obs: puis ben il est à fond lui hein ah genre [im nan mais euh la
                Bretagne elle devrait être indépendante im] quoi // la
                Bretagne c'est pas la France
        Ewen: ouais
        Glenn: ouais **enfin** un con quoi ↓ (p. 273)

(111) parce que dans un cas comme ça t'en as un qui est devant // le
        frontman / qui va juste / faire / des petites phrases // le temps qu'il
        lance sa phrase de trois mots ↓ / ben ça aussi ça va lui prendre
        quelques secondes ↑ / t'as la réponse / le petit sourire qui fait que ça
        dure ↑ eh ben pendant ce temps-là° les mecs ils- **enfin** voilà c'est
        c'est des trucs tout con hein mais il y a il y a- voilà ils font durer (p.
        274)[34]

I would class both of these examples as *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8), which is unsurprising given the topic of Riou's thesis. I interpret (110) in the same way as the hetero-reformulation described by Hwang (see above), while (111) appears to show *enfin* used to conclude an argument. There is significant crossover here with synthesising *enfin*, as it appears at the end of a list which is then summarised by *voilà c'est c'est des trucs tout con*, but the argumentative function here seems to take the primary role, as this synthesis also acts as a concession used to strengthen the point which follows (*ils font durer*).

5.2 Types of Corrective *enfin*

The corpus contains 119 tokens of *enfin*, of which forty-nine can be classed as having a corrective function. At just over 40%, this is a much lower proportion than in Beeching's or Hansen's corpora – where correctives constituted 72%

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[34] Under Riou's transcription system, single and double forward slashes represent pauses, arrows show intonation, and a superscript ° indicates that a section has been produced at a lower volume.

and 67% respectively (see 4.1.3) – but nonetheless accounts for the largest number of tokens of *enfin* in the present data.

Discussions of each of Beeching's six categories are set out in 5.2.1-5.2.6, along with an analysis of the corrective tokens that I have classed as belonging to each of these categories. These include examples of *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*; precision *enfin*; *enfin* used to express uncertainty; restrictive *enfin*; and syntactic repair *enfin*. There are no clear tokens in the corpus of the fourth category (from the particular to the general case). Echo/self-mimic *enfin* is discussed in 5.2.7, and compound tokens in 5.3.

5.2.1 *Enfin* After *Oui*, *Non* or *Si*

The first of Beeching's corrective *enfin* categories is illustrated in (112) and (113). These feature a corrective introduced after *oui*, *non* or *si* to hedge an initially over-strong assertion, and also constitute the third repair *enfin* category identified by Hansen (2005a; see 5.1.2): direct contradictions of S's previous discourse.

> (112) A: Vous êtes Breton?
>   B: Oui. [rires] **Enfin**, je suis né à Rennes, quoi. (2001: 29; 2002: 132)

> (113) A: Et si j'achète les cassettes par exemple des films en France est-ce que je peux l'utiliser normalement en Angleterre ?
>   B: Ah oui, oui, pas de problème. Mm. **Enfin**, il faut un magnétoscope acheté en France. (ibid.)

Beeching states that many examples of *enfin* falling into this category, such as the two above, are 'atypical of the corpus as a whole' (2001: 29; 2002: 133), because the correction introduced is not a self-correction of a vocabulary item, but rather an objection to a proposition made by H. In many cases (though not all) this is an implicature. She explains that in (112), for example, S is challenging H's concept of what it is to be Breton, and in (113), that S corrects what he believes to be H's assumption that playing videos in England means using an English VCR. Beeching argues that in each case this structure is a strategy used to soften the blow of the FTA, as S first meets H's positive face

needs by agreeing with the implicature that is put to him or her, before correcting what he or she sees as a misconception.

This is certainly a valid argument, but it does not fully account for the motivations behind these tokens of *enfin*. There is still a self-corrective aspect here, in that the particle introduces a clarification of an answer that S realises may be misinterpreted by H, or which he or she had not fully thought through. It is not only H's face which is considered, but also S's own, as there is the potential for H to think she has been misinformed.

For other cases of *enfin* in this category, 'the corrective in more classic manner downtones an over-assertive remark by S in replying baldly "yes" or "no"' (2001: 29; 2002: 133). No examples are given by Beeching to illustrate this, but an example from the film corpus is shown in (114):

(114) From.: On va dire vous êtes arrivé, quoi, vers, euh, vingt-et-une heures, vingt-et-une heures trente, euh, pas après, c'est ça?
Mme L.: Oui, **enf-** j- je sais pas l'heure exacte.
Engrenages, episode 3 (*enfin* at 16'12'')

This is taken from a police interview with a murder victim's widow, who later turns out to be the killer, and is therefore lying to cover her tracks. Initially agreeing with Fromentin's question before downgrading her answer to one which is much more vague allows her to avoid being pinned down on any details, whilst maintaining the impression of having arrived home at roughly the time stated.

At other times in the corpus, corrective *enfin* is used to introduce more detail, as in (112) and (113). An example of this is shown in (115); a conversation between two police officers about a suspect they are holding in the cells.

(115) Laure: Il s'appellerait Simon Delaître.
Thomas: Simon Delaître ?
Laure: Ouais. **Fin**, c'est pas lui qui a dit comment il s'appelle, il veut rien nous dire.
Les Revenants, episode 2 (*enfin* at 42'35'')

Enfin after *oui*, *non* or *si* is the most common form of corrective *enfin* in the corpus, with sixteen tokens (out of a total of forty-nine). Two of these tokens occur with both *oui* (or *si*) and *non* together, as characters first give an affirmative answer, then a negative one (or vice versa), before finally compromising on something in between. These are shown in (116) and (117).

(116) François: Et toi, on te dit ça et tu le crois ?

       Julie: Ben… oui, non, **fin**, je, je viens te voir. En notant que tu l'as pas marqué dans ton rapport d'incident, donc, euh…

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 34'05'')

(117) Driss: Vous vous êtes déjà parlé de moi?

       Yvonne: Non. Mais si. **Fin**, un p'tit peu.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 1 hour 05'51'')

This is a structure that is not mentioned in Beeching's analysis. In these examples, the initial answer and first correction are made baldly (or relatively baldly; Julie is clearly hesitant in (116)), and the second self-correction introduced by *enfin*. Following two contradictory answers, the particle signals S 'giving in' and revealing the truth, or providing an explanation for his or her apparently erratic behaviour. So rather than the straightforward *oui*/*non*/*si* + *enfin* + hedge, (116) and (117) present the rather more complex structure *oui*/*non*/*si* + contradictory *oui*/*non*/*si* + *enfin* + hedge.

Another variant of this pattern is shown in (118), an exchange where a character initially agrees with her interlocutor, before correcting herself with *enfin* to *non*, so we have *oui*/*non*/*si* + *enfin* + contradictory *oui*/*non*/*si* + hedge.

(118) Philippe: Et ça veut dire quoi « biloute », hein?

       Antoine: *[Smile vanishes]* Biloute ? Ça veut dire, euhm… *[Exchanges awkward glances with the others]* Ça veut rien dire.

       Yann: Cha veut dire « p'tite quéquette ».

       Philippe: P'tite quéquette ?

       Anna.: Oui, **enfin**, euh, non, ce- non, non, ç'a rien à voir avec la quéquette, hein, c'est, c'est juste affectueux.

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 41'11'')

Here Philippe is obviously offended. He has just been taught a nickname by which to call everyone he meets if he wants to sound like an authentic *Ch'ti*, only to find that it is a term for the male sexual organ. He repeats the term in angry disbelief, thinking he is being made fun of. Annabelle then comes to the rescue to explain that the word is a perfectly common term of endearment. She begins with *oui*, as *biloute* does indeed mean *p'tite quéquette*, as Philippe has just learnt, but immediately moves to modify her answer; this is signalled by *enfin*. Instead of jumping straight to *non* as in the previous examples, she hesitates, momentarily lost as to how to rectify the situation. She then settles on *non*, which becomes more confident on repetition, as she explains that the term has lost its original connotation as an insult. So whereas above we saw two polar opposite answers given, followed by a third, middle-ground answer, which was prefixed by *enfin*, here we see a gradual transition from one pole to the other, with *enfin* signalling the start of the softening process.

As with (113), where S makes the lengthy assertion *Ah oui, oui, pas de problème. Mm*, it is not always the case in the film corpus that *oui* and *non* appear as baldly initially as in the above examples. In two cases they form part of a longer refutation, shown in (119) and (120):

(119) Interpr.: Et, euh, euh, le, le jeune homme Pavel là, vous, vous croyez qu'il va dénoncer le réseau ou…?

   Laure: Ouais, je pense bien sûr que non. **Fin**, peut-être si on prolonge un peu la garde à vue, mais bon, hein. Pour ça il faut donner l'accord du procureur, fin, du substitut qui est… avait demandé l'enquête préliminaire.

   Engrenages, episode 2 (*enfin* at 24'29'')

(120) Martine: T'as quelqu'un dans ta vie en ce moment? *[Alex stares at her]* Ah, excuse-moi, Alex. Pardon, t'es pas obligé de me répondre, j'suis- ça me regarde sûrement pas.

   Alex: Non, non. J'ai personne. *[Pause]* **Enfin**, rien de… de sérieux.

   Ne le dis à personne (*enfin* at 25'16'')

In neither of these examples do we find *non* alone. In (119), Laure's initial assertion forms a whole phrase (*Ouais, je pense bien sûr que non*), while in (120), Alex elaborates on his initial *non, non* by adding (*J'ai personne*). In both cases, *enfin* is then used to introduce a clarification of this statement.

Lastly, in (121) we have a double use of this type of corrective *enfin*.

    (121)   Michel: Secrétaire ?
               Juliette: Ouais.
               Michel: Vous avez toujours fait ça ?
               Juliette: Ouais. *[Pause]* **Enfin**, non, ben- *[Pause]* **Enfin**, c'est un peu compliqué.
               Michael: Oh, si c'est un peu compliqué, je me tais. Je ne pose plus de questions.

                       Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 48'32'' and 48'34'')

This fits the pattern of (116) and (117), except that here *enfin* is not used simply to introduce the hedge (*c'est un peu compliqué*), but also the immediate contradiction (*non*). Juliette is hesitating because her past life as a doctor, and then a spell in prison, is a closely-guarded secret, but she is developing a close friendship with Michel, and feels reluctant to lie to him. She settles instead for signalling that his surprise at her choice of job is well-founded, but that she does not want to give any more details. *Ben* is also used here, although in this case I have chosen not to interpret this as a compound DM as there is a pause between the two markers.

Direct contradictions without oui, non *or* si

There are also two examples in the corpus of *enfin* introducing a direct contradiction with *si*, without a preceding *oui*, *non* or *si*.

    (122)   Je suis désolé de ce que j'ai fait. Je voulais pas… **Fin**, si je vou- Je voulais pas comme ça.

                          Contre toi (*enfin* at 40'19'')

    (123)   Jérôme: Alors, on fait quoi dans ces cas-là ?
               Pierre: On fait quoi dans ces cas-là ? Mais j'en sais rien. I'y a pas de précédent. **Enfin**, si, i'y en a un mais je pense que c'est même pas la peine de t'en parler ?

                       Les Revenants, episode 1 (*enfin* at 32'50'')

Unlike the examples described above, neither of these two tokens occur in relation to the answer to a direct question. In (122), the speaker is apologising, while in (123), Pierre has already answered Jérôme's question with *Mais j'en*

sais rien, and it is his explanation (*i'y a pas de précédent*) which is then modified by *enfin*.

In both cases, *enfin* here does not appear to fit into any of Beeching's categories as she describes them, yet it performs the same function as *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, as it introduces a direct contradiction to what has gone immediately before. Although neither *oui*, *non* nor *si* is present before *enfin*, we do find *si* in both examples immediately after it, introducing the contradiction. Furthermore, in (122), as in (116) and (117), the speaker swings between two polar opposite stances (*je voulais pas* and *je voulais*), before settling for the middle ground (*je voulais pas comme ça*).

Lastly, in addition to the sixteen tokens of corrective *enfin* with *oui*, *non* or *si*, we also have the token shown in (124):

(124) Mlle P.:   Il a sauté du haut du barrage, mais sans élastique. Vous le connaissiez, non ?
       Julie: Euh, pas beaucoup. **Fin**, un peu.
<div align="right">

Les Revenants, episode 2 (*enfin* at 21'16'')
</div>

This token of *enfin* introduces a correction which has elements of precision *enfin* (which introduces a synonym or paraphrase; see 5.2.2), as both *pas beaucoup* and *un peu* refer to very small quantities. However, I have chosen to group it with *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, as it performs the same role of introducing a direct contradiction to the statement immediately preceding *enfin*. *Pas beaucoup* is clearly used here as a softened denial, and *un peu* as hedged agreement; it would be equally plausible to envisage Julie's answer with less mitigation as *Euh, non, pas beaucoup. Fin, oui, un peu*.

5.2.2 Precision *enfin*

Precision *enfin* is the most common form of corrective *enfin* in Beeching's corpus, accounting for the 'vast majority of corrections' (2001: 30; 2002: 133). It is much less common in the film corpus, where only eleven of the forty-nine corrective tokens can be classed as precision *enfin* (compared to sixteen for *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, the most common use of *enfin*6 in the film data). It is

used to introduce a single word replacement or paraphrase of a term occurring before the particle, as shown in (125)-(128)[35].

> (125) moi, j'ai vu mon gamin venir devant moi <u>pisser</u>, **enfin** <u>uri</u>…, **enfin** <u>faire pipi</u> devant moi (2001: 30; 2002: 134)

> (126) on commence par les les banques tout ça pour savoir si on peut avoir des <u>des prix</u> **enfin** <u>des taux</u> assez bas pour avoir des des charges moins grosses (ibid.)

> (127) <u>on donnait notre paiement</u> **enfin** <u>ils nous géraient notre salaire </u>(ibid.)

> (128) <u>J'ai été cinq ans et demi la jambe dans le plâtre</u> **enfin** <u>j'ai passé onze ans dans les hôpitaux</u>. (2001: 30; 2002: 135)

(126) is an example of a simple term swap, one of a number of replacements Beeching describes as 'linguistically or referentially motivated' (2001: 30; 2002: 135): the speaker revises his terminology to a more correct term for the context. (125), on the other hand, is what Beeching calls a 'fictive correction' i.e. S deliberately uses the wrong term initially with the intention of correcting himself. She ascribes this to the social distance between S (poorly educated, many years in Reform School) and H (Beeching, a foreign woman, who probably appears better educated than S). He wants to use a vulgar term (*pisser*) as a positive politeness marker, but feels the distance between himself and his interlocutor does not allow for this, so makes a show of using the term in error, thereby appealing to H's positive face without damaging her negative face.

(127) and (128) 'illustrate a cline of exactness in paraphrase' (2001: 30; 2002: 135). (128) is a simple reformulation, which Beeching explains as:

> [A] mechanism whereby ideas and themes are reworked, thus creating the redundancy which is often noted as being a characteristic component of the spoken language (2001: 31; 2002: 135).

(127) is similar on the face of it, but Beeching suggests (2001: 30-31; 2002: 135) that the paraphrase here represents either a change in emphasis or a syntactic adjustment to aid expression, which, either way, shows the speaker's discomfort regarding the sensitive subject matter (his time in prison and on

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[35] Throughout this section I have retained Beeching's system of underlining both the term for correction, and its replacement.

parole). This seems a sensible conclusion, but the difficulty in identifying whether the speaker intended to shift the emphasis of the phrase or simply make a syntactic repair creates a problem for the researcher in terms of categorisation. If the former was the intention, then this is indeed an example of precision *enfin*, but if, rather, S had in mind the latter, then a different category – syntactic repair *enfin* – might be more appropriate (see 5.2.6).

In common with Beeching's findings, there are examples in the film corpus (four tokens) of simple word-for-word substitutions after *enfin*, as shown in (129):

(129) Du coup Neuville a continué à se méfier. Il nous surveillait de près, toi et moi. Le cambriolage qu'i'y a eu chez toi plus tard après <u>sa mort</u>, *[pause]* **fin,** <u>sa disparition</u>, c'était eux.

<div align="right">

Ne le dis à personne (*enfin* at 1 hour 48'54'')

</div>

There are also two examples in the corpus of a paraphrase, one of which is shown in (130):

(130) Euh… moi, <u>je sais qui tu es</u>, **enfin**, <u>j- je sais pourquoi t'es là</u>. Le principal m'en a un peu parlé, mais pour moi ça n'aucune importance, hein.

<div align="right">

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 55'25'')

</div>

However, something which is not described by Beeching is a blurring of the above two strategies, as in (131), (132) and (133):

(131) Fin, peut-être si on prolonge un peu la garde à vue, mais bon, hein. Pour ça il faut donner l'accord <u>du procureur,</u> **fin,** <u>du substitut qui est… avait demandé l'enquête préliminaire</u>.

<div align="right">

Engrenages, episode 2 (*enfin* at 24'34'')

</div>

(132) Laure: Vous vous souvenez quand c'était?

       Witness: <u>Mardi soir</u>. **Fin**, je veux dire <u>le soir de la nuit où elle a été tuée</u>.

<div align="right">

Engrenages, episode 2 (*enfin* at 37'02'')

</div>

(133) Soul.:   Eh, monsieur, monsieur ! J'ai une question.

       François: Quoi ?

       Soul.:   Ben, à ce qu'il paraît, <u>hier</u>, **enfin**, <u>au conseil de classe et tout</u>, vous m'a- vous m'avez cassé.

<div align="right">

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 28'09'')

</div>

In (131) we have the replacement of one noun with another that is qualified, making the correction far longer than the term it is replacing. Similarly, in (132), we see a noun phrase replaced by a more lengthy paraphrase. Here we also find *enfin* combined with *je veux dire*, a phenomenon which I return to in 5.3. (133) shows a clarification that could be as much an addition as a correction, in that the sentence could flow equally well without *enfin* i.e. *hier, au conseil de classe. Enfin* indicates that the precision is an afterthought, allowing Souleymane to specify the exact time that he is referring to, despite the slight hiatus after *hier*. In this sense it is very similar to another token, shown in (134):

(134) Camille: C'est toi qui est parti ?
Jérôme: Non, pas vraiment. *[Pause]* Ça a été un peu compliqué, **enfin**, <u>après l'accident</u>.

Les Revenants, episode 3 (*enfin* at 8'31'')

Here the addition of *après l'accident* is not overtly a correction, as it does not obviously replace anything. It is possible for the term being replaced to be unspoken, something Beeching refers to in her description of the echo/self-mimic corrective (see 5.2.7), although in these cases the unspoken lexical item often becomes verbalised in the mimic structure. There is, however, one example in her tokens of *enfin* used to express uncertainty in which the term to be corrected does remain a mystery, and this is shown in (135).

(135) Ah oui, enfin c'est une famille quand même assez, **enfin** moi je trouve, hein ! (2001: 31; 2002: 136)

Here, we do not discover S's opinion (qualified by *assez*), before it is downgraded by *enfin moi je trouve*. However, this is a very different phenomenon from (134) where, like (133), an explanation is given as an afterthought for clarity. Were Jérôme's utterance to have been more prepared (or intended to mimic a greater degree of preparedness, given that this is scripted dialogue), he would likely have said *Ça a été un peu compliqué après l'acident*, i.e. without the *enfin*. The presence of the PP implies he originally intended to end with the word *compliqué*, and uses *enfin* to introduce a correction to his intention to stop speaking. Categorising this token is difficult, as the correction is made to an intended act (stopping speaking) rather to a

lexical item. However, precision *enfin* would appear to be the most appropriate of the six categories, as the aim of the correction is indeed to be more precise.

There is one other token in the corpus that may qualify as introducing a replacement of an unspoken term, and this is shown in (136):

(136)   Il a un comportement très irrégulier. Des fois c'est une catastrophe et des i- on peut rien en faire et rien en tirer de, de, de cour, et des fois <u>il est</u>, **fin**, <u>il est vachement bien</u>.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 22'07'')

It is likely here that the speaker was intending to say *bien*, but decides to add the qualifier *vachement* for added emphasis. We cannot say with any certainty, however, that this is a genuine substitution (of *bien* with *vachement bien*), as the problem with corrections made to unspoken terms is that if the term has not been verbalised, one cannot be sure that what follows really is a replacement. Rather, it may be that S is using *enfin* purely emphatically, to highlight the contrast. In this sense, the use of *enfin* might be closest to concessive *enfin*9 (see 4.2.8). One could imagine the same scenario in English with 'well', i.e. 'and sometimes he's, well, he's really good', and indeed we find the following example from Watts (1986: 51), quoted by Jucker (1993: 445):

(137)   A: It must be rather disturbing when your cat goes around spraying all the time, though, mustn't it?
            B: It's not so bad if it's a female that's spraying, but if you have a good tomcat that's spraying, **well**, it can empty the room, it can empty the house.

Jucker describes 'well' here as 'a signpost to the addressee to readjust the set of background assumptions' (ibid.) as S shifts his emphasis from the female cat to the tomcat, illustrating a similar contrast to that in (136). The example in (137) does not appear to include a correction, and it remains difficult to judge absolutely whether *enfin* in (136) performs a corrective, precision role, or is used to emphasise the contrast between *catastrophe* and *vachement bien*.

5.2.3 *Enfin* Used to Express Uncertainty

Beeching states that correctives with *enfin* that express uncertainty often combine with *moi*, *personellement*, *je pense* (*pas*), *je crois* (*pas*), *je trouve* or *je sais pas* (2001: 31; 2002: 136). She gives two examples, shown in (138) (which we saw in 5.2.2) and (139), and explains that in each of these examples the reformulation mitigates the forcefulness of an assertion by qualifying it as an opinion which others might disagree with.

(138)   Ah oui, enfin c'est une famille quand même assez, **enfin** *moi je trouve*, hein ! (2001: 31; 2002: 136)

(139)   Qui entre nous **enfin** *personellement* est une horreur. (2001: 31; 2002: 136)

There is only one example in the present corpus of this type of corrective *enfin*:

(140)   Luc: Peut-être qu'euhm…

           Léa: Peut-être que quoi ?

           Luc: Peut-être que… **Fin**, *je sais pas*, mais peut-être que Juliette pourrait les garder, enfin, si elle est d'accord et puis surtout si elle a rien d'autre prévu.

                         (*Il y a longtemps que je t'aime*, *enfin* at 1 hour 17'25'')

This token is interesting as, unlike Beeching's examples, it concerns a suggestion rather than an assertion. The context here is that the two characters have realised that they will both working late, and there will be no one to mind the children in the evening. Léa's sister, Juliette is staying with them, but up until now Luc has refused to let her babysit, which his wife finds extremely frustrating. Over the course of the film, however, Juliette has gradually earned Luc's trust, and he is at last asking her to watch his children – an important occasion. The downgrading here is not so much, therefore, about presenting his utterance as an opinion, but rather about admitting that he was wrong. This is a threat to his own positive face, and puts Juliette and Léa in a position of power as it is their decision as to whether or not they will forgive him. He therefore appeals to Juliette's negative face: on the surface referring to plans she may have already made for that evening, but with an implicit acknowledgement of her right to spurn the invitation. This appeal to negative face is more evident following the second *enfin* token (a restrictive; see 5.2.5), but begins with Luc

presenting as a mere possibility something that everyone else in the room has for a long time seen as the only obvious answer. This is presented by means of a hedge and a trailing off (*Peut-être qu'euhm…*), before a repetition of the hedge, and a restart using *enfin* to introduce *je sais pas*.

As noted in 4.2.6 and 4.3, *enfin j'sais pas* (and presumably also *enfin je sais pas*) can be considered a compound DM. This does therefore raise the question of whether the other combinations listed by Beeching as expressing uncertainty could be considered in the same way. I have no other tokens of this type in the film corpus, but this point merits further investigation in a future study.

5.2.4 The Particular to the General Case

Beeching gives two examples of *enfin* introducing a move from the particular to the general case, and these are shown in (141) and (142):

(141) Vous allez sur les marchés, par exemple, peut-être pas à Dinard mais, vous allez à Rennes, **enfin** dans les grandes villes, vous avez que des étrangers qui font les marchés ! (2001: 31; 2002: 136)

(142) Oui, mais on va se baser, on va, on va se baser sur euh, sur la monnaie, on va se baser sur l'Espagne, sur l'Italie, sur le Portugal, **enfin** sur des pays qui sont euh considérés comme des pays…, *enfin*, l'Espagne euh … c'est, c'est les deux extrêmes hein, y a la, y a y a les bourgeois et puis carrément les gens qui sont dans la purée quoi. (2001: 31; 2002: 137)

Beeching notes (2001: 31; 2002: 136) that this category shares considerable overlap with enumerative *enfin* in that both can sum up items in a list. However, this is not the function of enumerative *enfin*5 described in (4.2.4), where it merely introduces the last item in the list. Synthesising *enfin* (*enfin*4; see 4.2.3) would be a closer match within the present framework. There remain some differences, however. Firstly, Hansen emphasises that in the case of corrective/repair *enfin*, 'the contents and/or form of the preceding discourse are disavowed' (2005a: 48; 2008: 204), which is not necessarily the case for *enfin*4. Furthermore, Beeching explains that the similarities between the categories do not extend to the two examples given above, as in (141), there are only two

items (not enough to constitute a list), and in (142) the intonation is different from that of the lists appearing with the enumerative DM.

I should add that in (141), even if Dinard and Rennes were enough to constitute a list in themselves, Dinard has been discounted. It is in fact only Rennes – a city of roughly 20 times more inhabitants than Dinard[36] – which is corrected to the more general *les grandes villes*; Dinard is smaller, and S does not include this as a town where foreigners run the markets. In (142), it is the first instance of *enfin* which denotes the particular to the general case, the second (shown here in italics) being used to remove Spain from the list. Beeching does not comment on the category of this second particle, but it would seem to fit best with her description of restrictive *enfin*, as the correction serves to eliminate Spain from the generalisation *des pays qui sont considérés comme des pays...*

Unfortunately there are no tokens in the film corpus of corrective *enfin* denoting the particular to the general case, and only one of listing *enfin*, so I am unable to comment further on the resemblances or otherwise between these two categories.

5.2.5 Restrictive *enfin*

Restrictive *enfin* is used to allow S to 'downsize their claims or show some embarrassment about making over-sweeping generalisations' (Beeching 2001: 31-32; 2002: 137), as in (143) and (144).

> (143) L'avenir n'est pas tellement rose, je crois pas **enfin** pour la région ici, hein. Ailleurs peut-être. Pas ici. (2001: 32; 2002: 137)

> (144) Bon, les Etats-Unis, les Anglais sont les amis de la France **enfin** reconnus comme tels [rire]. (2001: 32; 2002: 137)

It might be tempting to classify (143) as an example of *enfin* used to express uncertainty due to the presence of *je crois pas*. However, such phrases relating to personal experience appear after the particle, as in (138) and (139) (see

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[36] Dinard total population in 2015: 10,729 (ville-dinard.fr); Rennes total population in 2014: 425,745 (metropole.rennes.fr).

5.2.3), whereas here it appears before, functioning as an initial hedge, before *enfin* introduces the restriction of the assertion to the local area only.

Restrictive *enfin* is very similar to precision *enfin*; indeed these are the main two categories to which I can ascribe tokens in the film corpus of *enfin je veux dire* (see 5.3). Furthermore, they are grouped together by Beeching in her reworked corrective *enfin* categories in the second part of her (2002) analysis. On the surface, the difference between them appears to be that, in the case of restrictives, what follows after *enfin* is not so much a substitution, but an addition which narrows the scope of what was meant by the original statement. However, this explanation leads us into difficulties when we consider the 'afterthought' tokens in (133) and (134). The difference here might be better explained by the fact that the additions in (143) and (144) help to protect S's face in terms of being seen to report facts accurately, whereas in (133) and (134) the emphasis was on adding information to help H follow the point S was making. The line between the two is very thin, however, as an effort to aid H's comprehension could be interpreted as an enhancement of S's face, or indeed as showing concern for H.

The difficulty in distinguishing precision and restrictive correctives is further illustrated by (145):

> (145)   Ben, ce qu'il faut c'est une bonne raison, **fin**, un truc que ce soit un peu important, pas une barrette de shit, tu vois ?
>
> *Engrenages*, episode 4 (36'18'')

This example shows a simple lexical substitution, yet it cannot be classed as precision *enfin* as there is a definite widening from 'a good reason' to the less specific 'something' (in the sense of 'anything!'). This could not be described as an example of *enfin* used to move from the particular to the general case, as there is no summing up. Moreover, it meets another criterion given by Beeching (2001: 31-32; 2002: 137), in that *enfin* here could be translated as 'at least'.

There are ten tokens of restrictive *enfin* in the film corpus, of which a further example is shown in (146).

(146) Philippe: Ma femme est… *[pause]* assez déprimée, dépressive
même*. [Antoine nods]* Pour ça que la faire venir dans le
Nord, ça aurait été pire.

Antoine: Ben, pourquoi ?

Philippe: **Enfin**, ça aurait été pire, euh, pour elle de quitter là- bas,
où qu'elle aille.

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 1 hour 02'02'')

This is a classic restrictive as described by Beeching, and the only one of the
six tokens to be used with any embarrassment on the part of S, as Philippe has
to backtrack to avoid offending Antoine, who is a proud northerner.

5.2.6 Syntactic Repair *enfin*

Syntactic repair *enfin* is the least used form of the corrective in Beeching's
corpus, with only two tokens, shown in (147) and (148). As Beeching notes
(2001: 32; 2002: 137), syntactic repair can be minor, as in (147), which modifies
the tense of the verb; or a complete reformulation, as in (148).

(147) Oui, oui. … Ah oui, parce que c'était un type euh, **enfin** c'est toujours
un type sensationnel (2001: 32; 2002: 138)

(148) [S]'ils échouent ce sera vraiment **enfin** ils auront largement contribué
à faire de ces élections euh une sanction de leur politique, quoi.
(ibid.)

The low number of syntactic repair tokens was a surprise to Beeching due to
'the usefulness of such a device' for 'backtrack[ing] on a syntactic structure
which has proved inappropriate for the context' (2001: 32; 2002: 137). Indeed
the structure does turn out to be more frequent in the film corpus, with a total of
ten tokens; perhaps a form of what we might term 'scripted spontaneity' on the
part of certain script writers (see below). The phenomenon is similar to what
Hansen identifies as use of repair *enfin* after hesitation (see 5.1.1). However,
Hansen's example shows S wavering between two different formulations before
settling on the former, whereas examples (147) and (148) show S making a
single syntactic switch.

Interestingly, although there are ten tokens of syntactic repair *enfin* in the film
corpus, they are drawn from only three films and one episode of *Engrenages*.

One of the films is, unsurprisingly, the predominantly improvised *Entre les murs*, in which syntactic repairs are perhaps inevitable, as the exact wording of the dialogue has not been carefully pre-planned. An example is shown in (149):

(149) Oui, mais, euh, nous, euh, ç- ça va pas être si passionnant que, par exemple, celle d'Anne Frank, c'est- **enfin**, ce qu'on va, s- si notre vie, elle est pas passionnante, enfin…

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 31'08'')

This is an extract from a class discussion about the merits of writing a self-portrait in early adolescence. The pupils find it hard to see the value in the exercise, arguing that their lives are not worth reading about. As is often the case in spontaneous deliberations of complex issues, they also struggle to articulate their thoughts in a coherent structure. The character here therefore makes more than one false start throughout the course of her utterance, one of which is introduce with corrective *enfin*.

Of the remaining six tokens, three come from *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime*, the scripted film used for the initial scoping exercise, and these are shown in (150) and (151) (=(89)).

(150) Luc: Et euhm… Pour le compte en banque ? Ça s'arrange ?
       Juliette: Pour le compte en banque, oui, mais pour le chéquier *[makes a dismissive noise].* Tant que j'ai pas d'emploi ils veulent pas m'en donner un.
       Luc: Et l'hôpital ? Des nouvelles ?
       Juliette: Non, rien. *[Silence; they continue washing up]* T'en fais pas Luc, je vais pas vous embêter longtemps. Je trouverai une solution.
       Luc: Non, non, mais moi, j'ai rien à vous dire qui puisse, euh, **fin**, qui… **Fin**, je, je, je, j-
       P'tit Lys   *[Shouting from upstairs]* Je veux une histoire !

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 50'09'' and 50'10'')

(151) Juliette: Ça veut dire que je suis renvoyée ?

Director: Non, mais non. J- je n'ai jamais dit ça ! Mais… n'oubliez pas que… vous êtes à l'essai. Faites un effort, hein. Voilà. F- faites un effort, euh, soyez… moins repliée sur vous-même, euh, ouvrez-vous un peu. *[Pause]* Bien sûr j- je comprends que… ça ne doit pas être, euh… **Enfin**… Je comprends. Mais…

Juliette: Vous comprenez quoi ?

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 1 hour 14'06'')

These examples are very different from those shown in (147), (148) and (149), with syntactic repair *enfin* appearing during moments of extreme discomfort or embarrassment for the speaker. As was noted in chapter 3, *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* is a film with a particular emphasis on the development of relationships. There are high levels of tension throughout, and characters often find themselves in uncomfortable interactions. The main character, Juliette, has been released from prison after serving fifteen years for murder, and as she tries to rebuild her life, she encounters mixed reactions from family, friends and strangers, who struggle both to understand the crime she has committed, and to interact with someone so secretive and closed-in on herself. PPs are therefore relatively frequent in the dialogue, as characters negotiate various difficult situations involving Juliette and her impact on their life. Moreover, that these three syntactic repair tokens of *enfin* should appear when there are so few other tokens in scripted films in the corpus, implies that they are a deliberate inclusion to serve a very specific purpose, i.e. to highlight a particularly high degree of awkwardness and discomfort.

In (150), Juliette's brother-in-law, Luc, who was initially hostile to her presence, is now gradually warming to her, but their relationship remains strained and the conversation forced (as shown by the unequal T-V pronoun use). She therefore misinterprets his enquiries about her progress with her finances, causing him to then backtrack, embarrassed, to try to rectify the misunderstanding. The difficulty here – as with corrections to unspoken terms (see 5.2.2) – is in knowing what S's intentions were, in order to be sure of correctly classifying the first token as a syntactic repair. It could just as well be a token of precision *enfin*, if Luc were intending to replace the phrase beginning *qui puisse* with a paraphrase. If, on the other hand, he wanted to change the tense and/or mood

(e.g. to *qui pourrait…*), or to rethink the phrase entirely, it would indeed be a syntactic repair token. Similarly, the second token is not obvious as a syntactic repair, and the particle here shares some similarities with the performative (*enfin*7; see 4.2.6) as Luc is faltering and may be about to give up on his utterance entirely. We cannot know what the result would have been had P'tit Lys not interrupted, but I believe this to be a token of syntactic repair enfin as Luc abandons the phrase beginning *qui* in order to retry with *je*.

In (151) Juliette has been called in to see the director of the Hospital where she is employed on probation, following complaints from her colleagues that she is cold and unsociable. Aware of Juliette's background and the reasons for her behaviour, the director is unwilling to sack her, but finds showing his empathy difficult, and avoids eye contact for most of this part of the conversation. Rather than make a modification or paraphrase, the character here opts for abandoning the subordinate clause he has begun with *que… ça ne doit pas être euh…*, choosing instead to re-frame the start of his sentence (*je comprends*) as the whole clause. This is, again, a potentially difficult token, but I have classed this a syntactic repair as the intonation makes obvious the decision to delete the subordinate clause.

5.2.7 The Echo/Self-Mimic Corrective

Beeching also discusses an 'echo/self-mimic' corrective, which Bertrand & Chanet (2005: 4) mistake for a seventh category. In fact 'echo/self-mimic' refers to the *structure* of phrases involving corrective *enfin*, rather than to the function of the corrective particle. Hence, one of Beeching's examples, shown in (152), is also cited as an example of restrictive *enfin* (2001: 32; 2002: 137).

  (152) Beaucoup d'enfants viennent de parents divorcés, **enfin** beaucoup peut-être pas beaucoup mais quelques-uns quand-même et souvent on a des problèmes. (2001: 28; 2002: 131)

We could also assign functions to the other examples given of the 'echo/self-mimic', of which most, like (153), are restrictives:

(153) Voilà. Il y a beaucoup **enfin** il y a beaucoup de familles il y a certaines familles françaises qui sont comme ça. (2001: 34; 2002: 141)

(154) and (155) are less straightforward:

(154) On pratique **enfin** on pratique on peut pas pratiquer le sport avec enfin c'est-à-d par exemple le tennis je peux pas faire du spo je peux pas faire du tennis avec mon frère puisque on n'ar on n'est pas du même niveau donc euh peut pas peut pas jouer il faut être deux pour jouer au tennis. Alors, euh c'est dur. (2001: 36; 2002: 142)

(155) Euh, bébé d'un an, enfin, moi j'ai vu mon gamin venir devant moi pisser, enfin uri, enfin, faire pipi devant moi et ben il recevait une fessée, il avait un an euh, ça je vous dis franchement, il avait une fessée, euh je me faisais engueuler par ma femme après parce que j'avais donné, euh, **enfin** une fessée façon de parler parce que… (2001: 37; 2002: 142-43)

The function of *enfin* in (154) is 'to self-contradict in a somewhat humorous and wry manner' (2001: 37; 2002: 142); something which does not fit easily into her six categories, but which might also be seen as a type of restrictive, as it draws attention to the initial assertion of *On pratique* as being incorrect. (155), meanwhile, is difficult because *une fessée* is not actually replaced with an alternative. It would be most logical, given this speaker's tendency to make adjustments for register (see 5.2.2), to expect this to be a token of precision *enfin*. However, Beaching points out (2001: 37; 2002: 143) that:

> The sensitivity of the subject matter (smacking one-year-old- babies) is clearly a prime motivator in the adoption of the corrective here, the speaker is deflecting criticism by downplaying the strength of the term 'fessée' to talk about the small slap he administered the baby!

It may therefore be more appropriate to say that in (155) we again have a restrictive (see 5.2.5 for the similarities between precision and restrictive *enfin*). This leads me to the tentative conclusion that the self-mimic structure is a variant of restrictive *enfin*.

Unfortunately, there are no tokens of *enfin* in the corpus which match this structure – perhaps unsurprising given the small number of self-mimic tokens within Beeching's much larger pool of 311 correctives. However, there are two tokens which behave in a similar way, i.e. which introduce the repetition of a

lexical item which has been used, and is then rejected, by the speaker. These are shown in (156) and (157).

(156) Alissa: Tiens, je t'en donne un peu. *[Offers a packet of cocaine]*
Gilou: Non.
Alissa: Bo- oh j'en ai des kilos. *[Putting the packet in Gilou's pocket]* **Fin**, *peut-être pas* des kilos, mais *[Gilou tries to bat her hand away; she squeals]* Tu la gardes, hein. Si tu me la rends je te dénonce, détention et usage.
Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 14'48'')

(157) Ça, c'est mon carnet secret. **Enfin**, *i'est pas tellement* secret parce que je le laisse traîner partout et tout le monde le regarde. J'écris des poèmes là-dedans. Je t'en lis un ?
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 19'46'')

In both of these examples, S repeats the lexical item which he or she wishes to correct, and, as with the echo/self-mimic corrective, it is 'highlighted as being descriptively inaccurate or inadequate' (2001: 32; 2002: 138). There are two main differences between this and the structure found in Beeching's corpus, however. The first is the lack of a replacement term. In both cases the repeated item is prefixed by a qualifying phrase formed with *pas* (*peut-être pas* and *i'est pas tellement*), which downgrades the initial assertion in order to protect S's face. There is then no attempt to replace the original term with a better one: in (156) S trails off, implying that rather than *des kilos* she has *des grammes* (but a substantial amount nonetheless), while in (157), she continues her explanation of why *secret* was an inappropriate adjective for her diary (*je le laisse trainer partout et tout le monde le regarde*). The second difference is in the prosody. The punctuation in Beeching's examples indicates that the corrections occur mid-sentence, as a parenthesis that briefly interrupts the flow of the utterance, whereas here both speakers come to a definite full stop after *des kilos* and *secret*. Neither is there any 'fictive disbelief or surprise' (ibid.) at the term used. Rather, *enfin* comes as more of a considered afterthought, separate from the first phrase.

I have shown above that the examples Beeching gives of the echo/self-mimic structure all feature restrictives, and the same may be true of (156) and (157). However, as with (155), we again encounter the difficulty that there is no substitute term specified as a replacement for *des kilos* or *secret*. Despite this,

restrictive *enfin* seems the best category here, as both speakers use *enfin* to introduce a downplaying of their claims.

5.3 Combinations with Corrective *enfin*

As noted in 4.3, corrective *enfin* is most commonly found in the corpus in combination with *je veux dire*; it is attested no fewer than six times, making it the second most frequent combination with *enfin* after *mais enfin*. *Enfin je veux dire* is not discussed in Beeching's analysis, but a search of her corpus does bring up one token, shown in (158):

> (158) [M]ais euh sinon euh je vois pas pourquoi, elles ont les mêmes vêtements, elles ont les mêmes, les mêmes goûts, ils ont les je sais pas tout pareil **enfin je veux dire** euh il faut pas il faut pas du tout dire ça! [rire]. Mais voilà. [rire] (interview 39, lines 258-60, p. 325)

In the film corpus this is a much more frequent occurrence, despite the smaller total of *enfin* tokens. Three are restrictives, such as (159) (see 5.2.5); two are precision tokens, such as (160) (see 5.2.2); and one, shown in (161), introduces syntactic repair (see 5.2.6).

> (159) Ce type de plaque, euh, ça ne se fait plus du tout depuis des années. **Enfin je veux dire** chez nous.
> *Engrenages*, episode 1 (*enfin* at 5'57'')

> (160) Non, c'est bon. <u>Vous levez pas</u>, **fin je veux dire**, euh, <u>restez assis et tout</u>.
> *Intouchables* (*enfin* at 12'14'')

> (161) De mon côté je peux aller bavarder avec la petite soeur <u>si tu veux</u>. **Enfin je veux dire**, euh, *[laughing]* <u>si vous voulez</u>, Monsieur Procureur. *[Makes a show of shaking hands]*
> *Engrenages*, episode 4 (*enfin* at 39'35'')

This last example refers to an in-joke between two characters who are trying to disguise their affair by using *vous* when talking about matters relating to their work. S has been insisting that H do this, even when they are alone, but then slips up herself by using *tu* when discussing a case they both are working on. *Enfin je veux dire* is used to facilitate the change in address pronoun, allowing S to deliberately draw attention to her error and its correction.

The only other combination to feature corrective *enfin* in the corpus is *ok enfin*:

(162) From.: Quelqu'un a fouillé l'appartement d'Elina Andrescu. T'as vu sortir quelqu'un de l'immeuble?

Gilou: Non. *[Pause]* **Ok enfin**, si, si, si ! I'y avait un grand mec avec un gros sac, euh, mais j'suis même pas sûr qu'il sortait de l'immeuble, alors.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 25'22'')

This is an example of corrective *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, with *ok enfin* introducing a correction to Gilou's initial *non* (see 5.2.1). The additional DM *ok* signals that he is now applying himself fully to the task, having been taken by surprise by the sudden appearance of his colleagues outside the building where he has been supposed to be keeping watch (but is high on cocaine). His first instinct is to answer honestly that he hasn't seen anyone leave the building, but, faced with an angry stare from Fromentin, immediately realises that he appears incompetent, and adds more information to try to both help his colleagues and protect his reputation. However, as was noted in 4.3.2, however, there is unfortunately insufficient evidence in this corpus to be able to class *ok enfin* as a compound DM.

5.4. Summary

Broadly speaking, my findings in this chapter have matched those of Beeching for the *Bristol Corpus*, and I have been able to add more detail to the descriptions of her six subfunctions of corrective *enfin*. Most importantly, I have extended the first subcategory (*enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*) to include direct contradictions which do not contain an initial explicit affirmation or refutation, and documented the combination *enfin je veux dire*, which appears predominantly with precision and restrictive tokens. I have also identified another corrective structure similar to the echo/self-mimic corrective, and indicated that both of these should be considered variants of restrictive *enfin*.

In terms of relative frequencies, Beeching does not give totals for all of the subcategories of corrective *enfin* in her corpus, but it appears that the distribution within the film corpus is slightly different:

- the categories of *enfin* after *oui, non,* or *si*, precision *enfin*, and restrictive *enfin* are all well-evidenced in the film data, but the first of these is the largest (35% of the corrective *enfin* tokens), whereas in Beeching's data it was precision *enfin* which accounted for the greatest number of tokens (she does not give a figure, but states that this applies to 'the vast majority of corrections'; 2001: 30; 2002:133);

- there is an absence of tokens denoting a move from the particular to the general case, and a near-absence of tokens expressing uncertainty (just one token in the corpus);

- the number of syntactic repair tokens is significantly higher, given the size of the corpus; ten of forty-nine corrective tokens can be classed as syntactic repair in the film corpus, compared to just two of three hundred and eleven correctives in the *Bristol Corpus*.

Regarding the last of these points, and as was noted in 5.2.6, in this sense my corpus has much more closely matched Beeching's expectations for this type of *enfin* than did her own. However, I noticed that unlike other forms of corrective *enfin*, which were fairly evenly distributed throughout the film corpus (with a slight skewing towards the improvised *Entre les murs*), there was a divide in the corpus regarding the syntactic repair tokens, with six of the ten being drawn from *Entre les murs*, and the partially improvised *Engrenages*. Of the remaining four tokens, three occur in *Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* meaning that the majority of scripted films and episodes did not include any tokens of this particular type of corrective. This led me to speculate that script writers only employ PPs in those contexts where they can see a useful role for them in the development of relationships; something which is only true of syntactic repair *enfin* when it signals extreme awkwardness or discomfort.

The other point of note regarding distribution is that correctives do not feature in every production. *Partir* stands out as a film with a relatively high number of occurrences of *enfin* (eight tokens; the fifth highest total in the corpus) but no instances of the particle being used as a corrective. Other films (*Contre Toi*, *De rouille et d'os* and *Home*) have dispensed with *enfin* more or less completely, so

it is interesting that in this production script writers have been so selective about the functions of the particle that they adopt, especially as it is the function which is the most commonly occurring in spoken corpora which they have chosen to ignore. This further underlines the corrective particle's status as a communicative device which writers (and actors) may choose to include or leave out, depending on the demands of the particular plot.

This concludes the analysis of *enfin*. In the next chapter, I turn to the use of *écoute* as documented in the literature and present in the film corpus.

Chapter 6 – *Ecoute*

Following on from the analysis of *enfin* in chapters 4 and 5, the current chapter is devoted to a study of the other PP to form the subject of this thesis, namely *écoute*. The first half of the chapter begins with an overview of previous, mostly non-corpus-based, research into *écoute* (6.1.1). I then assess its role within facework theory (6.1.2) and in authentic speech data (6.1.3), and, finally, outline the main functions which will form a framework for its analysis in the second part of the chapter (6.1.4). Section 6.2 is then given over to a discussion of the use of *écoute* in the film corpus, and this is followed by a discussion of the tokens of *écoute* combined with other DMs in 6.3. The chapter's findings are summarised in 6.4.

It should be noted that, like the second person imperative verb form from which it evolved, *écoute* has two forms: *écoute* and *écoutez*. In this thesis, however, as in many of the previous studies (e.g. Rodríguez Somolinos 2003; Dostie 2009), for simplicity I refer to both collectively as *écoute*.

6.1 Background to *écoute*

DMs derived from verbs of looking and listening exist in many languages across a range of language families. Equivalents for English *look*, for example, include Spanish *mira*, Italian *guardi/guarda*, Portuguese *olha*, Romanian *uite*, Dutch *kijk*, Estonian *vaata* and Finnish *kato* (Aijmer & Elgemark 2013: 335-36). Originating in imperative verb forms, they are generally known as 'attention-getters' (e.g. Romero Trillo 1997; Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014: 127), and vary in terms of both their frequency and their degree of pragmaticalisation. Italian *ascolta* ('listen'), for instance, is less established as a DM than *guarda* (Van Olmen 2010: 86, cited in Aijmer & Elgemark 2013: 336), while in French the opposite is true, with *écoute* used for a wider range of functions than *regarde* in Quebec French (Dostie 1998: 96), while in European French *regarde* is hardly used at all (Waltereit 2006). Attention-getters tend to retain the T-V distinction found in the imperatives from which they have evolved, and so have been described as less pragmaticalised than other verbal DMs, such as courtesy

markers (from performative verbs, e.g. Italian *prego*) or phatic markers (from exchange or movement verbs, e.g. Italian *dai*) (Ghezzi & Molinelli: ibid.).

6.1.1 Previous Research on *écoute*

Ecoute has been the subject of far fewer studies than *enfin*, perhaps because of its low frequency in oral corpora (see 6.1.3). In this section I present a brief overview of the main contributions: Dostie (1998; 2004; 2009), Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) and Diwersy & Grutschus (2014).

Dostie (1998; 2004; 2009) is the most prolific author on *écoute*, although it should be noted that her work examines Canadian French, and as such her findings may not fully reflect use of the DM in France. Dostie generally does not treat the marker in isolation. Rather, it appears in a comparison with one or more other DMs in Quebec French: *regarde* (1998); *regarde*, *coudon*, *dis donc*, *voyons*, *tiens* (2004); and *coudon* (2009). The first two publications are structured around the creation of dictionary entries for *écoute* and other DMs, as a response to the problem of their scant inclusion in existing French dictionaries. In her most recent (2009) chapter, she looks at two DMs commonly used in Quebec French, *pis* and *coudon*, in parallel with similar, predominantly hexagonal French DMs, *alors* and *écoute* respectively. She finds that *coudon* (derived from *écoute donc*) can be used without an interlocutor, and can be either expressive or directive, whereas *écoute* tends to be directive (p. 204). As such, the two markers are not fully functionally equivalent, and for this reason both are used in Quebec French (p. 206).

Dostie builds on previous work by Settekorn (1977) and Davoine (1980) in dividing uses of the DM *écoute* into first two, and then (2004) three categories. These are based on the categorisation she uses for the infinitive (1998: 94): *écouter*1 refers to either actively listening or being receptive to doing so (e.g. 'Marie écoute attentivement l'exposé du professeur'), while *écouter*2 indicates obedience of S or compliance with a general rule (e.g. 'Marie écoute toujours ses parents'). In a similar way, *écoute*1 accompanies an utterance and asks H to use his/her powers of reason to understand the message it conveys, while

*écoute*2 is an autonomous utterance appealing for H to modify his/her behaviour. An example of *écoute*1 is shown in (163):

(163)   B: Monsieur Robidoux?
        A: Oui?
        B: **Ecoutez**, j'aurais un petit service à vous demander. (1998: 101)

In this example, *écoute* is defined as encoding the following message (1998: 99):

> Supposant que tu *écoutes*1 ce que je dis ou voulant que tu le fasses, je t'indique que je fais appel à ta capacité de raisonner pour prendre en compte ce que je dis au moyen de l'intervention I et pour comprendre le message qui est transmis.

Dostie also notes that *écoute*1 can occur at either the beginning or end of an utterance, and tends to be separated from the rest of the phrase by a short pause and/or a change in pitch (ibid.: 100). *Ecoute*2 (shown in (164)), on the other hand, forms an autonomous utterance separated from anything accompanying it by a relatively long pause, and is also subject to a lengthened /u/ in the singular (p. 87).

(164)   A: Tu lui as donné trois chocolats et à moi, seulement deux.
        B: **Ecoute** ! (1998: 102)

Ecoute here signals to H that S has reached a certain tolerance threshold (p. 92) and aims to lead H to understand the need to change his/her behaviour (p. 91). The message it encodes is as follows (p. 101):

> Je fais appel à ta capacité de raisonner pour comprendre, grâce aux connaissances dont tu disposes, que tu dois agir différemment.

Tone of voice also plays a role in distinguishing these two categories, as illustrated by (165), which constitutes an *écoute*1, and (166), an *écoute*2.

(165)   **Ecoutez** Bernard, il est clair que le ministre ne sait plus comment réagir dans cette affaire. (Dostie 1998: 91)

(166) **Ecoutez** Bernard ! Il est clair que le ministre ne sait plus comment réagir dans cette affaire. (ibid.)

The third category of *écoute*, added in Dostie (2004), signals a justification of S's behaviour as normal, as in (167) and (168).

(167) Je lui ai fait un petit cadeau. **Ecoute**, c'était Noël. (p. 214)

(168) Je vais lui en parler, moi. **Ecoute**, c'est mon frère. (ibid.)

Dostie explains that it follows the structure 'T1 *écoute* (T2)', where T stands for 'text' (i.e. the utterance(s) *écoute* accompanies) and encodes the following message (p. 13):

Le texte T1 ayant été produit //
Je t'invite à user de tes capacités cognitives pour comprendre en quoi celui-ci fait référence à quelque chose qui va de soi (en fonction de la raison que j'explicite au moyen du texte T2).

The division of *écoute* into *écoute*1 and *écoute*2 was also adopted by Rodríguez Somolinos (2003), although she rejects the idea of an *écoute*3. Indeed, (167) is also later re-classified by Dostie (2009: 206) as an *écoute*2, and there is no mention made of an *écoute*3 alongside *coudon*3 (ibid.: 207). Rodríguez Somolinos' description elaborates on the wide-ranging contexts in which *écoute*1 might be found, and the various nuanced messages it might convey (in combination with the enunciation that follows). These pragmatic functions will be examined in more detail in 6.1.4. The author also expands the description of *écoute*2 to highlight the emotional investment by the speaker, who produces *écoute* as an involuntary interjection, and emphasises the importance of tone of voice in categorising *écoute*. She argues that the example in (169) is not, as Dostie states, an *écoute*2, but in fact an *écoute*1, due to the suspension marks indicating a trailing off when a continuation of the utterance had been intended.

(169) A un enfant qui pleure, on peut dire: *Ecoute* ... (Ne pleure pas, on va le retrouver, ton chat) (Rodríguez Somolinos 2003: 80)

Lastly, Rodríguez Somolinos postulates (p. 82) that the main categories of *écoute*, and the imperative from which it evolved, form a continuum, arguing that both forms of the DM ask H to make an effort to understand what is being said and to be reasonable. *Ecoute*2 and the imperative are given as opposite poles on the continuum and, although she does not make this explicit, we can surmise that *écoute*1 would be anchored somewhere in between, as in Figure 3.

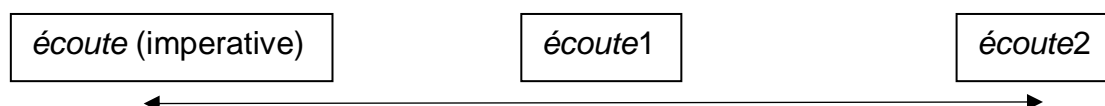| *écoute* (imperative)		*écoute*1		*écoute*2

Figure 3: The *écoute* continuum

At the point at which I first undertook this research, I would have been correct in saying that there were no existing studies of *écoute* which made extensive use of real speech data (see 6.1.3). However, Diwersy & Grutschus (2014) have since published a study into the DM focusing on one specific context – reported speech – using data from the *C-ORAL-ROM* corpus (Cresti & Moneglia 2005). In this entirely corpus-based study on *écoute*, they find fifty-two tokens among the 269,959 words of data (pp. 60-61), of which fourteen introduce reported speech (p. 64), a use of *écoute* not mentioned by either Dostie or Rodríguez Somolinos.

There are no tokens in the film corpus of *écoute* used with reported speech; an interesting observation given the frequency with which Diwersy & Grutschus find it in their data. More relevant to the current research then, is their description of *écoute*'s functions. Moving away from the binary separation into *écoute*1 and *écoute*2 (see above), the authors instead focus on a three-way division into discursive, pragmatic and metadiscursive functions (see 6.2). This is a big step forward, and will be used as the over-arching framework for the current analysis. It accounts in a much more satisfactory way for the fact that *écoute* can convey facework functions – primarily negotiating disagreement (Rodríguez Somolinos 2003: 81) – yet at the same time also help to structure discourse, such as when it is used to reopen dialogue (ibid.: 74). That said, their discussion of *écoute*'s pragmatic functions is rather under-developed, and

Rodríguez Somolinos' description of *écoute*1 and *écoute*2 will therefore form the main point of comparison for the pragmatic functions identified in my corpus.

6.1.2. *Ecoute* as a Pragmatic Particle

Though *écoute* has not been studied within the context of politeness/facework, both *écoute*1 and *écoute*2 do undoubtedly have a role in negotiating face. Although not previously described as such, *écoute*1 is, I would argue, a mitigator which serves to soften FTAs. Indeed, Rodríguez Somolinos almost goes so far as to say this herself, referring to *écoute*1's mitigating role in the giving of advice: 'il atténue la force de l'assertion' (2003: 75). She also makes an implicit reference to face: '*Ecoutez* permet au locuteur de donner de lui-même une image compréhensive' (p. 78). This suggests the use of *écoute* to manage H's perception of S's positive face, by presenting the speaker as understanding and/or sympathetic.

As will be discussed in 6.1.4, the over-arching function of *écoute*1 is to 'négocier un désaccord, en essayant d'établir un consensus' (ibid.: 81). This takes place in a number of ways in which *écoute* arguably plays a mitigating role. For example, the particle is found five times in the film corpus in the context of giving advice or offering comfort. The act of giving of advice, whether solicited or unsolicited, is a potential threat to H's negative face as it impinges on H's freedom of action (Brown & Levinson 1987: 65-66); the FTA obviously being heightened when the advice is unsolicited. To take another example, explicitly bringing a conversation to a close (of which there are two tokens in the corpus) is arguably a threat to both positive and negative face: S implies that he or she no longer enjoys interacting with H (positive face), and puts an end to a conversation that H may have wished to continue (negative face). The discussion of *écoute*1's pragmatic functions in 6.1.4, and in the analysis of the data in 6.2, will therefore set out the various contexts in which *écoute*1 can be found. These are presented as FTAs which the particle seemingly serves to soften or mitigate, e.g. by appealing for H to make an effort to understand S's position or to see S's good intentions, or constraining factors which force him or her to commit the FTA.

It should be noted that *ecoute*1, although arguably a mitigator, does also contain traces of a face threat; and especially so if the accompanying tone of voice is aggressive. This is because of its roots in the verb *écouter*: the act of asking someone to listen is itself a threat to negative face, as it goes against H's freedom of action. We might therefore posit that *écoute* has not yet been fully pragmaticalised, as it is not yet completely distinct from the imperative form. Furthermore, in her (2014) study of French, Italian and Romanian call markers (including *voir*, *regarder*, *entendre* and *écouter*) – in which she does not distinguish between the imperative and DM uses of the verbs – Iliescu argues that 'auditory verbs are generally less polite and closer to the value of an imperative than visual verbs' (p. 36). Romero Trillo (1997: 220) and Aijmer & Elgemark (2013: 346) agree, viewing 'listen' as more face-threatening than 'look' because it retains some of the propositional value of the verb, whereas 'look' does not generally demand the hearer's physical gaze.

*Ecoute*2, on the other hand, is, as we saw in 6.1.1, an involuntary interjection, sharing many similarities with *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7). It is a direct reaction to a question or behaviour to which S objects, often encoding frustration, irritation or impatience. As such it conveys a smaller range of emotions than *enfin*8, but is always used dialogically, encoding a call for H to modify his or her behaviour. It generally constitutes a reproach (though not in every case; see 6.2.4): an intrinsic FTA (Brown & Levinson 1987: 66).

6.1.3 *Ecoute* in Spoken Corpora

As mentioned above, only one study has so far been conducted on *écoute* using an authentic speech corpus, although both Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) and Dostie (2009) do make references to authentic oral examples. Diwersy & Grutschus (2014; see 6.1.1) used the *C-ORAL-ROM* corpus (Cresti & Moneglia 2005) to analyse *écoute* in reported speech, and found fifty-two tokens in just under 270,000 words. This is a very low frequency; something which is also born out in searches of other corpora. Beeching's *Bristol corpus*, for example, includes thirteen tokens of *écoute*; a very small number given both its

seventeen-and-a-half-hour length (155,000 words) and the 432[37] tokens of *enfin* (Beeching 2001: 27; 2002: 127; see chapters 4 and 5). Furthermore, these were produced by just four speakers, out of a total of ninety-five interviewed: three males and a female aged over fifty-five, and one female aged thirty-five. The *Corpus de français parlé au Québec (CFPQ)*[38] has much a higher total of 144, but this is still very small given the total size of the corpus of 471 575 words; roughly three times the size of the *Bristol Corpus*. The *CFPQ* does, however, suggest a much wider usage, with the *écoute* tokens produced by speakers across different ages.

In addition to oral corpora, *écoute* also features in the *88milSMS* corpus (Pankhurst *et al.* 2014). As the name suggests, this is made up of 88,000 text messages – a form of written communication which is, of course, generally informal and reasonably close to the spoken norm – sent in the Montpellier area of France. These SMS messages include 175 tokens of *écoute*, but the most interesting feature of this data is that, unlike with the spoken corpora where *écoute* most commonly occurs alone, here almost two thirds of the tokens (112) combine with *ben*, or its variants *bah/ba/bin*. The film corpus, on the other hand, has a very low number of *écoute* combinations, with just three tokens of *ben/bah écoute*, three of *bon écoute*, and three of *mais écoute* (see 6.2.3). Possibly the high occurrence of *ben écoute* in the SMS corpus is due to the written medium, with *ben* being employed as further softening, in order to make the arguably mitigating function of *écoute* more explicit due to the absence of tone of voice.

Unfortunately there is no space in the present study to fully analyse the functions of the tokens from all of these corpora. This would be an interesting project for future research; whilst the number of tokens in any one corpus is small, together they give a very good body of data to test and develop the functions of *écoute* outlined in 6.1.4. For now, I will use this data merely as a reference point. As will be discussed in the next section, use of the DM is much

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[37] This figure will also include tokens of *enfin* the adverb (see 4.1.1): most likely the < twenty tokens described as 'finally' (Beeching 2001: 27; 2002: 130). However the figure given for corrective *enfin* (311) suggests that a significant enough proportion of the 432 tokens are DMs for the contrast with *écoute* to remain striking.

[38] Available at <http://recherche.flsh.usherbrooke.ca/cfpq/index.php/site/index>, accessed 23 July 2014

more frequent in the film corpus than in any of the spoken (or written) corpora mentioned above, making film dialogue a very useful resource in the study of this particle. It may also be particularly helpful in the study of *écoute*2, as Diwersy & Grutschus state this use of the DM is 'difficile (voire impossible) d'en trouver une occurrence dans un corpus oral classique' (2014: 58).

6.1.4 Functions of *écoute*

As stated in 6.1.1, I will be adopting the discursive, pragmatic and metadiscursive functions of *écoute* set out by Diwersy & Grutschus (2014) as the analytical framework for this analysis, with Rodríguez Somolinos' (2003) detailed description of *écoute* forming the main point of reference for the pragmatic functions. These three sets of functions are outlined below.

Discursive functions of écoute

Diwersy & Grutschus give five discursive functions for *écoute*, based on Koch & Oesterreicher's (1990) general classification of *mots du discours*, and illustrated with examples from C-ORAL-ROM (pp. 56-57). These are as follows:

(i)   opening signal (beginning a new section);

(170) A: […] personne mieux que Christophje Masse pourrait en parler // hhh
       B: merci bien / / # **écoutez** mesdames et messieurs / &euh # ce soir c'est aussi avec […] beaucoup d'émotion / # que je suis devant vous

(ii)   turn-taking signal;

(171) A: qui [/] qui va [/] qui va enlever les extensions ? # <il y a>
       B: <**écoute**> / toutes les machines sont pareilles / # <d'accord> ?

(iii) turn-maintaining signal (against an actual or potential interruption);

(172) A: <donc ça> / c'est le [/] le premier élément / / alors ensuite / # **écoutez bien** quand même / il y a eu le radio réveil / # il y a eu le tuner […]

(iv)   speaker signal (indicating that S is asserting him or herself, but maintaining the dialogue with H);

(173)   A: <que se passe-t-il ?>
          B: <euh> que se passe-t-il ? euh ben **écoute** / il est très bien à Salonique / / moi je suis très bien à Marseille / /

(v)   hesitation marker.[39]

(174)   A: […] qu'est-ce qui vous a fait choisir ce métier ? #
          B: ah ce métier ? alors là ça &euh # **écoutez** &euh c'est # purement financier hein

It should be emphasised that these functions are not absolute, and *écoute* can incorporate more than one discursive (or pragmatic, or metadiscursive) function simultaneously. *Ecoute* in initial position, for instance, may be both an opening and a turn-taking signal, while Diwersy & Grutschus note the similarity between the speaker signal in (173) and hesitation marker in (174) (2014: 57).

Pragmatic functions of écoute

Diwersy & Grutschus note only two pragmatic functions for *écoute*, which align with *écoute*1 and *écoute*2, as set out above, although they do not use this terminology. I have therefore chosen to use Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) as the starting point for a discussion of *écoute*'s pragmatic functions, as she gives much more detail surrounding the various contexts in which the DM may be used, especially with regard to *écoute*1.

Following Dostie (1998: 89; 92), Rodríguez Somolinos views *écoute* as an *appel à la raison*, a label which goes further than Ghezzi & Molinelli's assessment of the Italian attention-getter *guarda* as having a primary phatic value of 'invit[ing] the listener to direct her attention towards the process of enunciation (paraphrase *listen to me*)' and a secondary dialogic function 'through which the speaker expresses her stance towards the previous/following utterance by inviting the listener to pay attention to its content (paraphrase

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[39] In Diwersy & Grutschus' (2014: 56-57) analysis these are presented as four functions, with the turn-taking and turn-maintaining functions grouped together. However, I have found it more logical to list these separately, as five terms and five examples are given.

consider, pay attention to what I am saying)' (2014: 129). The addition of the call to reason dimension in Dostie and Rodríguez Somolinos' descriptions is important in that it captures the adversative quality of the marker: generally a speaker using *écoute* will believe H's opinion or behaviour to be in need of correction, and will be seeking to actively persuade him or her.

According to Rodríguez Somolinos, *écoute*1 is used to 'negotiate a disagreement' (p. 72), while at the same time maintaining continuity and avoiding a thematic break (p. 77). She identifies a numbers of contexts in which it may occur, including:

- reopening dialogue (p. 74);
- giving advice (solicited or unsolicited) (p. 75);
- disagreement (pp. 75-76);
- refusal (p. 76);
- closing the interaction (p. 76);
- introducing a slight change of topic (new information within the same overall area) (p. 77);
- marking acceptance of an argument that S was previously opposed to (p. 77).

Three of these functions – reopening dialogue, closing the interaction and introducing a slight change of topic – will be discussed in relation to the metadiscursive functions of *écoute*, below. The other four contexts, I believe, constitute actual or potential FTAs which *écoute* can be used to mitigate. All of them are evidenced in the film corpus, along with other potential mitigation contexts, which are set out in 6.2.

*Ecoute*2 receives less attention in the literature than *écoute*1, as it appears to be less frequently occurring (see 6.1.3). However, its main pragmatic function is as an involuntary interjection, generally encoding a reproach (see 6.1.2), and as such it can be considered an FTA. *Ecoute*2 will be discussed in more detail in relation to tokens in the corpus in 6.2.4.

Metadiscursive functions of écoute

Dostie (1998: 89-90) rather vaguely describes *écoute*1 as having a metadiscursive role. Diwersy & Grutschus (2014: 58-59) broaden this into a category which they say groups together the various functions mentioned by other authors (p. 58). However, only two are referred to by name: *écoute* used to close an interaction (175), and *écoute* used to introduce reported speech (176). The examples they give to illustrate these functions (p.59) are again taken from C-ORAL-ROM.

> (175) A: […] ça peut être sympa quoi / / # <ouais O.K.> / /
>
>   B: <voilà> ben **écoute** &euh on se [/] on se (re)contacte plus tard / / #

> (176) A: ils m'ont dit / ben **écoutez** on va peut-être trouver &euh # quelqu'un pour [/] &euh pour vous accompagner

The first of these two functions, *écoute* used to close an interaction, also appears in Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) discussion of *écoute*, which I am using as the basis for my analysis of *écoute*'s pragmatic functions in the corpus (see above). I have chosen to treat this primarily as a metadiscursive function, except where there is no other clear pragmatic function which could be attributed to a token of *écoute* occurring at the end of an interaction (see 6.2.3).

In addition to Diwersy & Grutschus' two metadiscursive functions, I could add Dostie's (1998: 90) example of *écoute* used to reopen a dialogue:

> (177) Après un long moment dans une salle d'attente chez le dentiste, le locuteur se lève et dit à la réceptionniste : « **Ecoutez**, je suis pressé. Je vais téléphoner demain pour prendre un autre rendez-vous. »

This might be considered a variant of *écoute* used to open the closing sequence of an interaction, as it simultaneously reopens and closes the dialogue. This is also the case for the one token in the corpus of *écoute* used to reopen a dialogue (see 6.2.2).

6.2 *Ecoute* in the Film Corpus

There are forty-eight tokens of *écoute* in the film corpus, and their distribution per film/episode is shown in Table 3.

Film	No. of *écoute* tokens
Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis	4
Contre toi	3
De rouille et d'os	1
Engrenages, episode 1	3
Engrenages, episode 2	1
Engrenages, episode 3	3
Engrenages, episode 4	3
Entre les murs	5
Home	1
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime	3
Intouchables	4
Les Revenants, episode 1	1
Les Revenants, episode 2	2
Les Revenants, episode 3	0
Les Revenants, episode 4	1
Ne le dis à personne	6
Partir	7
Total	48

Table 3: Total *écoute* tokens per film/episode

As is evident from the table, *écoute* occurs in all of the films and television episodes in the corpus, except for one episode of *Les Revenants.* As was explained in 3.3, the corpus does not constitute a random sample, but films that were discounted for a lack of tokens were very few in number. This suggests that, although not frequently occurring, *écoute* is a relatively common communicative device and plays a useful role in film and television dialogue. Most of the films and episodes in the corpus have between one and three tokens; particularly high totals can be found in *Ne le dis à personne* (six tokens)

and *Partir* (seven tokens), whose plots revolve around central characters put under extreme pressure: a false murder accusation and ruinous blackmail respectively. This leads to numerous confrontations and high-stakes FTAs, some of which are arguably mitigated with *écoute*.

Although equivalents of *écoute* in other languages can appear at either the left or right periphery (e.g. Italian *guarda*; see Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014), in the present corpus all but one of the forty-eight tokens appear at the left periphery, the exception being one of the tokens of *écoute*2 (see 6.2.4). This is despite Rodríguez Somolinos' assertion that *écoute* 'peut précéder ou suivre l'énoncé p dans la chaîne syntagmatique' (p. 74; cf. Dostie 1998: 100). The latter is presumably a rare phenomenon in French, and it would be interesting to see whether examples of this could be found in a larger corpus.

As previously stated (see 6.1.4.), I have decided to adopt Diwersy & Grutschus' (2014) division of *écoute*'s functions into discursive, pragmatic and metadiscursive, expanding on Rodríguez Somolinos' (2003) description of *écoute* for the pragmatic functions of *écoute*1. This section presents an analysis of these functions in the film corpus, beginning with the discursive functions in 6.2.1, followed by the metadiscursive functions in 6.2.2 and the pragmatic functions of *écoute*1 in 6.2.3. Lastly, 6.2.4 is devoted to a discussion of *écoute*2.

As was noted in 6.1.4, the functions are not mutually exclusive, and the same applies to the FTAs listed in 6.2.3.

6.2.1 Discursive Functions of *écoute*

The discursive functions set out by Diwersy & Grutschus are opening signal, turn-taking signal, turn-maintaining signal, speaker signal, and hesitation marker (see 6.1.4). As stated in 6.1.4, it is common for tokens of *écoute* to fulfil more than one discursive function. I therefore present here some general observations, rather than a detailed numerical breakdown by function.

The majority of tokens appear in turn-initial position, and appear to be turn-taking signals, as in (178).

> (178) Simon: Euh, Simon Delaître, ça vous dit quelque chose? Ils vivaient ensemble ici.
>
> Julie: **Ecoutez**, j'ai vraiment pas grande chose sur Mademoiselle Werther J'ai pris son appartement, c'était i'y a huit ans, je l'ai vue trois fois. Je suis désolée.
>
> *Les Revenants*, episode 2 (*écoute* at 13'39")

Twenty-two of the forty-eight tokens are in absolute initial position, with a further twelve being near-turn-initial, separated from the start of the turn only by another DM (see 6.3) or a *oui* or *non*, as in as in (179).

> (179) Non, mais **écoute,** Jerôme. Il y en a un peu assez de tes sarcasmes.
>
> *Les Revenants*, episode 1 (*écoute* at 9'17")

This is in stark contrast to Diwersy & Grutschus' findings, as they report turn-taking *écoute* to be 'peu fréquent' (2014: 56). The difference in frequency is likely to be due to the different nature of the two corpora, i.e. fictional dialogue with interrelated scenes vs media excerpts and individual conversations. None of the five tokens in the film corpus of *écoute* accompanying a request, for example, occurred in turn-initial position, a pragmatic function of *écoute* which may not occur in *C-ORAL-ROM*. There are some similarities with Diwersy & Grutschus' findings, however. Opening signals, for instance, which are used to begin a new segment within the same discourse, are rare in both corpora, but a possible example from the film corpus is shown in (180):

> (180) Bon… **Ecoutez**, on se connaît pas bien mais je vais me permettre de contredire votre médecin traitant. On va arrêter la cortisone parce que je pense pas qu'il serait avec ça qu'on va la livrer de son eczéma. En revanche, ce qui lui ferait du bien, à votre enfant, c'est que vous la laissiez vivre un peu.
>
> *Ne le dis à personne* (*écoute* at 8'15")

There is very little context for the viewer here, as this occurs at the opening of a scene. We can surmise that the speaker (a hospital paediatrics doctor) has completed the opening pleasantries of greeting the patient and her family, been given a brief summary of the problem, and taken a few moments to think. He then begins the main part of the consultation, offering his opinion on the patient's medical condition.

Similarly, there are very few examples of *écoute* as a speaker signal in the film corpus. One example is shown in (181), where S struggles to protest his innocence to the police when it is clear that they do not believe him.

(181) Laure: Et vous l'avez vu, le Kevin en question ?

Suspect: Non. J'ai quitté l'entreprise à dix-neuf heures et, et Kevin n'était pas encore arrivé. **Ecoutez**, j'étais aux Abats Jour, euh, Rue Oberkampf, toute la soirée ! Vingt personnes vous le diront.

Laure: On leur demandera.

Engrenages, epsiode 3 (*écoute* at 24'58")

Diwersy & Grutschus do not comment on the frequency of this type of *écoute* use in *C-ORAL-ROM*, but it seems logical, given the low frequencies of the other categories, to assume that this is more common.

There do not appear to be any tokens of turn-maintaining or hesitant *écoute*; the former is something that Diwersy & Grutschus do find in their corpus, although again it is rare (p. 56), while the latter I again assume to be more frequent. The difference between the two corpora here can perhaps be explained by the nature of scripted dialogue, which, by virtue of being pre-planned, significantly reduces both the potential for interruption and the need for hesitation. The improvised dialogue of *Entre les murs* is, of course, an exception to this, but only contains five tokens of *écoute*; a very small pool in which to find a full range of discursive functions.

6.2.2 Metadiscursive Functions of *écoute*

Regarding the metadiscursive functions of *écoute* (see 6.1.4), the film corpus constitutes a complete contrast to *C-ORAL-ROM*. Whereas Diwersy & Grutschus (2014: 59) found the use of *écoute* to introduce reported speech to be 'de loin la plus fréquente dans le corpus', there are no tokens at all in the film data. On the other hand, many of the tokens could be described as opening a closing sequence, as in (182) and (183).

(182) Suz.: *[speaking on the telephone]* Vous avez mangé ?

Samuel: Les enfants sont partis au Mcdo. Si tu rentres pas je vais peut-être retourner à l'hosto. J'ai des piles de dossiers encore.

Suz.: Ah bon ? *[Sighs]* Mais **écoute**… je t'embrasse, hein. A demain. Je vous aime.

Partir (*écoute* at 12'23'')

(183) Pierre: Je peux pas accepter.

Benoît: Oh Pierre fais pas chier. Attends, non seulement je gagne beaucoup d'argent et en plus de ça ça me coûte rien ici. J'ai pris cet appartement pour un client italien qui veut acheter des usines en France que moi j'essaie de vendre. Tout a été décalé j'ai l'appart sur les bras. Tu vois finalement c'est toi qui me rends service.

Pierre: Ah, je te paie un loyer, alors ?

Benoît: Ah oui, mais sur le plan rentable c'est pas évident ça. Bon **écoute**, on en fera plus tard si tu restes longtemps, hein. Pour ce soir c'est plus simple tu gardes ton hôtel, mais demain tu t'installes ici. Allez, on va dîner.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoute* at 29'29'')

The first of these is the end of a telephone conversation, as is Diwersy & Grutschus' example shown in (175) (see 6.1.4). (183) is perhaps less obvious as a marker to open a closing sequence, as it is not a formal meeting or an explicitly structured conversation (such as a telephone call) that is being brought to a close. Rather, *écoute* is used to end one particular discussion, within the context of an interaction which continues for the rest of the evening. The transition is emphasised by the fact that the two characters turn and walk towards the door. In both of these examples, *écoute* co-occurs with another DM (*mais* and *bon* respectively) and this is common among the closing tokens (see 6.3). It was also a feature of Diwersy & Grutschus' example, where *écoute* combined with *ben*.

There is also one example in the corpus of *écoute* used to reopen a dialogue, shown in (184):

(184) Gilou: *[Putting his head in at the door]* Monsieur, Monsieur Procureur, Madame Androux travaille pas aujourd'hui.

Pierre: *[To the lady he is interviewing]* Excusez-moi. *[Goes back to his colleagues in the corridor]* Bon **écoutez**, euh, il faut faire conduire la nounou à l'infirmerie psychiatrique du dépôt. J'imagine qu'elle a des antécédents. *[Pause]* Voyez ce que vous pouvez faire pour la mère.

Engrenages, episode 2 (*écoute* at 3'56'')

In this example, Pierre has been talking to his police colleagues in the hallway of the flat that forms their crime scene, but briefly goes into the living room to interview a neighbour while Gilou tries to make contact with the victim's mother. When he returns, he issues orders, and then leaves, meaning that the combination *bon écoutez* serves a dual function of both reopening and closing down the dialogue. This was also the case for *écoutez* in Dostie's (1998) example seen in (177) (see 6.1.4).

6.2.3 Pragmatic functions of *écoute*1

As was noted in 6.1.2, the main function of *écoute*1 is to negotiate disagreement, which I interpret within the context of facework theory as giving the particle the status of a mitigator. Within the film corpus, I observe that *écoute* accompanies the following FTAs:

- explicit disagreement;
- refusal;
- denial;
- an accusation;
- a request;
- an apology;
- an overtly indirect answer;
- the suggestion of a compromise;
- the proposal of a plan of action;
- explicitly bringing a conversation to a close;
- giving advice and comforting;
- teasing.

Some of these situations present a more obvious FTA than others; apologising, for example, may not be immediately obvious as an FTA. However, my justifications are given below in relation to each set of examples. Four of these categories (explicit disagreement, refusal, compromise and explicitly bringing a conversation to a close) match those described by Rodríguez Somolinos. The rest are new additions to the body of knowledge on *écoute*1. In every case, S appears to either be in a position of power over H (e.g. his or her boss or teacher) or (re-)asserting control over the interaction.

The most common context for *écoute*1 in the corpus is with explicit disagreement (twelve tokens). The other categories have between two and five tokens each, while *écoute* with teasing or before an apology occur only once. As there has only been one previous corpus-based study into *écoute* (Diwersy & Grutschus 2014; see 6.1.1), and this did not comment in any detail on the pragmatic functions of the particle, there is unfortunately no point of comparison for its functional distribution in this corpus. However, the discussion below should provide a useful starting point for future studies into *écoute* in other corpora.

It is certainly the case that *écoute* is used as an 'appel à la raison'; my argument is that in many of the contexts described below *écoute*1 is also used as a particle with mitigatory force. This is not true of every occurrence (see 6.2.4 for a discussion of the overlap between *écoute*1 and *écoute*2), and, given the contextual side effect versus 'coded meaning' debate (see Beeching 2013), one must be careful not to overstate the particle's role. As was noted in 6.1.2, *écoute* is not yet fully desemanticised, and so does also encode the threat to negative face intrinsic to imperatives. However, I believe it plausible that an 'appel à la raison' can be at the same time both a face threat and a signal to H that, by applying his or her powers of reason, he or she will understand that the utterance to follow is not, in fact, as threatening as it might first appear. I will now demonstrate this with reference to various FTAs present in the corpus.

Ecoute in contexts of explicit disagreement

Although *écoute*1 generally occurs within a broad context of disagreement (see above), in most cases it is arguably used to mitigate another underlying FTA, such as a denial, refusal or apology. Twelve of the tokens, however, occur within an act of explicit disagreement, where the interactants take clearly opposing stances, or simply do not share the same opinion on a particular subject. In these situations, Rodríguez Somolinos describes the role of *écoute* as being to underline the 'orientation argumentative des énoncés sur lesquels il porte' (2003: 76). An example of this is shown in (185), a conversation between Philippe, and his friend and colleague in Human Resources, Jean.

(185) Philippe: *[sighs]* Bon et c'est quoi la bonne nouvelle ?
Jean: C'est ça.
Philippe: Hein ? Ben, c'est quoi la mauvaise ?
Jean: Tu vas rester deux ans là-bas.
Philippe: Deux ans ?
Jean: Minimum.
Philippe: Deux ans dans le Nord-Pas-de-Calais, non. *[Pointing a finger]* Non, Jean !
Jean: **Ecoute**, c'est le nord ou c'est le licenciement pour faute grave ! *[Closing the file and standing up]* Voilà, je suis désolé.

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*écoute* at 11'06'')

Here Jean's firm tone and move to usher Philippe straight out of the office makes clear that he is not offering his friend any sympathy. Rather, he is pointing out that that the move to Nord-Pas-de-Calais is Philippe's own fault (he pretended to be disabled in order to secure a move to the south coast), and that, consequentially, Philippe has no right to be angry with him. Although confrontational, the particle also arguably functions to draw Philippe's attention the relative leniency of the punishment, given the seriousness of his misconduct.

The mitigating effect of this particle could be said to be particularly evident in the following token. Anna has been kidnapped by Yann as revenge for the death of his wife while under her care in hospital, and in this extract she confronts him about his perception of the need to attribute blame:

(186) I'y a un procès qui a démontré qu'il y avait pas de faute médicale. *[She looks pointedly at Yann, who throws his beer bottle at the wall. Anna flinches as it smashes, then regains her composure]* **Ecoutez**, dès qu'on opère le risqué zero n'éxiste pas. La plupart du temps ça se passe bien mais parfois il y a des accidents, et des gens décèdent.

Contre toi (*écoute* at 26'21'')

Although extremely angry for the way that she is being treated, Anna remains professional at this point, explaining the risks attached to surgery in the same calm way that she might to families lodging complaints at work. She refuses to accept responsibility, but at the same time tries to show sympathy for her kidnapper's loss. *Ecoute* seems to mitigate the delivery of a statement she knows her hearer will find difficult to accept: the fact that no operation can be one hundred percent risk-free.

In the other tokens, the function of *écoute* is less straight forward. It appears to act as an assertion as much as a mitigator, as shown in (187) and (189):

(187) Samuel: Et vous n'allez pas mettre de ballon d'eau chaude dans la salle d'attente. Ça va être très, très moche.
Rémi: Il me semblait plus simple, hein.
Samuel: **Ecoutez,** *[stops and turns to Rémi]* j'ai tout dessiné au code, vous faites exactement ce qu'on a dit. *[They start walking again]*
Rémi: Très bien.

Partir (*écoute* at 2'02'')

(188) Driss: *[Slapping a form down on the desk]* Je fais signer un papier.

Magalie: *[Pause]* Mais je vous en prie, asseyez-vous *[Driss remains standing]* Euh, vous avez des références ?

Driss: Oui, des références, oui, j'en ai une.

Magalie: Oui. Ben, on vous écoute.

Driss: J'sais pas, Kool and the Gang, Earth Wind & Fire. C'est une bonne référence ça, non ? *[Magalie looks behind her to Philippe and sighs]*

Philippe: Je connais pas. Asseyez-vous.

Driss: Non, si vous connaissez pas c'est que vous y connaissez rien en musique.

Philippe: **Ecoutez**, j'ai pas l'impression d'être totalement inculte dans le domaine musical, même si je connais pas votre « sool », j'sais pas quoi.

Intouchables (écoute at 10'27'')

In each of these cases, S apparently uses *écoute* to mitigate a threat to H's face (the act of disagreeing), but the particle also appears to function as an overt assertion of S's authority (an FTA as this threatens H's negative face). In (187), Samuel is giving an order, while in (189), Philippe is defending himself against the allegation that he knows nothing about music. This dual role of *écoute* highlights the multifunctionality of the particle, and will be further discussed in 6.2.4.

Ecoute introducing refusal

Another explicit form of disagreement arguably mitigated by *écoute* is refusal. Rodríguez Somolinos gives the example of a teenager asking to borrow his or her father's car (2003: 76):

(189) A: Papa, est-ce que je peux emprunter ta voiture ?
       B: **Ecoute**, cela fait trois fois que je te la prête cette semaine.

Here there is no explicit 'no'; rather, *écoute* introduces a reason for the negative answer, from which the refusal itself can be inferred. Rodríguez Somolinos describes it as 'une proposition orientée vers le refus' (ibid.). In the same way, two tokens in the film corpus also introduce an indirect refusal.

(190) Tony: Ben alors, embrache-moi.
      Anna.:   Ah **écoute**, c'est ridicule. Allez, à ch'soir.

                                Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*écoute* at 58'10'')

(191) Ivan: Qu'est-ce que tu fais là ?
      Suz.:   Je t'appelle, tu me réponds pas.
      Ivan: Il vaut mieux qu'on se voie plus, tu sais bien.
      Suz.:   J'arrive pas.
      Ivan: **Ecoute**, euh, je travaille là. Je peux pas te bavarder.

                                            Partir (*écoute* at 35'41'')

Regarding the second token, the request is not verbalised; rather, it is clear
from Suzanne's presence in the restaurant (before opening, while the servers
are setting up) that she wants to speak to Ivan.

Ecoute introducing denial

Another overt form of disagreement, yet one that is not described by Rodríguez
Somolinos, is the denial of an accusation, as in (192) (=(181); see 6.2.1), (193)
and (194), below:

(192) Laure: Et vous l'avez vu, le Kevin en question ?
      Suspect: Non. J'ai quitté l'entreprise à dix-neuf heures et, et Kevin
                n'était pas encore arrivé. **Ecoutez**, j'étais aux Abats Jour,
                euh, Rue Oberkampf, toute la soirée ! Vingt personnes
                vous le diront.
      Laure: On leur demandera.

                                Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoute* at 24'58'')

(193) Pierre: Hier soir t'as fait quoi quand on s'est quitté ?
      Benoît: Hier soir ? Je sais pas, je me souviens plus, moi.
      Pierre: On t'a vu bavarder avec un certain Michel, un Roumain, un
                peu proxénète, sur les bords, ça y est, ça te reviens ?
      Benoît: **Écoute**, je savais qu'il était roumain, mais proxénète là-
      Pierre: Arrête ! Benoît arrête.

                                Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoute* at 21'42'')

(194) Roban: On a volé cet agenda chez moi et ce soir-là vous étiez le seul à savoir qu'il s'y trouvait. *[Pierre goes to speak but Roban interrupts]* Non, je le sais bien que c'est pas vous. Mais vous l'avez dit. Vous savez à qui. Vous avez vu votre ami Benoît, Benoît Faye et vous l'avez parlé de l'agenda.

Pierre: C'est une accusation très grave.

Roban: Ah non, non, c'est pas une accusation, c'est une certitude !

Pierre: *[Pause]* **Écoutez**, Benoît Faye il est un de mes meilleurs amis et j'ai beaucoup de mal à croire qu'il ait pu aller parler de-

Roban: Et si, si, si, vous pouvez très bien.

Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoute* at 47'59")

There are three examples of this in the corpus, all occurring in *Engrenages*. This is perhaps unsurprising given the nature of the series as a crime drama, and in fact, all three tokens come from the same episode. However, only the first features an interaction between the police and a potential suspect. The latter two examples take place in conversations between friends (193), and colleagues (194). In all three cases, a serious accusation of criminal activity has been made (either directly or implied), but the strategies for refuting this accusation are different. The suspect in (192) makes a panicked appeal to draw the police's attention to facts that they do not yet have, i.e. that he has an alibi. In the other two examples, S are H have an established relationship, meaning S is able to attempt to cover his tracks by appealing to his interlocutor's previously held opinion of him as a good friend (in (193)) or respected colleague (in (194)); the message conveyed is *Your version of events is wrong. Be reasonable and see that I would not be involved in something like this*.

Ecoute introducing accusation

As well as the denial of an accusation, *écoute* can also apparently be used to mitigate the accusation itself. There are two examples of this in the corpus, shown in (195) and (196).

(195) From.:   Vous avez, ah, rien remarqué d'anormal ? Enfin, vous avez fait aucun signalement ?

        Psychol.:   I'y avait pas matière à signalement.

        From.:   Et les bleus sur les jambes ? Les parents ont fourni un certificat médical.

        Psychol.:   Mais j'aimerais bien connaître le nom du médecin.

        From.:   **Ecoutez**, madame, *[pause]* est-ce que vous cherchez à couvrir l'institutrice ?

                        Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoute* at 32'07'')

(196) Anna: Je vois pas pourquoi il m'aurait laissé partir à ce moment-là.

        Officer: C'est-à-dire ?

        Anna: Mais je sais pas, et…

        Officer: A quel moment ?

        Anna: Je sais pas, à ce moment-là, quand je suis sortie, je… Pardon, je comprends pas très bien ce que vous voulez. *[Another policeman enters with fresh drinks, collects the empty glasses and leaves]*.

        Officer: **Ecoutez**, *[pause]* si vous me dites pas la vérité, ça sert à rien, et si vous essayez de protéger quelqu'un, c'est encore pire.

                        Contre toi (*écoute* at 51'33'')

Both of these tokens occur in police interviews, and arguably mitigate the accusation that the interviewee is lying to protect someone. In (195), this accusation is a direct question, whereas in (196) the officer presents his suspicions as two different possibilities. In each case, *écoute* is somewhat detached from what follows, with a long pause creating a break in the dialogue and giving more emphasis to the following accusation. In this sense, the tokens of *écoute* occurring with accusations best fit Dostie's description of *écoute*1 as separate from the rest of the phrase (see 6.1.1). It seems in each case that S is hopeful of convincing H of the futility of withholding the truth, and of persuading her to cooperate; while at the same time showing intolerance towards having his time wasted. The message could be summed up as *Please understand that you are not helping either me or yourself. I know that you are lying, but I understand your reasons, and will let it pass if you chose to cooperate now.* In both (195) and (196), the accusation is made by male police officers to female interviewees; a factor which may be significant if the script-writers think male characters would be more likely to see a woman than a man as open to negotiation and responsive to sympathetic, reasoned persuasion. The

characters are also both well-educated and working in scientific careers (a psychologist and an obstetrician/gynaecologist respectively), which, again, may influence the choice of interview strategy.

Ecoute introducing a request

There are five tokens of *écoute* in the corpus which occur with requests. These requests are put with varying degrees of directness, as illustrated by (197) and (198):

(197) Marcelline: Vous avez entendu parler de mon frère? Il a besoin de quelqu'un. Ça pourrait être vous. Il est avocat. Il ne peut plus plaider.

Joséphine: Il s'appelle Monteil ?

Marcelline: Non, Vincent Leroy. C'est mon demi-frère.

Joséphine: Il fait du pénal ?

Marcelline: Avec lui vous ne feriez que ça. **Écoutez**, réfléchissez. *[She walks to the door; Joséphine picks up her coat]* C'est très, très sérieux. *[She holds the door open for Joséphine]*

Joséphine: Très bien. Je vais réfléchir. *[She leaves]*

Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoute* at 34'28'')

(198) Allô, Monsieur Lagache? Oui, c'est Suzanne Vidal. **Ecoutez**, j'ai un, un, un, un problème et je pourrai pas venir aujourd'hui.

Partir (*écoute* at 26'26'')

The first token occurs with a direct imperative (*réfléchissez*). Joséphine is a criminal lawyer who has been invited to Marcelline's office to discuss a potential job opportunity. The conversation is kept brief: Marcelline needs to return to her meeting in the room next door, while Joséphine is irritated and uncooperative due to what she feels is a waste of her time (the two lawyers work in entirely different fields). Furthermore, the opportunity Marcelline has in mind is in fact an illegal business proposition, which she would not want to be overheard. *Ecoute* allows the discussion to be ended succinctly, yet not rudely; leaving the offer open for Joséphine to consider in her own time.

Similarly, *écoute* in (198) also allows S to make an abrupt change in the flow of the interaction. This token appears in a telephone conversation between an

employee and her boss, and the professional context means it is important to get one's point across quickly rather than engage in conversation. The character's request is much more indirect than in (197), presented instead as a statement of fact (*je pourrai pas venir aujourd'hui*); yet request it is as she still needs her boss's permission in order to miss work. The speaker is in fact lying (she wants to take the day off to spend it with her lover) so is desperately hoping not to be pressed for more details.

All of the tokens in this category are spoken by female characters. However, the data here is likely to be skewed, as three of the tokens come from the same character, Suzanne, in the film *Partir*. The film's plot, which involves Suzanne having an affair and leaving her husband, only to be blackmailed and faced with financial ruin, requires her to frequently ask for favours from other characters.

Ecoute introducing an apology

There is one token in the corpus of *écoute* arguably mitigating an apology.

> (199)   Margot: Pourquoi tu t'énerves comme ça ?
> Alex: Mais je m'énerve pas, t'es toujours en train de la défendre !
> Margot: *[Pause]* T'as raison, ça me regarde pas. *[She gets up to go]*
> Alex: Margot c'est pas ça ! **Ecoute** j'suis désolé.
> *Ne le dis à personne* (*écoute* at 5'56'')

It may seem odd to need to mitigate an apology, but the FTA here is not so much a threat to H's face, as it is to S's own, as it constitutes an admission of guilt (for speaking angrily). However, the tone of voice indicates that Alex thinks his wife is being unreasonable in taking his sister's side and storming off; *Margot c'est pas ça !* has failed to placate her, so he uses *écoute* to draw her attention to the apology in *j'suis désolé*.

Ecoute introducing an overtly indirect answer

One of the uses of *écoute* described by Rodríguez Somolinos (2003: 77) is to avoid giving a direct answer to a question, and there are six tokens in the film

corpus for which the primary pragmatic function could be said to be mitigating an overtly indirect answer. Four of these are shown below:

(200) Suz.: Mais je croyais que tu ne voulais plus faire de politique ?

Samuel: **Ecoute**, c'est un bon maire et puis, ça me tente.

Partir (*écoute* at 33'15'')

(201) Eric: Votre père possédait une arme, hein ?

Philippe: Un fusil de chasse, dont vous avez hérité. *[Alex doesn't answer]*

Eric: Vous savez où il est ?

Alex: Non. Dans ma cave, j'imagine.

Eric: Vous n'êtes pas sûr ?

Alex: **Ecoutez**, j'ai déménagé il y a huit ans. Il devrait être dans un carton j'suppose.

Ne le dis à personne (*écoute* at 1 hour 37'09'')

(202) P'tit Lys: Tata Juliette, elle doit avoir un métier, non ?

Luc: Pourquoi tu me demande ça ?

P'tit Lys: Ben, j'sais pas. Je dis qu'elle doit avoir un métier parce que elle est pas très jeune quand même *[Luc makes a noise]* Et c'est quoi son métier, alors ?

Luc: **Écoute,** tu m'embêtes, à la fin tu lui demanderas. Tu vois pas que je travaille ?

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*écoute* at 43'23'')

In all of the above examples, S choses not to respond to the question put to them in the way that H might expect. In the first token this is to protect S's face: Samuel – an 'alpha male' and a bully – is keen to assert his authority whilst not damaging his face by admitting to being wrong (his ego has been badly damaged by his wife Suzanne's admission of having had an affair, and relations between them are now strained).

(201) is a conversation between two police officers and a widower, whom they had previously suspected of murdering his wife (and in fact one of the officers, Philippe, still does suspect him). Alex only avoided capture by going on the run until his lawyer was able to find new evidence, and following this ordeal he now cooperates with the police only grudgingly. Understandably, he interprets the question about the gun as another accusation and makes no attempt to hide his frustration. When pressed on the issue (*Vous n'êtes pas sûr ?*), he clarifies his

position by supplying extra information in a less direct way than the officer might expect (e.g. *Non, parce que…*). *Ecoute* here maintains the flow of the dialogue, whilst at the same time drawing the officers' attention to the reasons why Alex feel they are expecting more of him than is reasonable.

(202) is very close to being an *écoute*2 (see 6.2.4), as it shows a father who has run out of patience with his daughter's pestering. However, he does not view P'tit Lys' behaviour as unreasonable; rather, he is trying to avoid a sensitive subject, as his sister-in-law ('Tata' Juliette) has recently been released from prison after serving fifteen years for murder. Evidently, P'tit Lys has not done anything wrong by asking questions about her aunt, and Luc reproaches her kindly. The FTA *tu m'embêtes* is arguably mitigated both by *écoute* and by the joke *Tu vois pas que je travaille ?* (spoken whilst reading the football scores in the paper). Had the tone of voice been different, this may have been an instance of *écoute*2, transcribed as *Ecoute ! Tu m'embêtes.* with an exclamation mark and full stop (see (165) and (166) in 6.1.1), but Luc's delivery makes clear that this is in fact an *écoute*1.

Ecoute introducing the suggestion of a compromise

There are three tokens which appear to mitigate the suggestion of a compromise. The first of these is shown in (203):

> (203) **Ecoute**, on va demander à papa et s'il est d'accord je te promis qu'on ira ce weekend.
>
> *Ne le dis à personne* (*écoute* at 45'10'')

This occurs in a bedtime phone conversation between a mother and her daughter. It is the first line of a scene, but the impression is that the girl has been pestering to go somewhere, and her mother has finally given in. She can't make the decision alone, but says that she will ask the child's father. *Ecoute* draws attention to the fact that S has been persuaded, but that at the same time this decision is not final, as it rests on the child's father to have the final say.

In (204) (=(183); see 6.2.2) and (205) the suggestion of a compromise is less sincere, as S has very little intention of changing his or her stance; rather he or

she is merely trying to placate H in order to end the conversation or to move onto a different topic.

(204)   Pierre: Ah, je te paie un loyer, alors ?

Benoît: Ah oui, mais sur le plan rentable c'est pas évident ça. Bon **écoute**, on en fera plus tard si tu restes longtemps, hein. Pour ce soir c'est plus simple tu gardes ton hôtel, mais demain tu t'installes ici. Allez, on va dîner.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoute* at 29'29'')

(205)   Oui, **écoutez**, Monsieur Bamakalé, on vérifiera quand il sera possible. Je vois absolument pas pourquoi l'ordinateur aurait fait une erreur.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*écoute* at 36'28'')

In (204) Pierre, who has recently separated from his wife, has just finished his first day in the job of Assistant Prosecutor. He has met up with his old friend Benoît, who is showing him around an apartment that he owns and is offering to Pierre. Pierre is taken aback by such a generous gift and is insistent on paying rent, but Benoît dismisses his protests; the likelihood is that he wants this leverage over his friend in case the police uncover his shady dealings. He appears to give in to Pierre's insistence on paying rent, but only if Pierre stays long term. *Bon é*coute (see 6.3) allows him to put an end to the conversation: he introduces the compromise of postponing discussion of the details to an indeterminate point in the future, meaning Pierre is satisfied he is doing the right thing by his friend, while Benoît has avoided committing to anything concrete.

In a similar way, in (205) the speaker, Léa, is trying to end an unwanted conversation by appearing to concede. This is the first line of a scene, so we do not have access to the previous context, but the character Bamakalé has been introduced earlier in the film as a nuisance student who pesters his lecturers, including Léa, because he refuses to believe he can have repeatedly failed his exams. In the conversation shown above, Léa does not accept Bamakalé's argument that he has been made to retake his year because of a computer error, and has no intention of giving in to his lobbying. Her answer to his request (whatever it was) is therefore a firm *no*, but she does at the same time give the appearance of trying to establish a consensus, and so assures him that the university will check. However, she is unafraid to show her irritation, stating clearly her opinion that she can't see why the computer would have made a

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mistake. As with (204), *écoute* here carries a note of finality, although in this case it is less successful as Bamakalé continues his protests, and Léa is only able to escape once she catches sight of her sister waiting for her at the back of the lecture hall.

Ecoute introducing the proposal of a plan of action

A further three tokens of *écoute* occur in situations where a character in authority is putting forward a plan of action. Two of these occur in difficult situations, whereby an employee has become emotionally involved in his or her work, and is reluctant to move forward. The proposal of a plan therefore could be said to require mitigation to avoid a perception by H that S is not sympathetic, and that his or her feelings are not being taken into consideration. The first of these tokens is shown in (206).

(206) Head.: *[sighs]* Alors? Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? *[François shrugs]* Moi, je crois pas que nous puissions pas faire l'économie d'un conseil de discipline, alors ?

François: Mmm.

Head.: Ouais, ça fait beaucoup, hein. Regardez : *[consults his list]* ça commence par le tutoiement, ensuite la bagarre avec une blessée, et enfin il s'enfuit en quittant le cours sans autorisation.

François: Ouais, mais raison qu'il y a un... un seul incident qui s'est ramifié en fait c'est... une chose est entrée à une autre... ça s'est enchaîné... *[gestures]*

Head.: Ouais, **écoutez**, ce que je peux faire, c'est prendre une mesure conservatoire vu le, la gravité des faits, euh, de 48 heures en interdisant l'accès au collège, euh, à Souleymane.

François: *[nodding]* Mmm.

Head.: Comme ça, ça nous laisse un peu de temps pour, euh, pour prendre une décision.

Entre les murs (*écoute* at 1 hour 33'03")

This example shows a discussion about the fate of a problem student, Souleymane. François feels responsible for the student's behaviour as he

inadvertently provoked him in class, causing the fight for which Souleymane is to be punished, and he is also reluctant to see the student excluded as he had begun to make some real progress in lessons. The headmaster is sensitive to François' feelings, but also feels that there must be consequences for this poor behaviour. He takes a firm and authoritative stance, yet is at the same time keen to have his colleague's agreement and to reach a consensus. *Ecoute* is therefore an important particle here, signalling that a decision has been made but also arguably mitigating that decision by appealing to François to see the sense in the proposal and to understand that the headmaster has taken his concerns on board.

The second token is shown in (207) (=(184); see 6.2.2):

(207) Gilou: *[Putting his head in at the door]* Monsieur, Monsieur Procureur, Madame Androux travaille pas aujourd'hui.

Pierre: *[To the lady he is interviewing]* Excusez-moi. *[Goes back to his colleagues in the corridor]* Bon **écoutez**, euh, il faut faire conduire la nounou à l'infirmerie psychiatrique du dépôt. J'imagine qu'elle a des antécédents. *[Pause]* Voyez ce que vous pouvez faire pour la mère.

Engrenages, episode 2 (*écoute* at 3'56'')

This example takes place at a crime scene: a Paris flat where a baby has been murdered by his nanny. The words are spoken by Assistant Prosecutor Pierre Clémont to Captain Laure Berthaud, who is visibly shocked by the appalling scene. Despite being obviously moved by the crime himself, Pierre is able to take charge and to issue an initial plan of action for the investigation. As in (206), *bon écoute* (see 6.3) signals that a decision has been reached, and could be said to mitigate the giving of instructions at a time when the police might be reluctant to receive them, but nonetheless need to focus their minds on practicalities.

In the third example of *écoute* used with a proposal of a plan of action, mitigation is arguably needed for a different reason, and this is shown in (208) (=(180); see 6.2.1). Here the interaction takes place between a hospital paediatrics doctor, and his patient and her parents:

(208)   Bon… **Ecoutez**, on se connaît pas bien mais je vais me permettre de
contredire votre médecin traitant. On va arrêter la cortisone parce que
je pense pas qu'il serait avec ça qu'on va la livrer de son eczéma. En
revanche, ce qui lui ferait du bien, à votre enfant, c'est que vous la
laissiez vivre un peu.

Ne le dis à personne (*écoute* at 8'15'')

This appears to be the doctor's first meeting with this family, so he has not yet earned the parents' trust, and his opinion that they should 'let [their daughter] live a little' is a serious FTA as it is such an obvious criticism of their parenting, and goes beyond what would be expected in his professional capacity. He goes on to describe a number of measures including cartoons in bed, Nutella and having friends round to play, and ends with an emphatic *télé, télé, télé, télé*, as the parents appear more and more taken aback. Whereas in the previous two examples, H has been preoccupied or in a state of shock, here the parents will, presumably, have begun the meeting keen to hear the doctor's proposed treatment. *Ecoute* is used to pre-empt their resistance to the unexpected ideas.

Ecoute in contexts of explicitly bringing a conversation to a close

As we saw in 6.2.2, *écoute* frequently occurs towards the end of an interaction, as a formula for bringing that interaction to a close. Most of these tokens appear to have other pragmatic functions, such as seemingly mitigating the suggestion of a compromise in (206), above. However, two of the tokens perform this closing function far more explicitly, and as such the act of ending the conversation can be considered the main FTA which is arguably mitigated by *écoute*. I consider this a potential FTA for two reasons: firstly, S may be going against H's desire to continue the conversation (a threat to negative face); and secondly, H may interpret the move as a signal that S is no longer interested in talking to him or her, and would prefer to speak to someone else or to pursue another activity (a threat to positive face). *Ecoute* is not itself part of the FTA here, but, I believe, serves to mitigate it by signalling to H that S is about to say something that is reasonable, but which could be misconstrued if H does not make a conscious effort to understand.

(209) Oh ben **écoutez**, je crois qu'on a fait le tour. On se revoit la semaine prochaine, hein. Et puis je vais rappeler l'hôpital de mon côté pour avoir les nouvelles. Parce que ce serait quand même idéal pour vous ce travail. Je vous tiendrai au courant.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*écoute* at 43'44'')

(210) Suz.: *[speaking on the telephone]* Vous avez mangé ?

Samuel: Les enfants sont partis au Mcdo. Si tu rentres pas je vais peut-être retourner à l'hosto. J'ai des piles de dossiers encore.

Suz.: Ah bon ? *[Sighs]* Mais **écoute**… je t'embrasse, hein. A demain. Je vous aime.

Partir (*écoute* at 12'23'')

The two tokens shown in (209) and (210) (=(182); see 6.2.2) both give the impression of a mutual consensus that it is time to end the conversation. However, the lack of context in (209), which forms the opening line of a scene, means that this is not certain. Both occur in combination with another DM (see 6.3) and it is difficult to make a judgement as to whether it is *écoute* or the other particle which could be said to be the principle mitigator of the FTA. *Mais écoute* in (210) occurs after a slight lull, while the 'oh' in (209) suggests that the conversation may also have come to a natural stop; although it is equally plausible that Mme Balboukian has brought things to an end for other reasons, such as needing to go to another commitment.

Ecoute introducing advice and comforting

Rodríguez Somolinos observes (2003: 75) that *écoute* can often accompany advice, which we might interpret as an FTA as it impinges on H's freedom of action. There are no straightforward tokens of this in the film corpus, but there are five which arguably perform a very similar function of mitigating words offered in comfort. Comforting constitutes a form of advice, as S is helping H to see that there is a way out of his or her situation; a way to feel better. It also carries the added face threat of implicitly criticising H's mindset and opinions, at a time when he or she is particularly sensitive. Two examples of this are shown in (211) and (212).

(211) Laure: Depuis qu'on a passé la nuit ensemble t'es mal à l'aise.

Pierre: C'est pas vrai je…

Laure: Tu trouves que c'est compliqué ?

Pierre: Ben, oui, un peu.

Laure: *[Laughs]* C'est très simple. Il faut pas que ça devienne un poids. *[Sighs]* Hier soir j'étais perturbée à cause du procès mais il faut pas que tu crois euh… *[Shrugs]* **Écoute** t'es marié, t'es magistrat. Les choses se passent comme elles viennent.

Engrenages, episode 4 (*écoute* at 30'59")

(212) Frédéric: Non, mais attend, on sait tous que t'es, t'es allé un peu loin avec les gamines, euh, on en fait tous des conneries, euh, ça n'explique pas ce qu'a fait Souleymane.

Rachel: **Ecoute**, François c'est vrai. J'ai vu Khoumba. Elle avait le, le visage en sang. C'est inadmissible ce qu'il a fait Souleymane.

Entre les murs (*écoute* at 1 hour 39'01")

Whilst it may seem odd to describe offering comfort as a form of disagreement, it should be clear from these examples that reassurance is needed when H feels unable to share the same positive outlook as S, and in this sense the speaker and hearer have differing points of view. In (211) Laure is negotiating Pierre's feeling of discomfort surrounding the fact that they have slept together, and his being unsure of how to behave around her at work. In an effort to cheer him up, she tries to explain why things had been difficult between them the previous night, before abandoning this and seemingly using *écoute* to mitigate the advice that he should stop worrying and just take life as it comes.

In (212), several of the teachers are gathered in the staffroom, offering support and friendship to a visibly upset François. The difficult student who was the subject of (206) has now been suspended while the school decides his fate. François blames himself for Souleymane's behaviour as the student lost his temper after François insulted two of his classmates, so his colleagues try to cheer him up, pointing out that he should not feel guilty as Souleymane is old enough to be responsible for his own actions. This is a point of view that François finds very difficult to accept, as he knows the student is almost certain

to be expelled just at the point when he was starting to make progress with him in the classroom.

Ecoute accompanying teasing

There is one example in the corpus of *écoute* used with teasing:

(213) Marcelle: Tu lui as mis la crème pour les pieds sur la tête.
       Driss: Attends. *[Compares the two identical bottles; Marcelle laughs]*
       Philippe: Non, mais rassurez moi, Driss. Vous savez lire au moins ?
       Driss: Ouais, mais bon.
       Marcelle: Mais **écoute,** tu m'as l'air doué, toi, dis-donc.

Intouchables (*écoute* at 23'16'')

Teasing is a delicate act, as it is not something that everyone responds to well. Though it can be an act of mitigation in itself, used to avoid bald criticism, as it is in (213), it can be a risky strategy, and in some situations may be best combined with other politeness markers, such as *écoute*. In this example, Driss has been on the receiving end of Philippe's frustration for not lathering his shampoo properly. When the error emerges (that Driss has mixed up the shampoo and foot cream bottles) the mood lightens and Philippe makes fun of his carer's ineptitude. Driss's colleague, Marcelle joins in, but with a much kinder tone, concerned that they do not go too far in their light-hearted mockery of Driss's oversight.

6.2.4 *Ecoute*2

I return now to the discussion of *écoute*2. This, as we saw in 6.1.1, is an autonomous utterance; an involuntary interjection, which signals that a speaker's patience has been exhausted:

> *Ecoute*2 marque une certaine exaspération basée sur le fait que l'allocutaire doit savoir qu'il n'aurait pas dû se comporter comme cela ou dire ce qu'il a dit. (Rodríguez Somolinos 2003: 79)

*Ecoute*2 encodes a reproach, and, in contrast to *écoute*1, therefore functions as an FTA. I reject Dostie's (2009: 206) revision of *écoute*2 'to make [the interlocutor] think of something that would be considered "normal/obvious"', as with the example seen earlier in (214) and reproduced below, which carries the message 'You must understand'.

(214)   Je lui ai fait un petit cadeau. **Ecoute**, c'était Noël. (2004: 214)

This example appears persuasive rather than impatient in character, and does not fit with Rodríguez Somolinos' interpretation of *écoute*2 as a means of signalling to H that his or her behaviour is obviously unacceptable because of a general politeness rule or a prior warning (2003: 79). The example in (214) is constructed, and no context is supplied, but it appears that S is pre-empting a protest by H, along the lines of 'you shouldn't have', 'we can't afford it' or 'you don't know her that well.'

Similarly, I also disagree with Dostie's (2009: 206) somewhat puzzling categorisation of the following token as an *écoute*1:

(215)   [Les enfants n'arrêtent pas de crier et le locuteur dit avec impatience:] Coudon! (Allez-vous vous taire?!) (Heard example) <Ecoutez!>

Dostie states (ibid.) that the use of *écoute*1 here would 'allow the speaker to express an opposition to a situation, but it would always be directed at an interlocutor (more specifically, by calling on the interlocutor's cognitive abilities to make him/her change his/her behaviour).' However, I believe this to be a very clear example of *écoute*2: the particle stands alone, and it represents an interjection functioning as a reproach.

As was noted in 6.1.3, it is very difficult to find tokens of *écoute*2 in a traditional spoken corpus (Diwersy & Grutschus 2014: 58), so it is pleasing to find that there are two tokens of *écoute*2 in the film data:

(216) Pierre: Jérôme, ce que t'avais à dire, tu nous l'avais dit à l'époque où on a décidé de faire construire la stèle, hein. On t'a écouté, ensuite on a voté, on peut peut-être se passer de revenir là-dessus, non ?

Jérôme: Non, à l'époque j'ai dit que c'était vain. Aujourd'hui je dis que c'est moche. Il y a une nuance.

Pierre: D'accord.

Sandrine: Non, mais **écoute,** Jerôme. Il y en a un peu assez de tes sarcasmes. Alors si ces réunions te paraissent tellement grotesque t'es pas obligé de venir.

Les Revenants, episode 1 (*écoute* at 9'17")

(217) Marcelle: Alors, où vous en êtes ?
Driss: Ben, je lui lave les cheveux mais ça mousse pas.
Marcelle: Ben, comment? *[Sees Philippe's feet covered in soap suds]* Ben, c'est pas vrai ! Enfin **écoute !** Tu lui as mis la crème pour les pieds sur la tête.

Intouchables (*écoute* at 23'26")

Both of these tokens express exasperation relating to H's behaviour. In (216), Sandrine objects to another member of her grief-counselling meetings again causing problems regarding a memorial that the group have chosen to commemorate their lost children (and which has already been finalised and paid for). In (217), Marcelle finds it unbelievable that any normal grown-up could have managed to make such a basic error as muddling foot cream and shampoo.

In the second of these examples, *écoute* clearly stands out as an autonomous utterance, separate from *Tu lui a mis la crème pour les pieds sur la tête*. The intonation in (216) is more ambiguous, but I have chosen to interpret this as a token of *écoute*2 similar to that shown in (166), rather than an *écoute*1, as in (165) – both originally discussed in 6.1.1, and reproduced below.

(167) **Ecoutez** Bernard, il est clair que le ministre ne sait plus comment réagir dans cette affaire. (Dostie 1998: 91)

(168) **Ecoutez** Bernard ! Il est clair que le ministre ne sait plus comment réagir dans cette affaire. (ibid.)

In (216), there is an audible break between *Jerôme* and *Il y en a*, which I argue is closer to a full stop than a comma. Furthermore, Sandrine's character can be seen growing gradually more frustrated through the preceding exchange between Jérôme and Pierre, suggesting the loss of patience which is associated with *écoute*2. It is interesting that neither of these two tokens appears alone; both combine with another DM. This will be discussed further in 6.3.

Rodríguez Somolinos (2003: 79) describes *écoute*2 as 'plus agressif', compared to another interjection of indignation or reproach, *Voyons!*. Yet this does not appear to hold for (217), which, if anything, is more astonished than angry. There is, however, still what she outlines as:

> [U]n fort investissement affectif du locuteur, dans la mesure où celui-ci s'implique fortement dans son rejet des propos ou du comportement de l'allocutaire (ibid.).

Another token which might arguably termed an *écoute*2 is shown in (218):

(218) Mᵉ Feld.: *[Handing over a photo of a dog]* C'est un briard. Elle est mignonne, non ?

Le proc.: Oui, **écoutez,** Maître, ça suffit. Je vous signale que vous êtes en train d'aider un-

Mᵉ Feld.: *[Interrupting]* Interrompez-moi encore une fois et cette chienne pissera sur votre carrière.

Ne le dis à personne (*écoute* at 1 hour 31'52")

In this example, *écoute* is contained within a very short, standalone utterance; clearly detached from the next sentence, which begins *Je vous signale que*. The remark is evidently a reproach, and fits the criterion of commenting on the obvious unacceptability of H's behaviour: Maître Feldman has helped her client to evade arrest for murder, and when the prosecutor arrives to confront her she appears to waste his time by printing out pictures of dogs. There is no other DM present this time, but as with the tokens in (216) and (217), we again find that *écoute* is not the first word the speaker produces as an involuntary reaction. This was also the case in an example Rodríguez Somolinos (2003: 78) cites from the film *Compartiment tueurs* (Costa-Gavras 1966), shown in (219):

(219) D'un geste maladroit, un garçon bouscule une jeune fille et abîme son bas avec ses chaussures. Ce n'est pas la première fois que cela arrive. Elle s'exclame : « Aie !, mon bas, **écoute** ! ho ! »

The key difference between (218) and the previous tokens, however, is the intonation of *écoutez, Maître*, which is not separated from *ça suffit*; the reproach instead consists of the five words together, *Oui, écoutez, Maître, ça suffit*. For this reason, I would argue that this token cannot be viewed as a pure example of *écoute*2, but rather as an intermediate step on the *écoute* continuum (see 6.1.1).

The same could also be said of the examples of *écoute*1 which occur in contexts of explicit disagreement, discussed in 6.2.3 in relation to arguably having an apparent dual function as both a mitigator and an assertion of S's authority. The token shown in (220), for example, exhibits properties of both *écoute*1 and *écoute*2, but I have chosen to class it as an *écoute*1 as it does not appear sufficiently pragmaticalised to qualify as an *écoute*2.

(220) Mme L.: Comme ça vous avez appris qu'il fréquentait les hommes, par l'autopsie. J'aurais jamais cru que ça se voyait sur les cadavres. *[Laure looks behind her to Fromentin, who steps forward and rests his hands on the desk]*

From.: Donc vous saviez?

Mme L.: *[Pause]* Oui.

From.: Et vous nous en aviez rien dit.

Mme L.: Vous voulez que je le crie sur les toits ?

From.: **Ecoutez**, madame, pour l'instant c'est la seule piste que nous ayons ! Nous aurions préféré aller la suivre un petit peu plus tôt.

Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoute* at 22'22")

This example takes place within the context of a police interview. Lieutenant Fromentin is clearly annoyed to discover that a murder victim's widow has withheld important information, and makes his frustrations known. The particle does not stand alone, but is part of the utterance *pour l'instant c'est la seule piste que nous ayons!* However, *écoute* appears to function as much as an assertion of authority as an attempt at face-threat mitigation.

The last point to make regarding *écoute*2 is in relation to the following example given by Rodríguez Somolinos (ibid.), taken from the French television series *Navarro*, of *écoute* used in response to a question:

(221) E1: C'est bien ce que je craignais. Il va chercher à le contacter.
　　　　E2 : Tu penses qu'elle est pour quelque chose dans l'évasion de Tony ?
　　　　E1 : **Ecoute**, hein, Borelli. Je veux bien tout imaginer, mais pas ça.
　　　　E2 : On ne sait jamais.

She notes that *écoute*2 here both rejects the question and reproaches the speaker for having asked it. Unlike *écoute*1 when arguably used to mitigate an indirect answer to a question (see 6.2.3), this *écoute* is separated from the rest of the utterance. There is one token in the film corpus which appears to follow this pattern, shown in (222), however, here I have chosen to class it as an *écoute*1 because of the tone of voice.

(222) Ali: Tu gagnes bien ta vie ?
　　　　Richard: Eh **écoute** hein. On va dire qu'on arrive à joindre les deux bouts.

De rouille et d'os (*écoute* at 7'29'')

The primary motivation here appears to be face needs: the topic of income is a sensitive one, and Richard is not comfortable stating that he and his partner only just have enough to live on, especially as he and his brother-in-law have only met for the first time that day. He therefore gives an overtly indirect answer. While the structure of the utterance mirrors that of an *écoute*2, the actual function of *écoute* here is that of *écoute*1.

6.3. Combinations with *écoute*

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the particle's low frequency in spoken French compared to *enfin*, combinations with *écoute* have not yet received much interest from scholars. Diwersy & Grutschus (2014: 61) do carry out a 'Key Word in Context' concordance search for *écoute* in their corpus, and find the

most common to be *ben écoute*, which has a cohesion score of 172.22[40]. Of the top five collocations with *écoute* in their corpus, this is the only one which features another DM. *Ben écoute* is also an extremely frequent collocation in the *88milSMS* corpus (see 6.1.3). In the film corpus, on the other hand, *ben écoute* does not dominate the data in the same way, accounting for just three of the tokens of *écoute* found in combination with another DM.

There are thirteen combined tokens with *écoute* in the corpus: three each of *mais écoute*, *bon écoute* and variants of *ben écoute*; one of *bon alors très bien écoute*; one of *eh écoute hein*, one of *ah écoute*, and – particularly interesting in the context of this thesis – one of *enfin écoute*. It is difficult to spot any patterns here in terms of pragmatic function, but it is noticeable that all three tokens of *bon écoute* – one of which is reproduced in (223) (previously presented as (183) and (204)) – and the one token of *bon alors très bien écoute*, shown in (224), all appear with the metadiscursive role of closing the interaction (see 6.1.4).

(223) Pierre: Ah, je te paie un loyer, alors ?
       Benoît: Ah oui, mais sur le plan rentable c'est pas évident ça. **Bon écoute**, on en fera plus tard si tu restes longtemps hein. Pour ce soir c'est plus simple tu gardes ton hôtel, mais demain tu t'installes ici. Allez, on va dîner.
                                             Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoute* at 29'29'')

(224) François: Eh ! Tais-toi maintenant, on t'écoute.
       Khoum.:   Ouais, c'est bien, ouais. Non, je lis pas. Début, là, vous dites, euh, je me tais, et après vous dites je lis, c'est quoi ?
       François: C'est quoi, quoi?
       Khoum.:   Euh, ben, il faut savoir choisir, hein. Réfléchissez un peu, hein.
       François: **Bon, alors, très bien. Ecoute**, tu viendras me voir à la fin de l'heure et on en parlera tous les deux.
                                                  Entre les murs (*écoute* at 28'55'')

In (223), as we saw in 6.2.3, Benoît uses *bon écoute* to introduce an empty compromise intended to firmly end a conversation which he does not want to continue, whilst maintaining a warm rapport with his good friend, who is keen to

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[40] Calculated using *log-likelihood*. For an explanation of this method, the authors direct readers to Oakes (1998).

do what he sees as the right thing. Similarly, in (224), we have another instance of a character acting decisively, but wishing to preserve a good relationship with his interlocutor, albeit within the context of a heated dispute. François has asked one of his students to read from the class's set text, *The Diary of Anne Frank*. She refuses, becoming more and more insolent as she argues with her teacher. *Ecoute* here appears slightly apart from the three other DMs which precede it, suggesting that François uses these almost as hesitation markers (an attested function of *bon*; Beeching 2011) while deciding on a course of action; they allow the teacher to maintain his authority, while affording him a brief moment to think. *Ecoute* is then used to introduce *tu viendras me voir à la fin de l'heure*, arguably mitigating the direct order which is given to settle the argument. The apparent mitigation is important here as François likes to be informal and flexible in his approach to discipline, with an emphasis on teaching mutual respect between teacher and student, so wants Khoumba to understand that her behaviour is unacceptable and to see why he is taking the action that he is. Whether these four DMs can be described as a true DM combination given the change in intonation between *très bien* and *écoute* is arguable, but the functions of both *bon* and *écoute* appear to be the same as in (223), that is, bringing an interaction to a close in a way that is decisive and non-negotiable, yet still seeking to make S appear reasonable to H.

This is in stark contrast to the two tokens of *écoute* used to explicitly bring the interaction to a close, seen in 6.2.3, where *ecoute* combined with *ben* and *mais*, and where the speaker aimed to give the impression of a mutual consensus. It may be significant – if not in terms of actual speech practices, then as a reflection of script writers' perceptions of speech – that both of these tokens are spoken by female characters, whereas the tokens of *bon écoute* are produced predominantly (though not entirely) by men. However, with only a handful of tokens it is difficult to draw any reliable conclusions regarding the relationship between gender and interaction-closing DMs. The other interesting point of comparison is that *ben écoute* and *mais écoute* are used with the intention of ending the conversation as a whole, whereas *bon écoute* merely closes one particular topic or section within an overall interaction (see 6.2.2).

The other point of note is that two of the combined *écoute* tokens feature an *écoute*2. These were originally seen in 6.2.4, and abridged versions are reproduced below:

(225)   Ben, c'est pas vrai ! **Enfin écoute !** Tu lui as mis la crème pour les pieds sur la tête.

Intouchables (*écoute* at 23'26'')

(226)   Non, **mais écoute,** Jerôme. Il y en a un peu assez de tes sarcasmes.

Les Revenants, episode 1 (*écoute* at 9'17'')

The combination of *écoute*2 with another DM, as in the above examples, is not something that is documented in the literature. However, the particular combinations shown here are unsurprising, particularly in the case of *enfin* in (225). This is an example of *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7), which, like *écoute*2, also functions as an interjection conveying an emotional response. The combination in (226) is perhaps more unexpected, however, as *mais* is a mitigation strategy described by Hatim & Mason (2000: 442) as shorthand for *I agree…but*. Use of positive politeness in this way would be more reminiscent of an *écoute*1. Yet it seems here that *Non mais* itself forms an involuntary interjection as Sandrine rushes to register her objection to Jérôme's awkward behaviour. She does not at this point have time to form a coherent response, so an *écoute*2 is then the logical continuation of her utterance.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the second corpus-based study of *écoute*, the first of which (Diwersy & Grutschus 2014) focused on the use of *écoute* in reported speech, a function not present in my corpus. Use of film rather than authentic speech data has allowed for the collection of a wider range of tokens, which illustrate uses of *écoute* that it would be difficult to find in a conventional corpus, such as interaction-closers and *écoute*2. Primarily, tokens of both *écoute*1 and *écoute*2 are spoken by characters who are either in a position of authority, or seeking (successfully or otherwise) to assert control over the interaction. Nevertheless, I have argued for the classification of *écoute*1 as a potential face-threat mitigator, and have added to Rodríguez Somolinos'

description of the various contexts in which it can be found. I do, however, acknowledge that the PP may over time come to be associated with the act of committing an FTA, and thus to be seen as part of the FTA itself. This is a distinction which may be further blurred in the case of mixed *écoute*1-*écoute*2 tokens – tokens which appear to exhibit properties of both *écoute*1 and *écoute*2, and which occur particularly in the context of explicit disagreement. Although I have tended to class these as tokens of *écoute*1, their mixed function suggests that they constitute intermediary stages along the *écoute* pragmaticalisation continuum proposed by Rodríguez Somolinos (2003: 82). Pure tokens of *écoute*2 (the standalone reproach), by contrast, have proved rare even in the film corpus, as have (to a lesser extent) tokens of *écoute* in combination with other DMs. Both of these uses of the PP merit further investigation, but the difficulty in obtaining a viable number of tokens for study may prove a significant barrier to both strands of research.

This is the last of the three chapters to study the use of the particles *enfin* and *écoute* in the film corpus. The next chapter is given over to an analysis of their translations in the English subtitles.

Chapter 7 – Translation of *enfin* and *écoute* in the Subtitles

In the previous three chapters I have considered the use of *enfin* and *écoute* in French film and television dialogue as represented in the film corpus, how this compares to evidence from other corpora, and how the present data may advance our understanding of the use of these particles in spoken French.

I now turn to the English subtitles available in the film corpus, and the ways in which these two markers are translated (or not). I begin with an overview of previous research into DMs in AVT (7.1), before moving on to a consideration of the translation strategies applied in the film corpus to *enfin* (7.2) and to *écoute* (7.3), translations which could provide an insight into the pragmatic functions of the two particles. I then present an exploratory analysis of the omissions in the subtitles (7.4), which may indicate the type of research that could be carried out on subtitling in the future.

7.1 Previous Research into DMs in Audiovisual Translation (AVT)

Research into DMs in audiovisual translation is – just like the field of AVT itself – a relatively recent area of translation research. However, there have been a good number of studies over a relatively short time frame, including:

Biagini (2010); Chaume (2004); Cuenca (2006; 2008); Degand (2015); Forchini (2010a); Gonzalez & Sol (2004); Kao (2011); Matamala (2004; 2007; 2009); Mattsson (2006; 2009); Romero Fresco (2006; 2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2012) and Sol (2003).

Widely referenced, although not the very first study in this area, Chaume (2004) can be generally taken as a helpful starting point in a field which otherwise lacks somewhat in coherence. Chaume's study addressed both subtitling and dubbing, and thus provides a useful point of comparison for later research. I will therefore set out the main findings of this study first, before moving on to give an overview of other research into DMs in subtitling (7.1.2) and in dubbing

(7.1.3), and finally making some overarching observations about the differences between the two forms of translation in terms of their treatment of DMs.

7.1.1 Chaume (2004)

The most well-known of all the above studies is undoubtedly that of Chaume (2004), which analysed the translation of DMs in terms of textual cohesion. Focusing on six English DMs (*now*, *oh*, *you know*, *(you) see*, *look* and *I mean*) in the 1994 American film *Pulp Fiction*, Chaume compared the translations in three different Spanish TTs: a written translation of the script, and dubbed and subtitled versions of the film. He found that with the exception of *you know*, which had a 100% retention rate in the written translation, all of the DMs were subject to variable omission in all three TTs. Retention rates were generally highest in the written translation, lower in the dubbing and still lower in the subtitles, as summarised below in Table 4.

DM	Occurrences in ST	Retention Rate in TT		
		Written translation	Dubbing	Subtitles
Now	22	41%	18%	18%
Oh	16	81%	68%	6%
You know	5	100%	40%	20%
(You) see	4	75%	50%	0%
Look	6	67%	67%	17%
I mean	5	20%	20%	0%

Table 4: Summary of number of occurrences of six DMs in *Pulp Fiction*, and their retention rates in three different Spanish TTs (Chaume 2004)

Following this quantitative analysis, and a further qualitative analysis of selected tokens, in which he is critical of some of the translation choices made in the TTs, Chaume concludes that the two AVT translations are less 'cohesioned'[41] than the ST. However, he posits (p. 854) that 'the audience can repair the possible misunderstandings' in terms of semantic meaning for two main

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[41] Chaume differentiates between 'cohesive' (which qualifies ties/relations) and 'cohesioned' (used to qualify texts).

reasons. Firstly, the viewer's linguistic and textual competence will compel him or her to 'assume that there are semantic relations between the sentences which display few, if any, explicit markers of cohesive relations', and thus to 'always try to relate sentences and to mentally construct hidden meanings' (ibid.). Secondly, Chaume states that the accompanying visuals will both help to clear up some ambiguities, and double some of the information in the original dialogue. He also notes that the AVT genre is recognised and accepted by audiences as less coherent, so, he believes, the viewer is not unsettled by an apparently disjointed text (ibid.).

With regard to interpersonal meaning, however, Chaume agrees with Hatim & Mason (2000) that some can be lost as a result of the omission or mistranslation of DMs. He calls for further research into the reasons behind the absence of DMs in AVT, in order to establish whether it is space and time constraints, bad translator training, or another factor which is most to blame.

7.1.2 Studies of DMs in Subtitling

Like Chaume (2004), another study concerned with cohesion was that of Kao (2011). This thesis looked at English connectives[42], such as *except* and *because*, in five scripted documentaries and five unscripted travel programmes, and their translations in the Chinese subtitles. The connectives were divided into four categories (based on Halliday & Hasan 1976 and Halliday & Matthiessen 2004):

- additives (e.g. *furthermore*, *for example*, *except*);
- adversatives (e.g. *however*, *despite*, *at least*);
- causals (e.g. *because*, *unless*, *otherwise*);
- temporals (e.g. *before*, *originally*, *while*).

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[42] There is some debate in the literature over whether connectives can be classed as DMs (see 2.2), and indeed Kao herself argues for a distinction on the grounds of degree of syntactic integration: connectives forming an integral part of a sentence, whereas DMs can stand alone (p. 27). However, the study is included here due to the large number of scholars (e.g. Schiffrin 1987; Romero Fresco 2009b) who consider connectives to be a subcategory of DMs.

Kao's results are less clear cut than Chaume's. Although there was a quantitative reduction in the number of connectives in the TT relative to the ST overall, there were in fact also a high number of additions made to the subtitles. While the number of causals was lower in the subtitles than in the ST for both genres, the documentaries tended towards explication, with an increased number of additives, adversatives and temporals in the TTs compared to the ST. The travel programmes, by contrast, only saw an increase in the number of additives, and a reduced number of tokens in all the other categories.

Kao supports Chaume's hypothesis that a lack of cohesion in subtitling is not necessarily problematic, at least in terms of connectives. She tested macro-level comprehension, quantitatively measuring audience responses to the addition and omission of connectives in four eight-minute clips. Two groups of students (seventy-five students in the first group and eighty-three in the second) answered a series of questions to establish both their English listening comprehension ability and which criteria were most important to them when they watched a subtitled programme (e.g. accuracy, readability, register). Each group was shown a different version of the clips, whose subtitles were edited by the researcher: one version with additional connectives added in, and another with a much reduced number. The participants then answered a questionnaire with a mixture of closed and open-ended questions, covering their perception of the subtitles (e.g. whether they felt they omitted any essential information, or were too fast to read).

Kao found that there was negligible difference in comprehension between the two different versions of the clips for both the travel and documentary genres, and that this was consistent for students with both good and poor comprehension of the English ST. Kao argues that 'reduction may in turn help the viewers focus on important information and the interaction of image, sound and subtitles' (p. 111). However, she did note a slight preference among participants for the documentaries (as opposed to the travel programmes) when watching the versions with fewer connectives. She suggests this may be due to the slower pace and more logical thematic organisation of these programmes, as well as the relative absence of 'spoken features such as false starts,

overlaps, hesitations, incomplete sentences, repetitions, and self-corrections'
(p. 90).

It should be noted that the 158 participants were all translation students,
specifically selected because they 'might pay more attention to the quality of
translated subtitles than […] non-translation majors', and that 52 had taken a
subtitling course (p. 78). We might suppose therefore that, were the study to be
repeated with a non-specialist audience, it would not obtain the same results, as
a group of participants less well-versed in translation theory and the constraints
of subtitling may have different expectations of the subtitles.

Moving to a focus on the interpersonal dimension of DMs, Biagini (2010) looks
at the pragmatic and interactive functions of a wider range of markers. She uses
a corpus of four French films dating from 1992 to 2006 (*Un Cœur en hiver*,
Tanguy, *L'année suivante* and *Un jour d'été*) and their Italian subtitles, and
considers DMs in four categories (taken from Bazzanella 1994):

- DMs related to turn-taking (e.g. *alors*, *tiens*, *et*, *mais*, *enfin*);
- demands for attention (e.g. *attends*, *écoute*, *oh* and *non mais*);
- requests for agreement or acknowledgement (usually *hein*, *n'est-ce
  pas* and *non*);
- modulation mechanisms i.e. reinforcers and mitigators (*justement*,
  peut-être, *certainement*, *exactement* and *me semble-t-il*) and DMs
  used to avoid conflict and put H at ease (*Si vous voulez* and *je dirais*).

For Biagini, the aim of any subtitled TT is 'd'induire chez le public les mêmes
réactions que le film induirait chez un public à même de comprendre la langue
originale' (p. 22). Her four categories could be said to be rather over-simplistic,
as they do not allow for the multifunctionality of DMs (for example, *écoute* can,
as we have seen in chapter 6, be used for turn-taking and arguably as a
mitigator, as well as a demand for attention), but her findings broadly echo
those of Hatim & Mason (2000) and Chaume in terms of a neglect of the
interpersonal in the subtitles. She adds that it is most often interjections (e.g.
ah!, *oh!*, *dis donc!*, *bon*, *tiens*) and conjunctions (*et*, *mais*, etc.) that are the
subject of omission (p. 30), which is a contrast to dubbed texts, as we have

seen above. Like Hatim & Mason, Biagini calls for research into audience reactions to determine how much the viewer is able to infer interpersonal meaning from other sources, such as the images and tone of voice. She also questions (ibid.) whether it may be due to the often peripheral position of DMs in an utterance that they tend to be regarded by subtitlers as less central to the meaning.

Approaching DMs in subtitling from an entirely different angle, Degand (2015) uses the *Louvain Corpus of Annotated Speech (LOCAS-F)*[43] to test Georgakopoulou & Goutsos' (1998) assertion that greater spontaneity in language brings with it a higher frequency and greater variation in DMs. She then hypothesises that the number and variety of DMs in a text can be used as a test for how 'oral' that text is. Applying this idea to a French-English parallel subtitling corpus made up of *OpenSubtitles2013* (Tiedemann 2012) and *ParTy* (Levshina: forthcoming), she examines ten French DMs (*mais*, *alors*, *bon*, *voilà*, *hein*, *ben*, *quoi*, *enfin*, *en fait* and *tu vois*) in terms of their frequency and semantic distribution in two sets of French subtitles: 'normal' and translated. The 'normal' subtitles are intralingual (i.e. in the same language as the film dialogue), intended to aid the comprehension of those viewers who do not have French as a first language, but who can read it well[44]. The translated subtitles, on the other hand, are the interlingual type featured in the other studies described in this section. Degand finds that DMs occur in both sets of subtitles at a much lower frequency than in French conversation (as represented in *LOCAS-F*): they are nearly five times less frequent in the intralingual subtitles, and even less in the translated ones. She also notes that only 37% of the DMs present in the intralingual subtitles are then translated in the English interlingual titles. However, in both sets of French subtitles (the intralingual French subtitles and the French translations of the English-language films), although the frequency is lower, the DMs do appear with a very similar semantic distribution to that of French conversation.

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[43] More information at http://textlink.ii.metu.edu.tr/louvain-corpus-annotated-speech-french
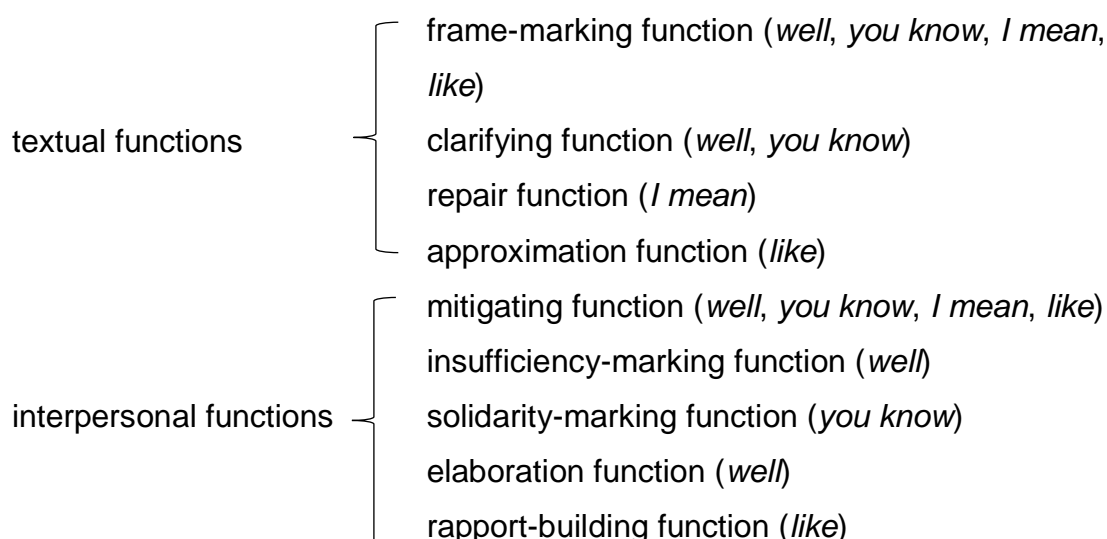[44] These subtitles are distinct from those produced for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, which are also intralingual, but which carry additional information on sound effects, etc.

The closest approach methodologically to the present study is certainly Mattsson (2009). This study aims to discover the extent to which DMs, which she refers to as *discourse particles* (DPs), are translatable in subtitling. Mattsson investigates two English particles which have clear correspondences in Swedish (*you know* and *I mean*), as well as two that do not (*well* and *like*). She concludes that while all four are indeed *translatable*, the majority of tokens are not *translated*, with only around one fifth of the tokens translated, compared to roughly two thirds of the dialogue overall (p. 274). Her corpus is made up of ten films produced in the US between 1994 and 2001 (*Addicted to Love*, *American Pie*, *Fargo*, *Legally Blonde*, *Nurse Betty*, *Primary Colors*, *Pulp Fiction*, *Se7en*, *Wag the Dog* and *While You Were Sleeping*), with up to four different subtitle versions for each (cinema, DVD, a public service TV channel, and a commercial TV channel).

Mattsson uses a mixture of Politeness theory (Brown & Levinson 1987), Coherence-based theory (Schiffrin 1987) and Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995) to identify a range of textual and interpersonal functions exhibited by the four DPs in the corpus:

textual functions
- frame-marking function (*well*, *you know*, *I mean*, *like*)
- clarifying function (*well*, *you know*)
- repair function (*I mean*)
- approximation function (*like*)

interpersonal functions
- mitigating function (*well*, *you know*, *I mean*, *like*)
- insufficiency-marking function (*well*)
- solidarity-marking function (*you know*)
- elaboration function (*well*)
- rapport-building function (*like*)

She then classifies each token on a continuum of textual and interpersonal functions, and finds that interpersonal DPs are generally more common than textual ones, although the most frequently-occurring function overall is in fact a textual one (the frame-marking function). Turning to the subtitles, however, she notes that it is the textual DPs which are translated more frequently, giving

statistical weight to Chaume's and Biagini's claims regarding the neglect of the interpersonal. However, as noted in 1.2, several, if not all of the textual functions would arguably be better classified as interpersonal (e.g. the repair function).

According to Mattsson, the omissions cannot be attributed solely to technical constraints – although these are an important factor – as shown by the fact that the subtitles produced for cinema had both the longest character limits, and the second lowest number of DPs (after the commercial TV subtitles; p. 273). Interestingly, she also looks at working conditions for subtitlers at the public service and commercial television stations, and finds a correlation between poor working conditions at the commercial stations, and both low frequency of and low variation in DPs (p. 275).

7.1.3 Studies of DMs in Dubbing

Studies into DMs in dubbing have centred on translations into Spanish and Catalan (from English), with a particular focus on the issue of 'dubbese' (see 2.3). Both Romero Fresco (2009b) and Matamala (2009) have conducted studies which analyse dubbed versions of British and American sitcoms, similar Spanish and Catalan shows, and a corpus of authentic speech. Romero Fresco compares 17.6 hours of *Friends* and its translation into Spanish to a similar number of hours of the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* and the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)*, while Matamala works with one episode each of *Coupling*, *Working* and *Normal, Ohio*, alongside two episodes of the Catalan shows *Jet Lag* and *Plats Bruts*, and a 27,254-word sample from the *Oral Corpus of Colloquial Conversations* (*COC*; Payrató & Alturo 2002).

Romero Fresco's study is extremely broad, investigating a large number of DMs with a variety of functions: hesitation and self-repair markers, transition markers, pre-closing markers, attention-getters and epistemic markers. He finds that in both the TT (i.e. the dubbed version of *Friends*) and *Siete Vidas*, the number of DMs is lower than in *CREA* (except for attention-getters and transition markers, which are more frequent in the two fictional corpora), but that qualitatively *Siete Vidas* much more closely mirrors the DM use in *CREA* than does the TT. These

findings are echoed in the present study (see 4.1.3 for the frequency of *enfin* compared to spoken corpora, and 6.1.3 for *écoute*; the TT is discussed later in chapter 7). Regarding the Spanish dubbed texts, the main problems highlighted as contributing to unnaturalness are errors in register, function, variation and frequency.

Romero Fresco attributes this tendency to 'linguistic disbelief', whereby the translator and the viewer accept dubbing conventions both in the interests of cinematic enjoyment (in a similar way to accepting other film conventions such as being able to clearly hear the voice of a character who has disappeared over the horizon), and through the 'genre effect', a phenomenon which refers to the theory that all dubbed Spanish output uses 'dubbese', and therefore that after repeated viewings this comes to be seen as normal (Palencia Villa 2002, cited in Romero Fresco 2009b: 196). However, although he believes these two factors account for the perpetuation of unnatural DM use in dubbing, the author does not think they explain its appearance in the first place, and calls for further research into this (p. 197), as well as for interviews or focus groups to test the linguistic disbelief hypothesis (pp. 203-04).

Matamala's study focuses on interjections, and is purely quantitative. Interestingly, she finds a greater proportion of interjections in the TT dialogue compared to the Catalan sitcoms. She notes that a significant proportion of these interjections have entered via additions made by the dubbing actors during recording, rather than at the translation stage. A comparison of the broadcast dialogue with the translated script of the two Catalan sitcoms revealed that the number of interjections had increased from 349 to 882 (equating to a very similar proportion of the overall word count as in the sample from *COC*; p.490). The finding is also confirmed by Romero Fresco, who says that 'the dubbing translator/director/actors seem to strive for naturalness, which is reflected in the addition of DMs when there is a chance to do so' (p. 202).

Numerical totals aside, Matamala posits that Catalan dubbing is being held back by strict language control, whereas actors in Catalan sitcoms are free to add interjections which are not sanctioned by the prescriptive *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (p. 491). However, she argues that although translators should aim to

recreate colloquial spontaneous language, it is not a major concern as dubbed dialogues are part of 'a simulated reality more distant to the Catalan audience than the one portrayed by Catalan sitcoms' (p. 498).

Cuenca's (2006) analysis of the different translation strategies for interjections suggests a similar situation to that described by Romero Fresco in terms of unnatural DM use. She argues that this may be a result of confusion between grammaticalised interjections and their source constructions by translators working under extreme time pressure (p. 32). This sort of pragmatic error may, she believes, be difficult to spot by proof-reading the TT alone, and that as a result, the unnatural interjection use in dubbed AV material is now being adopted into Spanish and Catalan. She cites the examples of *sí* ('yes') used to express joy, and *guau* ('wow') used to express admiration, which are becoming more frequent in original texts, especially Spanish advertising (p. 31).

A number of studies (e.g. Sol 2003; Gonzalez & Sol 2004; Matamala 2004; Cuenca 2008) have used an audiovisual corpus in order to carry out a contrastive analysis of DM functions in two or more languages. Cuenca (2008) , for example, uses the film *Four Weddings and a Funeral* to analyse the English DM *well* and its translations in the Spanish and Catalan dubbed versions, and argues for a new representation of *well* by means of 'radial categories'. Under this system, multifunctional DMs are seen as having varied uses related to one core meaning (as opposed to existing as a series of homonyms on the one hand, or presenting different applications of a single meaning on the other). Also focused on functions is Matamala's (2007) study of the interjection *oh*, using the same corpus of English and Catalan sitcoms described above. This study is noteworthy because it takes into account not only instances of *oh* by itself, but also tokens that appear in combination with another DM. There are very few such tokens, but nevertheless Matamala shows that a variety of strategies are used. She also highlights the difference between the use of *oh* in English and Catalan, finding that English *oh* is generally translated either by omission, or by *ah*.

7.1.4 Research Implications

The above summaries show that there is a consistent finding in the literature of low numbers of DMs in AVT compared to ST dialogues (which itself has a lower frequency than spontaneous speech). The contrast with the ST is much sharper in subtitling than in dubbing, with the translation frequency in subtitles sometimes as low as 0% for certain markers (e.g. *(you) see* and *I mean* in the Spanish subtitling of *Pulp Fiction*; Chaume 2004). The contrast appears to be particularly evident for interjections, which have a very low omission rate in dubbing, but are readily omitted from subtitles, perhaps because they are arguably relatively comprehensible to foreign viewers, even if use varies between languages (see above). Indeed, dubbed TTs have even been found with higher totals of interjections than in the ST (Matamala 2009).

However, for those DMs which are translated, there is a stark difference in quality between the two translation modes, with subtitles presenting a more idiomatic semantic distribution of markers, while dubbing can produce markers which sound unnatural due to errors of frequency and register, and source language (SL) calques. Subtitles are of course limited by the various constraints described in 2.3, but Biagini describes them as 'discours écrit oralisé' and calls for a balance to be reached 'entre, d'une part, le pôle de la rigidité, de la concision et de la cohérence typique de l'écrit et, d'autre part, le pôle de la flexibilité, de la redondance et de l'implicitation typique de l'oral' (2010: 31).

Whilst neither the low frequencies of DMs (in both dubbing and subtitling), nor the use of often foreign-sounding or overly-formal markers (in dubbing) seems to create problems for the viewer in terms of acceptance or semantic comprehension, it does lead to misrepresentations of the interpersonal. This is consistent with the politeness problems found in subtitling language more generally (see 2.4). However, some of the authors surveyed above (Chaume 2004; Romero Fresco 2009b; Mattsson 2009) point to the need for further audience reception research into both the semantic and the interpersonal aspects of AVT, with connectives in subtitling so far being the only area where empirical research on viewer comprehension has been conducted. This was an original aim of both Mattsson (2009) and the current study, but in both cases

has had to be abandoned due to time pressures, and this therefore remains an avenue for future research.

The field has thus far been dominated by researchers working on Romance languages, and although English is the SL in all of the AVT studies described above, the present study will be the first to look exclusively at translations of DMs made into English. The analysis of *enfin* and *écoute* in the subtitles of the current corpus, which is presented in the rest of this chapter, will therefore attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Which strategies are used in the film corpus to translate *enfin* and *écoute* in the subtitles, and how successful are they?
2. How frequently are *enfin* and *écoute* omitted from the subtitles? Are there any patterns to these omissions?
3. To what extent can the omissions be attributed to technical constraints? What other explanations might there be for untranslated DMs in the corpus?

Question one has not tended to be addressed in the subtitling literature (although it has been to an extent for dubbing, for other DMs). Question two is similar to Mattsson's approach, but working with different particles and a different framework for analysis. Question three is largely experimental; without appropriate software to measure speech speeds, nor access to information on the character limits and expected reading speeds set by each subtitling company, it is impossible to gain a completely accurate impression of the precise technical constraints each subtitler has been subject to. However, it is intended as an illustration of the kind of analysis that could be conducted, should this information be available, in the hope that this could be pursued by other researchers in the future.

It should be noted that, following the example of previous researchers, this chapter is not underpinned by any particular translation theory. Rather, the success of the English translations is judged according to my intuitions as a native speaker, judgments which could be tested in a future audience response study.

7.2 Translations of *enfin* in the Film Corpus

Only thirty-two of the one hundred and eighteen tokens of *enfin* can be said to be translated in the English subtitles; a retention rate of just 27%. The distribution per film is set out in the table below:

Film / Episode	No. of tokens of *enfin*	No. of tokens translated	% of tokens translated
Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis	6	1	17%
Contre toi	2	2	100%
De rouille et d'os	1	0	0%
Engrenages, episode 1	11	6	55%
Engrenages, episode 2	5	2	40%
Engrenages, episode 3	2	0	0%
Engrenages, episode 4	5	2	40%
Entre les murs	30	5	17%
Home	0	-	-
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime	19	5	26%
Intouchables	13	3	23%
Les Revenants, episode 1	3	1	33%
Les Revenants, episode 2	3	0	0%
Les Revenants, episode 3	3	1	33%
Les Revenants, episode 4	3	1	33%
Ne le dis à personne	5	2	40%
Partir	8	1	13%
Total	**119**	**32**	**27%**

Table 5: Number of translated tokens of *enfin* per film/episode

As can be seen from the table, almost all of the subtitlers translate *enfin* at least once, with the exception of the subtitler for *De rouille et d'os* (which only has one token), and for one episode each of *Engrenages* and *Les Revenants* (*enfin* is translated in the other episodes). However, with the exception of *Contre toi*, which only has a very low number of tokens, in no film or episode is *enfin*

translated more than 55% of the time. *Entre les murs* has the third lowest retention rate (excluding those films and episodes where no tokens are translated) despite having the highest number of tokens, a statistic that may be at least partly explained by the high number of *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*) tokens in this film. Twelve of the twenty-nine tokens in *Entre les murs* can be categorised this way, but none of the twenty tokens of *enfin*9 in the corpus are translated. The translation rates per category are shown in Table 6:

Category	No. of tokens of *enfin*	No. of tokens translated	% of tokens translated
*Enfin*1 (temporal *enfin*)	1	1	100%
*Enfin*2 (aspectual *enfin*)	1	0	0%
*Enfin*4 (synthesising *enfin*)	4	1	25%
*Enfin*5 (listing *enfin*)	1	0	0%
*Enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*)	49	18	37%
*Enfin*7 (performative & interruptive *enfin*)	20	5	25%
*Enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*)	20	6	30%
*Enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*)	20	0	0%
Not enough context	3	1	33%
Total	**119**	**32**	**27%**

Table 6: Number of translated tokens of *enfin* per category

Besides *enfin*9, the only other categories to have a 0% retention rate in the subtitles are those which have only one token: *enfin*2 (aspectual *enfin*; see 4.2.2) and *enfin*5 (listing *enfin*; see 4.2.4). The only other categories with a below-average translation rate are *enfin*4 (synthesising *enfin*) and *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6) at 25%, although performative tokens are translated much more frequently than interruptives (rates of 38% and 17% respectively). The categories of *enfin* most likely to be subtitled are *enfin*6 (corrective *enfin*; see chapter 5), for which a number of strategies have been adopted in the corpus (see 7.2.1), and *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7) which,

like performative tokens of *enfin*7, can often be conveyed extremely concisely by means of punctuation (see 7.2.2).

The various translation strategies[45] used in the corpus are summarised in Table 7, below.

English translation	No. of tokens of *enfin*
'I mean'	8
'Well'	6
'I guess'	1
'Perhaps, but'	1
'Look'	1
'Finally'	1
'Anyway'	2
'Only'	1
'Must'	1
'Actually'	1
Punctuation	8
Expletives	1
Zero[46]	87
Total	**119**

Table 7: English translations for *enfin* in the subtitles

There now follows a discussion of these translation strategies, beginning with those applied to correctives in 7.2.1, translation by means of punctuation (mostly performative and emotional tokens of *enfin*) in 7.2.2, and other strategies in 7.2.3.

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[45] I do not use the term 'translation strategies' in a technical sense, but merely to refer to the various solutions found by subtitlers of the corpus to translate *enfin*: English DMs, punctuation and expletives.
[46] I use 'zero translation' to refer to the instances of omission

7.2.1 The Subtitling of Corrective *enfin*: 'I mean', 'Well', 'I guess', 'Perhaps, but' and 'Look'

As can be seen from Table 6 (above), 37% of the forty-nine tokens of corrective *enfin* in the corpus are translated in the subtitles. However, this statistic varies considerably across the different functions of corrective *enfin* (see chapter 5). The number of translated tokens for each of these subcategories can be seen in Table 8:

Category	No. of tokens of *enfin*	No. of tokens translated	% of tokens translated
Enfin after *oui*, *non* or *si*	17	6	35%
Precision *enfin*	11	3	27%
Enfin used to express uncertainty	1	0	0%
Enfin used to move from the particular to the general case	0	-	-
Restrictive *enfin*	10	5	50%
Syntactic repair *enfin*	10	4	40%
Total	**49**	**18**	**37%**

Table 8: Number of translated tokens of corrective *enfin* per subfunction

As can be seen from the table, the subcategory of corrective *enfin* which is most consistently translated in the subtitles is restrictive *enfin*, whilst precision tokens are least likely to be conveyed in the English translation (apart from *enfin* used to express uncertainty, of which there is only one token).

The translations for the 37% of tokens which are conveyed in the subtitles are summarised in Table 9.

Across all of the correctives, the majority of tokens are subtitled as either 'well' (six tokens; 33%) or 'I mean' (eight tokens; 44%). These are also the two solutions presented by Beeching (2002) for the majority of her examples (1)-

(26) in her discussion of corrective *enfin* (see chapter 5), and in all cases appear to be successful (on the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker).

English translation	No. of tokens of corrective *enfin*
'I mean'	8
'Well'	6
'I guess'	1
'Perhaps, but'	1
'Look'	1
Punctuation	1
Zero	31
Total	**18**

Table 9: English translations for corrective *enfin* in the subtitles

Some differences do emerge between the use of 'well' and 'I mean' in the film corpus and in Beeching's translations, however. There is a very clear division of labour in Beeching's translations between 'well', used as a translation for *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, and restrictive *enfin*, and 'I mean' for precision and syntactic repair enfin, whereas in the film corpus the translations are more varied. 'I mean' is used as a translation for three of the five translated tokens of restrictive *enfin*, and for two of the six translated tokens of *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si* (or in the context of other direct contradictions; see 5.2.1). These are translations which appear to me successful, as shown by (227) and (228), and which perhaps are examples of the subtitlers here being bolder than Beeching herself: 'as a reformulation marker *I mean* may be most appropriate – but it has a stronger intentional quality than *bon* or *enfin*, and therefore *well* may be the safer choice' (Beeching 2011: 101).

(227) Ce type de plaque, euh, ça ne se fait plus du tout depuis des années. **Enfin** je veux dire chez nous.

This kind of plate / hasn't been used for years now. // **I mean**, in this country.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 5'57'')

(228) Non, non. J'ai personne. *[Pause]* **Enfin**, rien de… de sérieux.

There's no one. // **I mean**, nothing serious.

Ne le dis à personne (*enfin* at 25'16'')

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(227) is in fact an example of the compound DM *enfin je veux dire* (see 5.3). Of course, we cannot know whether 'I mean' is intended to be a translation of *enfin*, of *je veux dire*, or of *enfin je veux dire*, but the translation of other restrictive *enfin* tokens – which occur without *je veux dire* – as 'I mean' lends weight to the argument that the translation here is at least partially intended to be a translation of *enfin*. Whilst not all of the restrictive tokens translated as 'I mean' are instances of *enfin je veux dire*, but all three of the translated tokens of this compound in the corpus are subtitled as 'I mean' (including two restrictives, and one token of syntactic repair *enfin*).

'Well' can also be found as a translation for syntactic repair *enfin*, a subcategory for which Beeching (2002: 138) reserved 'I mean'. Again these translations appear successful (on the basis of my native speaker intuitions), but Beeching may have categorised these tokens under *enfin* of hesitation (see 5.1.1):

(229) Non, non, mais moi, j'ai rien à vous dire qui puisse, euh, fin, qui… **Fin**, je, je, je, j-

No, but I didn't mean… **Well**, I…

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 50'10'')

(230) Bien sûr j- je comprends que… ça ne doit pas être, euh… **Enfin**… Je comprends, mais…

Of course, I understand that… / it mustn't be… // **Well**… // I understand, but…

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 1 hour 14'06'')

Beeching does not use 'I mean' and 'well' exclusively, however, and indeed there are four other strategies used for the remaining four translated tokens of corrective *enfin*. One of these is a translation by means of punctuation, and will be discussed in 7.2.2. The next is shown in (231):

(231) François: T'aimes bien le français en général ?

You like French ?

Carl: *[Smiles awkwardly]* Euh, oui, euh, **fin**, comme tout le monde.

Like everyone, **I guess**.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 55'59'')

Here corrective *enfin* has been translated very successfully (in terms of my native speaker judgement) with the English hedge 'I guess', which fulfils the same role of toning down H's initial overly-strong assertion.

The last two tokens are less straightforward. Firstly, in (232) we have a much less direct translation of *enfin*.

(232)	Pierre:	Toutes les filles de l'Est ne sont pas des putes.	East European girls aren't all prostitutes.
	Roban:	Pas toutes, euh, sur place non. **Enfin**, celles qui sont chez nous, euh, pas toutes, mais souvent.	Not over there, **perhaps,** / **but** over here, they often are.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 12'14'')

In (232), Roban admits that he was wrong to imply that every Eastern European woman is a prostitute, but uses *enfin* to introduce the clarification that he believes it to be the case for the majority living in France. In the translation, the corrective particle has been replaced with a hedge, 'perhaps', and the adversative connective 'but' (Kao 2011; see 7.1.2). The subtitle here at first appears to be a succinct rendering of the distinction made in the ST, drawing a clear contrast between Eastern and Western Europe. However, without an English corrective, his utterance seems much more deliberatively constructed; the apparent careless uncertainty of 'perhaps', immediately contrasted with an assertion about France makes the judge appear dismissive about the scenario outside of his country. This is certainly not the impression he wants to give in the French dialogue; indeed he agrees with Pierre's comment insofar as it is applied to Eastern Europe. Although the toning down is still present in 'over here, they often are', the misrepresentation of the first part of his utterance, together with the loss of *enfin* as a corrective, and omission of *pas toutes* towards the end, acts to make the character appear rather xenophobic. The truth is close to this, but subtly different: Roban has been blinkered by cultural assumptions, probably entrenched through his encounters with criminals during his work as a judge, which prevent him from considering anything other than what he sees as the most likely scenario.

Finally, in (233), we have a token of corrective *enfin* translated as 'look'. Public prosecutor Pierre Clément is speaking to two parents in his office, who have brought a petition asking for their daughter's school teacher to be sacked.

(233)	Pierre:	Et remplacer une institutrice, ça ne dépend pas de moi madame, ça dépend de l'Education nationale.	This is a job for the Education Board.
	Father:	Mais on a été voir le directeur, il ne veut rien faire.	We saw the director.
	Mother:	*[speaking over the top of her husband]* Et si vous la mettez en prison ils seront obligés de la remplacer.	If she goes to prison, / they will have to replace her.
	Pierre:	On met pas des gens en prison comme ça.	We don't imprison people just like that.
	Father:	Oh nous, euh, **fin,** à la limite ceci est une pauvre femme, c'est une malade, il faut bien qu'elle se fasse soignée. Mais, euh, ce qu'on veut, simplement, c'est qu'elle n'approche plus de nos enfants, alors si c'est le seul moyen, ben, tant pis.	**Look**, if the poor woman is ill, / she needs treatment. // We just don't want her / to go anywhere near our children. // If that's the only way, so be it.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 4'05'')

The intonation here makes clear that this token of *enfin* is a corrective. The father hesitantly begins 'oh nous', but then makes a syntactic repair with *enfin*, and confidently states *à la limite ceci est une pauvre femme*. Were it not for the slight pause between *fin* and *à la limite*, this token might be classed as a concessive *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8), and, curiously, this appears to be how the subtitler has interpreted it, by supplying the translation 'look'. It is impossible to know whether this English DM is intended as a translation of *Oh*, of *Oh nous, euh, fin*, or of *fin*, but it would be unusual for 'look' to assume a corrective role (although it can be a self-interruptive; Aijmer, forthcoming), making it more likely that the subtitler has chosen to disregard the false start and subsequent correction. 'Look' can work well as a translation for *enfin*9 in its concessive role (see 7.4.1); in the example above, it fits well with the speaker's defiant, non-negotiable stance (*alors si c'est le seul moyen, ben tant pis*) and with his attempt to first show his capacity to be reasonable (by showing he does not necessarily hold the teacher responsible for her actions). The dialogue in this scene is fast-paced, meaning there would not be space to

subtitle the initial *oh nous, euh,* (see 7.4), without which the syntactic repair *enfin* becomes redundant. The subtitler's choice of translation is therefore, I believe, a very successful way of reinforcing the facework strategies used in the ST, within the given time and space constraints.

7.2.2 Translation of *enfin* by means of Punctuation

Also fairly common amongst the translated tokens is the use of punctuation to convey the message encoded in *enfin*. This is something which was also evidenced in Mattsson's (2009) corpus as a translation of *well*, *you know* and *I mean*. In the film corpus, two forms of punctuation are used to translate various tokens of *enfin*: suspension points and exclamation marks.

Suspension points

There are three examples in the present corpus of performative *enfin* – that is, tokens of *enfin* used to allow the speaker to abandon a particular point or argument (see 4.2.6) – translated with suspension points. Two of these are shown in (234) and (235):

(234)	Si tu rends compte pour chaque gamin tu fais plus rien, quoi, c'est fini, quoi. Si, euh, i'y a la, y a, i'y a la violence, i'y a le retour au bled, quoi, fin, c'est sûr tu veux le prendre en compte, mais au bout d'un moment il faut… **fin** j'sais pas	You can't take it into account / in every case. // The violence, him being sent back… // True, you have to consider it, / but after a while**…**

<div align="right">

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 42'42'')

</div>

(235)	J- je suis désolée de te dire les choses comme ça mais je v- vou- je voulais t'appeler pour- **fin**.	I'm sorry to break it to you like / this, but I just wanted to**…**

<div align="right">

Les Revenants, episode 4 (*enfin* at 45'57'')

</div>

Performative *enfin* usually occurs before a trailing off, or to introduce a final phrase such as *j'sais pas* (shown in 234), *vous me comprenez*, or *nous verrons*, although occasionally speakers can come to an abrupt stop, as in (235). In the absence of an obvious English equivalent to performative *enfin*, the translations

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shown above are good examples of subtitlers exploiting the differences between speech and writing in intersemiotic translation: converting DMs, sometimes referred to as 'oral punctuation' (e.g. Macaulay 2005: 73), to an equivalent in the written system. Another option for (234), had this occurred in a different context, might have been to translate *fin j'sais pas* as 'well, I don't know'. Beeching (2011: 96) states that 'it is clearly only in its corrective and demurring sense that *enfin* might be translated as *well*', but this translation could also work for this type of performative because of its overlap with the corrective function of *enfin*; S abandons his previous utterance and replaces it with *j'sais pas*. However, in this particular context the character is wrestling with a complex issue and appears frustrated and downhearted because he is unable to find a suitable solution to the problem. 'Well' would not be able to adequately convey this emotion, and a better translation would be to use the interjection 'oh' ('oh, I don't know.'). The suspension points provide a good translation, though, clearly communicating the fact that the character has left his utterance deliberately unfinished.

Similarly, in (236), we find suspension points used to replace both a token of *enfin*4 (synthesising *enfin*; see 4.2.3), and the summary which follows it. Here, three police officers are examining the photo of the only missing person to vaguely match the description of their murder victim.

(236)	Ben, voilà, une fois qu'on fait le tri, voilà ce qui reste. *[Hands over a missing person's file]* Oh, le seul point commun c'est qu'elle est jolie, sinon ça a rien à voir. Elle est trop jeune, trop petite, trop brune, **enfin**, ça a rien à voir avec ce qu'on cherche.	It boils down to her. // She's pretty, but too young, / too small, too brunette…

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 19'41'')

The dialogue here is very fast-paced, and it is unlikely the subtitler would have been able to include a word-for-word translation of *ça a rien à voir avec ce qu'on cherche*. The suspension points imply the continuation of the list of characteristics, rather than its synthesis, but the message communicated to the British viewer is very similar: the girl in the photo cannot be the person that the police are searching for.

There is also one corrective token which is translated with suspension points:

(237)	Ben, à ce qu'il paraît, hier, **enfin**, au conseil de classe et tout, vous m'a- vous m'avez cassé.	From what I heard… // You slagged me off, / yesterday during the meeting.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 28'09'')

This is an example of precision *enfin* (see 5.2.2), where both the clarification *au conseil de classe* and the particle which introduces it have been omitted in the subtitles as the information is reorganised to place 'during the meeting' at the end of the translation. Without the suspension points, the impression would be that this utterance was coldly pre-planned, whereas it is in fact delivered from the heart by a student who feels he has been betrayed by a teacher he trusted. The subtitler for *Entre les murs* appears to use suspension points throughout the film whenever a translation extends over more than one screen, and when another punctuation mark such as a comma or full stop does not seem appropriate. Here however, there would be a strong argument for placing a comma after 'From what I heard', so the choice of suspension points, when put together with the character's faltering on *enfin* and false start on *vous m'a- vous m'avez*, indicates to the British viewer that the complaint is not as flawlessly delivered as might otherwise be suggested by the subtitles.

Lastly, suspension points are used to translate the one token in the corpus of the compound DM *enfin écoute*. This is discussed in 7.3.3.

Exclamation marks

Exclamation marks are much less common as a translation strategy than suspension points, but are used to translate two tokens of *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7). One of these is shown in (238).

(238)	Entre, **enfin** ! Tu as faim ?	Come in**!** Are you hungry?

Les Revenants, episode 3 (*enfin* at 33'22'')

When taken together with tone of voice, the exclamation mark efficiently conveys the excitement behind the emotional token of *enfin*. Another option

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might have been the addition of 'then' ('Come in then!'), which, like *enfin*, would retain traces of its origins as a temporal adverb, thus implying excited impatience. However, the inclusion of this DM might depend on the space limits applicable to this scene (see 7.4).

It could be questioned how much the punctuation marks described above really constitute a translation of *enfin*. Do the suspension marks really stand in for the marker, or do they in fact seek to reinforce confidence in the subtitler by giving a signal to the viewer that the unfinished sentence is not a mistake, but an accurate portrayal of the character's words? In the same way, is it possible to state that the exclamation mark in (238) is really in place of the DM? These are questions that cannot be answered conclusively, but it seems fair to say that in each case both considerations play a part in the inclusion of the punctuation.

7.2.3 Other Translations of *enfin*: 'Finally', 'Anyway', 'Only', 'Must', 'Actually' and the Use of Swearing

The corpus contains six other translations of *enfin*: 'finally', 'anyway', 'only', 'must', 'actually', and the use of swearing. The first of these need not concern us much, as it represents temporal *enfin*; this is not a PP and is therefore not relevant to the present study. More relevant are the other five translation strategies, as these occur for the most part with interruptive *enfin* (*enfin*7; see 4.2.6), and emotional *enfin* (*enfin*8; see 4.2.7). 'Anyway', first of all, is used exclusively with interruptives. There are two tokens of this, one of which is shown in (239):

(239)	Euh j'suis rentrée hier soir, mais tard. J'aurais dû t'appeler avant mais c'était, c'était un peu compliqué. *[Pause]* **Enfin**, c'était, c'était super, euh oui, la plage était belle, était déserte *[laughs]*.	I got in late last night. // I should've called but it was complicated. // **Anyway**, it was great. // The beach was beautiful. Deserted.

Contre toi (*enfin* at 7'54'')

'Anyway' appears to be a very successful translation (on the basis of my native speaker intuitions), clearly signalling the speaker's intention to change the subject. Other options with 'any' could also work, such as 'in any case', but

these would be context dependent. 'Anyway' is an idiomatic solution that would provide a good translation for most of the interruptive *enfin*7 tokens in the corpus (see 4.2.6).

A wider range of strategies is applied to the translated *enfin*8 tokens, including use of punctuation, seen in 7.2.2. Two tokens, shown below, are translated by means of a minimiser ('only') and the auxiliary verb 'must'.

(240)	Interpr.:	En fait, euh… j- j'suis fiancé. *[Laure laughs]* J'suis bientôt marié en fait.	In fact… // I'm engaged. // Soon to be married.
	Laure:	**Fin** ! On a couché ensemble, on ne va pas faire une histoire, hein. *[laughs to herself]*	We **only** slept together. / It's no big deal.

Engrenages, episode 2 (*enfin* at 31'16'')

(241)	Client 1:	Oh, vous allez faire quelque chose pour nous maître.	You have to help us, Mr Escudié.
	Mᵉ E.:	*[sighs]* Ça va pas être commode.	It won't be easy.
	Client 2:	**Oh enfin,** vous avez une idée !	You **must** have some idea.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 8'40'')

In each of these cases, the subtitler has done a good job of conveying the emotion of *enfin* (relief mixed with amusement for (240) and frustration for (241)) in a single word. 'Just' would also have worked well for the first of these tokens.

The last *enfin*8 token is shown in (242):

(242)	Suz.:	Qu'est-ce que tu fais là ?	Why are you here?
	Samuel:	Je t'attends.	I'm waiting for you.
	Suz.:	Pourquoi ?	Why?
	Samuel:	**Enfin**, arrête, tu te fous pas de moi. Tu sais très bien pourquoi.	Cut the crap. / You know damn well.

Partir (*enfin* at 41'37'')

Taken at face value, the subtitle does not seem to incorporate a translation of *enfin*. However, it should be noted that subtitlers can at times be reluctant to use swearing, as the words tend to appear stronger in writing than in speech (e.g. Hjort's (2009) survey of Finnish subtitlers found most had been taught that 'written swearwords are harsher than spoken swearwords'). The semantic meaning of *arrête, tu te fous pas de moi* can be equated to that of 'cut the crap', but we have a second swearword in the English ('you know damn well') where there is no swearing in the French (*Tu sais très bien pourquoi*). For the subtitler to include this suggests there is another factor which justifies the language: most likely it is compensation for the loss of the exclamative *enfin*, which would have been translated most idiomatically here by a longer English exclamative (such as 'come on') or by a stronger expletive than 'crap' or 'damn'. The anger conveyed by the affective particle in French is portrayed in the English through the expletives in the subtitle as a whole, rather than through a direct, one-word translation.

The final translation for *enfin*, 'actually', occurs with one of the three tokens which appears without sufficient context for it to be ascribed to any particular *enfin* category:

(243)	Magalie:	Vous avez des références ?	Any references?
	Cand. 1:	Euh oui, donc, euh, ben, moi, j'suis titulaire du CAFAD, euh, Certificat d'Aptitude, euh, aux Fonctions d'Aide à Domicile-	Yes, I have a DAHC, // a Diploma in Advanced Home Care.
	Cand. 2:	-que j'ai fait valider pendant une formation en alternance à l'Institute Bayer dans l'Irlande en 2001.	I backed it up with training / at the Bayer Institute // in 2001.
	Cand. 3:	D'abord j'ai un bac pro – services à proximité des sociales – que j'ai poursuivi avec un BTS, euh, économie sociale et familiale.	I studied social work at school // then did a course / in social and family economics.
	Cand. 4:	**Fin**, je, j'ai pas, j'euh, voilà, j- j- j- j'ai plus fait l'étude pour l'instant que travaillé.	**Actually**, the thing is… // I've done more studying / than working.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 8'29')

Here, four candidates are being interviewed individually for a job, and the camera cuts between them for comedic effect as they each attempt to answer the same set of questions. This means that the viewer does not have access to the preceding lines for each speaker, which makes it difficult to assess the function of *enfin*. However, the candidate is clearly ill at ease, and reluctant to admit to his lack of work experience. Irrespective of the previous context, I judge (on the basis of my native speaker intuitions) that 'actually' successfully captures the fact that he is forced to make an admission he had perhaps previously tried to hide.

In many cases the above translations, discussed here and in the previous two sections, could potentially be used as indicators of *enfin*'s pragmatic functions (cf. Beeching 2011). Suspension points, for instance, could be used as evidence for a token of *enfin* being interpreted as a performative (*enfin*7), although they do also occur as translations for synthesising *enfin* (*enfin*4) and corrective *enfin* (*enfin*6). Similarly, exclamation marks may indicate *enfin*8, and 'anyway' interruptive *enfin* (*enfin*7). This point merits further exploration.

7.3 Translations of *écoute* in the Film Corpus

Of the forty-eight tokens of *écoute* in the film corpus, thirteen are translated. At 27%, this is an identical rate to *enfin* (see 7.2). The distribution of the translations is shown in Table 10, below:

Film / Episode	No. of tokens of *écoute*	No. of tokens translated	% of tokens translated
Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis	4	0	0%
Contre toi	3	2	67%
De rouille et d'os	1	0	0%
Engrenages, episode 1	3	1	33%
Engrenages, episode 2	1	0	0%
Engrenages, episode 3	3	2	67%
Engrenages, episode 4	3	0	0%
Entre les murs	5	1	20%
Home	1	1	100%
Il y a longtemps que je t'aime	3	2	67%
Intouchables	3	1	33%
Les Revenants, episode 1	1	0	0%
Les Revenants, episode 2	2	0	0%
Les Revenants, episode 3	0	-	-
Les Revenants, episode 4	1	1	100%
Ne le dis à personne	6	2	33%
Partir	7	1	14%
Total	**48**	**13**	**27%**

Table 10: Number of translated tokens of *écoute* per film/episode

Unlike *enfin*, which is consistently subtitled across the films and television episodes, albeit at low rates, we see that *écoute* is only translated in nine of the seventeen productions. Of course, the total number of tokens in the French dialogue is far smaller than for *enfin*, both across the corpus and in most of the films and episodes, so a zero translation percentage is less significant here. However, if we discount the two television series, where the particle is translated at least once over the course of each block of four episodes, there are only two films which do not subtitle *écoute*: *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis*, and *De rouille et d'os*, of which the latter only contains one token of the particle in the French dialogue. As with *enfin*, there are instances of 100% translation rates – this time in *Home* and episode 4 of *Les Revenants* – but again this

occurs where there is a very low number of occurrences of *écoute* anyway: in each case here just one token.

In the next section, I examine the thirteen translated tokens of *écoute*. There are four translation solutions put forward by the subtitlers: 'look', 'listen', 'well' and suspension points, with five tokens each for 'look' and 'listen', and two for 'well', as summarised in Table 11. The one token translated with suspension points is less clear-cut, as this is the one token of the compound DM *enfin écoute* (see 6.3). However, there is a clear pattern to the other three translations, which is explored in more detail below.

English translation	No. of tokens of *écoute*
'Look'	5
'Listen'	5
'Well'	2
Punctuation	1
Zero	35
Total	**48**

Table 11: English translations for *écoute* in the subtitles

7.3.1 *Ecoute* translated as 'Look' or 'Listen'

The English attention-getters 'look' and 'listen' are the two obvious equivalents for *écoute* (*regarde* not being widely used in hexagonal French; Waltereit 2006: 2[47]). Just like the French particle, they have evolved from verbs of perception, and their function is 'to call or draw attention to what is said' (Aijmer & Elgemark 2013: 333). They are adopted for the majority of the translated tokens of *écoute*: ten of the thirteen tokens. However, there is a clear distinction in the corpus between the five tokens translated as 'look' and the five translated as 'listen', in that the former are generally more confrontational and the latter more conciliatory. The division holds across seven different films and series, so cannot be attributed to one particular subtitler's personal style.

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[47] I have cited the author's manuscript version of this article, available at
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Richard_Waltereit/publication/255623844_Comparer_la_polyse
mie_des_marqueurs_discursifs/links/53fc25120cf2dca8fffeea40.pdf , last accessed 19/06/2016

The five tokens subtitled as 'look' occur across a range of contexts, including a police interview, domestic disputes, a meeting between two ex-lovers, and an exchange between a university lecturer and one of her students. They all share a common factor in that the speaker is angry, frustrated or defensive, but could potentially be said to mitigate different functions (see 6.2.3). Three are tokens of *écoute* with explicit disagreement, and an example of this is shown in (244):

(244)	From.:	Et vous nous en aviez rien dit.	And you didn't tell us.
	Mme L.:	Vous voulez que je le crie sur les toits ?	Should I shout it from the rooftops?
	From.:	**Ecoutez**, madame, pour l'instant c'est la seule piste que nous ayons. Nous aurions préféré aller la suivre un petit peu plutôt !	**Look**, it's the only lead / we have for now. // We would have liked / to pursue it sooner.

Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoute* at 22'22'')

The fourth token is an example of *écoute* introducing an apology, but spoken angrily and within the context of an argument:

(245)	Margot:	T'as raison, ça me regarde pas. *[She gets up to go]*	You're right. I'll butt out.
	Alex:	Margot c'est pas ça ! **Ecoute** j'suis désolé.	Margot, it's not that. / **Look**, I'm sorry.

Ne le dis à personne (*écoute* at 5'55'')

Finally, the fifth token translated as 'look' is an example of *écoute* accompanying a compromise, but one that is delivered with considerable frustration:

(246)	Oui, **écoutez**, Monsieur Bamakalé, on verifiera quand il sera possible. Je vois absolument pas pourquoi l'ordinateur aurait fait une erreur.	**Look**, Mr Bamakalé, / we'll check it out. // Computers don't make mistakes.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*écoute* at 36'28'')

The five tokens translated as 'listen', by contrast, all occur in situations where a character is being persuasive or making a more conciliatory attempt at a

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compromise. The first of these, I have classed as a token of *écoute* introducing a request:

(247) Marcel.: Vous avez entendu parler de mon frère? Il a besoin de quelqu'un. Ça pourrait être vous. Il est avocat. Il ne peut plus plaider. | Have you heard of my brother? // He needs someone. It may be you. // He's a lawyer, but he can't plead now.

Joséph.: Il s'appelle Monteil? | Is his name Monteil?

Marcel: Non, Vincent Leroy. C'est mon demi-frère. | No, Vincent Leroy. // He's my half-brother.

Joséph.: Il fait du pénal? | Does he do criminal law?

Marcel: Avec lui vous ne feriez que ça. **Écoutez**, réfléchissez *[She walks to the door; Joséphine picks up her coat]* C'est très, très sérieux. | With him, that's all you would do. / **Listen**, have a think about it.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*écoutez* at 34'28'')

In the next two examples, *écoute* occurs with an accusation (in (248)) and a proposed plan of action (in (249)). As explained in 6.2.3, in each case S delivers the FTA which is arguably mitigated by *écoute* in an authoritative manner, but also sympathetically and without any malice.

(248) Anna: Je vois pas pourquoi il m'aurait laissé partir à ce moment-là. | I don't know / why he'd let me go at that point.

Officer: C'est-à-dire ? | Meaning?

Anna: Mais je sais pas, et… | I don't know…

Officer: A quel moment ? | At what point?

Anna: Je sais pas, à ce moment-là, quand je suis sortie, je… Pardon, je comprends pas très bien ce que vous voulez. | At that point, when I left. // I don't know what you want.

Officer: **Ecoutez**, *[pause]* si vous me dites pas la vérité, ça sert à rien, et si vous essayez de protéger quelqu'un, c'est encore pire. | **Listen**, // if you lie, it's no use. // And if you're protecting someone, / it's even worse.

Contre toi (*écoute* at 51'33'')

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(249)	Head.:	*[sighs]* Alors? Qu'est-ce qu'on fait? *[François shrugs]* Moi, je crois pas que nous puissions pas faire l'économie d'un conseil de discipline, alors ?	So, what should we do? // I think we need to convene / the disciplinary committee.
	François:	Mmm.	*[not subtitled]*
	Head.:	Ouais, ça fait beaucoup, hein. Regardez : *[consults his list]* ça commence par le tutoiement, ensuite la bagarre avec une blessée, et enfin il s'enfuit en quittant le cours sans autorisation.	It's starting to mount up. // It started with disrespect, / the fight, a girl injured, // and finally he left the class / without permission.
	François:	Ouais, mais raison qu'il y a un... un seul incident qui S'est ramifié en fait c'est... une chose est entrée à une autre... ça s'est enchaîné... *[gestures]*	There was one incident / that got out of hand. // One thing leading to another, / a chain reaction.
	Head.:	Ouais, **écoutez**, ce que je peux faire, c'est prendre une mesure conservatoire vu le, la gravité des faits, euh, de 48 heures en interdisant l'accès au collège, euh, à Souleymane.	**Listen**... // I can take a protective measure, / given the seriousness of the incident, // by suspending Souleymane / for 48 hours.
	François:	*[nodding]* Mmm	*[not subtitled]*
	Head.:	Comme ça, ça nous laisse un peu de temps pour, euh, pour prendre une décision.	It will give us a little time / to reach a decision.

Entre les murs (*écoute* at 1 hour 33'03")

Similarly, in (250), which shows *écoute* in a context of explicit disagreement, S is speaking calmly and persuasively, though in an emotionally-detached manner (see 6.2.3). This makes this token distinct from the three other translated tokens of *écoute* with explicit disagreement, which were subtitled as 'look' (see above).

(250) I'y a un procès qui a démontré qu'il y avait pas de faute médicale. *[She looks pointedly at Yann, who throws his beer bottle at the wall. Anna flinches as it smashes, then regains her composure]* **Ecoutez**, dès qu'on opère le risqué zero n'éxiste pas. La plupart du temps ça se passe bien mais parfois il y a des accidents, et des gens décèdent.

The court determined that / there was no medical malpractice. // **Listen**, no operation is 100% risk free. // They usually go smoothly. / But sometimes accidents happen. // And people die.

Contre toi (*écoute* at 26'21'')

The final token – an example of *écoute* introducing denial – is slightly different, in that it is emotionally-charged. Audibly panicked, S here rushes to state the case for his innocence in the murder of his boss:

(251) Laure: Et vous l'avez vu, le Kevin en question ?

And did you see him, this Kevin?

Suspect: No. J'ai quitté l'entreprise à dix-neuf heures et, et Kevin n'était pas encore arrivé. **Ecoutez**, j'étais aux Abats Jour, euh, Rue Oberkampf, toute la soirée ! Vingt personnes vous le diront.

I left work at seven o'clock. // Kevin hadn't arrived by then. // **Listen**, I was in a bar / on Rue Oberkampf all evening. // Twenty people can confirm that.

Engrenages, episode 3 (*écoutez* at 24'58'')

The relationships in these five scenarios are distant or formal, as indicated by the fact that in all cases the *vous* form of the marker is used. Not all of the tokens are particularly warm or friendly, as shown by the panicked speaker in (251); but they lack the frustration which accompanies the five tokens translated as 'look'. In this sense, the translations may serve as a useful indication of the degree of pragmaticalisation of these ten tokens, and perhaps also of the extent of mitigation. Beeching (2013) argues that translation data can be used as evidence for semantic change, with English translations for French *quand même* indicating a gradual shift from an adversative to a relational function. As such, it could be argued that the tokens subtitled as 'look', given the more confrontational nature of these situations, have a less dominant mitigatory role than those subtitled as 'listen', where the emphasis is on persuasion. The feasibility of 'listen' as a translation might therefore be used as a test for whether other tokens of *écoute* can be described as functioning as miitgators.

This is potentially problematic, however, given Aijmer and Elgemark's (2013: 346) view that 'listen' is more face-threatening than 'look', due to its lesser degree of pragmaticalisation.

Interesting and effective as this 'look'/'listen' division may be, it does seem to go against the typical usage of English native speakers. Romero Trillo's (1997) study of the markers found that 'look' was significantly more frequent than 'listen' in the *London-Lund Corpus of English Conversation* (Svartik & Quirk 1980), with mean appearance values of 16.9% and 0.7% respectively. This has since been confirmed by Van Olmen (2010; cited in Aijmer & Elgemark (2013: 336)) in his comparative study of attention-getters in English and Dutch, by Aijmer & Elgemark (2013: 337), who found twenty-eight tokens of 'look' in Altenberg & Aijmer's (2001) *English-Swedish parallel corpus*, compared to eleven of 'listen', and by Aijmer (forthcoming) who found 284 tokens of 'look' in the Bergen Corpus of London Teenagers (COLT), compared to 136 of 'listen'. Moreover, Romero-Trillo (1997: 220) notices a clear preference within the conversations in his corpus for one marker or the other, whereby 'when the form 'look' appears, 'listen' does not, and vice versa.' As the number of translated tokens in the present corpus is very small, it would be interesting to see if the pattern observed here would also be borne out in a larger corpus, or whether look/listen use in subtitling generally reflects the findings of the studies cited above.

7.3.2 *Ecoute* translated as 'Well'

There are two tokens of *écoute* in the corpus which are translated as 'well' (or 'well then'). Both are instances of *écoute* in combination with another marker (*ben* and *mais* respectively) and in fact are the two tokens of *écoute* used when explicitly bringing a conversation to a close seen in 6.2.3:

(252)	**Oh ben écoutez,** je crois qu'on a fait le tour. On se revoit la semaine prochaine, hein.	**Well**, I think that's it. / I'll see you next week, OK?
	Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*écoutez* at 43'44'')	

| (253) | Ah bon ? *[sighs]* **Mais écoute**… je t'embrasse, hein. A demain. Je vous aime. | Yeah? // **Well, then**… Take care. // See you tomorrow. // Love to you all. |

Partir (*écoute* at 12'23'')

'Well' is an extremely multifunctional marker in English. It can, for example, be a hesitation marker (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2003), clarity marker (Mattsson 2009) or an epistemic marker (Schourup 2001). In contexts such as those shown here, Schourup (p. 1043) would describe it as having both a retrospective and a forward-looking quality: the speaker acts on the assumption that the preceding utterance signalled that the conversation had run its course, and at the same time uses 'well' to maintain continuity in the interaction. It might also be described as a frame marker, introducing a change of topic (Jucker 1993). On the basis of my intuitions as a native speaker, this appears a successful translation of *écoute*, which sounds very natural in English. Indeed, the multifunctionality of 'well' is particularly useful in (252), given the lack of context here (this is the first line of a scene). It is not possible to say with any certainty for (252) whether it is *écoute*, *ben* or the combination as a whole which has been translated as 'well', but it is likely that the presence of DM in the ST increases the salience of the markers within the utterance. In (253), it seems the case that subtitlers having treated the grouping as a single unit (a compound DM), meaning the use of 'but' for *mais* is avoided; this would arguably be the most obvious translation if treating the markers separately, but an adversative connective (Kao 2011; see 7.1.2) would not be appropriate in English here.

7.3.3 *Ecoute* Translated with Suspension Points

In the above two sections I analysed the translations of twelve of the thirteen subtitled tokens of *écoute*. The final translated token is that shown in (254):

| (254) | Driss: | Ben, je lui lave les cheveux mais ça mousse pas. | It won't lather. |
| | Marcelle: | Ben, comment? *[Sees Philippe's feet covered in soap suds]* Ben, c'est pas vrai ! Enfin **écoute** ! Tu lui as mis la crème pour les pieds sur la tête. | What? // I don't believe it… // That's his foot cream. |

Intouchables (*écoute* at 23'26'')

Here we have the compound DM *enfin écoute*, discussed in 6.3, which is translated in the subtitles by means of suspension points. This is not a strategy used for either *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 7.2.3) or for *écoute* (see above) elsewhere in the corpus. An exclamation mark might have been a more obvious choice of punctuation, as both *enfin*8 and *écoute*2 (see 6.2.4) are emotionally charged. However, the use of suspension points is, I would argue (using native speaker judgement), successful, as it succinctly captures Marcelle's astonishment, implying that she is so taken aback that she is lost for words. At twenty-one spaces, the subtitle does have room for the addition of an English exclamative, such as 'For goodness sake!', but in writing this might appear more angry than bemused. Another option might be 'What the…?', which could retain the subtitler's idea of trailing off, whilst also implying swearing, but this could seem unrealistic given that Marcelle is speaking in front of her employer. The subtitler's choice here avoids both of these pitfalls, whilst capturing perfectly the character's emotion.

7.4 Subtitling Omissions

Only just over a quarter (27%) of the *enfin* and *écoute* tokens in the film corpus are translated in the subtitles. This leaves a significant number of tokens omitted: eighty-seven for *enfin* and thirty-five for *écoute*. In this section I attempt to answer a question which very few studies have broached in detail: why are these particles omitted, and does it matter?

The most common response to this question is time and space constraints, exacerbated by a drive for concision which favours the elimination of any

seemingly redundant material, including DMs. These are considered redundant for three reasons: firstly, as Díaz Cintas & Remael note, 'they do not – strictly speaking – advance the action' (2007: 164); secondly, because it is not easy to ascribe them a function; and lastly, because of the TL viewer's access to visual and auditory cues such as facial expressions, hesitations and tone of voice. But a question which remains mainly unanswered is, how often can omission be attributed to each of these factors? And are there any other factors which play a part, such as the lack of an obvious TL equivalent in certain situations?

A common criticism of AVT Studies is the excessive focus on loss (see 2.3), but an analysis of omission in subtitling can be constructive if it seeks to explain rather than to criticise. Indeed, it may be that such an analysis would show that apparent omissions do not in fact equate to loss, if the viewer has sufficient means to infer the ST particle's function from the visual or auditory channel. It would also be helpful, should it transpire that the majority of omissions are due to low character limits or fast-paced dialogue, to provide statistical evidence of this which could lend support to subtitlers and the difficult task which they do.

In order to achieve this, the subtitles in which the eighty-seven *enfin* and thirty-five *écoute* tokens appear to be missing are measured against the guidelines set out in Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007). I should emphasise that these are not necessarily the rules which the subtitlers of the nine films and two television series studied here will have followed, as different countries, and even different subtitling companies, each have their own traditions (p. 80). However, they do provide a useful point of comparison, a yardstick against which all of the various subtitles in the corpus can be measured, which in turn can give an indication of the extent to which time and space constraints can be said to be the main reason behind the omission of *enfin* and *écoute*.

The authors recommend a maximum of forty characters (known as spaces) per line for DVD subtitles in the Roman alphabet; a limit which they say appears to be the norm at the time of publication (p. 84). In reality, character limits are changeable, calculated using special software based on the pace of the dialogue and assumed viewer reading speed. However, even working within Díaz Cintas & Remael's uniform guidelines, I find that subtitlers are in many

cases justified in omitting the two markers. A more rigorous application of subtitlers' constraints, taking into account reading speeds and timecodes, would no doubt reveal even greater professionalism on the part of the translators.

7.4.1 Omissions of *enfin*

As stated above, there are eighty-seven tokens of *enfin* in the corpus which are not translated in the subtitles. It should be noted that five of these tokens occur in lines which are not subtitled at all. The first of these, shown in (255), occurs in a passage of very rapidly-paced dialogue, and there is unlikely to have been enough time to subtitle everything. The line beginning with *enfin* is arguably the most logical one to omit as the urgency of the situation takes precedence over Maître Feldman's frustration. As long as the time pressure is sufficiently well conveyed to the audience, they will be able to infer the reaction provoked by even the slightest hold-up.

(255)	Mᵉ Feld.:	*[Speaking urgently to Alex on the phone in the lift]* On verra ça plus tard. Pour le moment il vont vous placer en garde à vue. Et je vais tout faire pour arriver avant eux. *[Reaches the front steps of the building, where she expects to find her car. She addresses the porter.]* Mais elle est où ?	Later. / They're going to take you in. // I'll try to beat them there. // Well?
	Porter:	Elle arrive.	Coming.
	Mᵉ Feld.:	**Enfin** je vous avais dit, quoi ! *[to Alex]* Si j'arrive trop tard surtout il faut être aussi évasif que possible.	If I get there after them, / stay evasive.

<div align="right">Ne le dis à personne (enfin at 55'00'')</div>

Similarly, *enfin* in (256) occurs at a moment when several characters are speaking at once. French teacher François' failed attempt to move the class discussion on with *enfin le problème* is therefore not a priority in the translation given the space and time constraints.

(256)	Angelica:	Di- di- dites-moi c'est la dernière fois, c'est quand vous avez entendu parler quelqu'un, enfin, vous a- c'est quoi la dernière fois que vous avez entendu quelqu'un parler comme ça ?	When was the last time / you heard someone talk like that?
	François:	Hier, hier avec des amis, *[continuing over background shouts of objection]* on utilisait l'imparfait du subjonctif. *[raising his voice over the noise]* **Enfin**, le problème-	Yesterday, with friends. / We used the imperfect subjunctive.
	Boubacar :	*[Interrupting]* Quelqu'un de normal ! Quelqu'un de normal !	Someone normal!

<div align="right">*Entre les murs* (*enfin* at 18'40'')</div>

(257) omits the line containing *enfin* for a different reason:

| (257) | Luc: | Où est la cruche ? | Where's the water jug? |
| | Léa: | Katrina l'a cassée, j'ai pas eu le temps d'aller en racheter une autre. *[To Juliette]* C'est la femme de ménage. Elle vient tous les jeudis. T'as intérêt à planquer tes affaires, elle casse tout. *[Laughs]* D'ailleurs, c'est pour ça qu'on l'a surnommée Katrina. **Fin**, en fait elle s'appelle Marie-Paule. | Katrina broke it. I'll get another. // She's the cleaning lady. // Hide your belongings. / She breaks everything. // We called her Katrina / after that hurricane. |

<div align="right">*Il y a longtemps que je t'aime* (*enfin* at 7'46'')</div>

Here Léa's utterance is followed by a long gap in which no subtitles appear on screen, which coincides with an awkward silence in the conversation. It might be tempting to conclude that the missing line could be translated in a subtitle displayed during this silence: the camera remains focused on Léa, where it has been since *D'ailleurs, c'est pour ça*, for the first three seconds of this gap, leaving ample time for the viewer to read, for example, 'Anyway, her real

name's Marie-Paule.'[48] However, it would be against conventions and potentially confusing to put up a new subtitle at a point when a character was not speaking. Displaying the additional line on the same screen as 'We called her Katrina after that hurricane.' would also not be possible as this is made up of forty-two spaces, and therefore already required to be a two-line subtitle.

Fin, en fait elle s'appelle Marie-Paule is the best choice of line in this section to be dropped as the information is arguably irrelevant for the viewer; whenever the cleaning lady is referred to throughout the rest of the film, it is always by the name Katrina. The British viewer does lose some insight into the dynamics here, though. Léa is both nervous and excited about her first evening reunited with her sister, Juliette, and trying to be as welcoming as possible. Her husband, Luc, meanwhile, is wary of his sister-in-law as she has just been released from a long spell in prison, while Juliette herself is unsmiling and near-silent. Léa covers the awkward atmosphere by talking to her sister as much as possible. Supplying the name Marie-Paule is part of a strategy to make her feel included by giving her lots of information about the family. However, the joke about the origin of the nickname is not lost in the subtitles, and we see Léa laugh after *elle s'appelle Marie-Paule*, meaning the overall aim of putting Juliette at ease is still evident even without this last detail.

The omission in (258) is less straightforward:

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[48] Assuming a reading speed of 180 words per minute, which Díaz Cintas & Remael (2007: 98-99) see as the standard for DVD subtitles, and which allows for a maximum space limit of fifty-three.

| (258) | Henriette: | Ben, toute à l'heure, tout le monde a, a dit qu'i, qu'ils avaient appris quelque chose. Et moi par rapport à eux, j'ai rien appris. | Before, all the others // said they'd learned something. // Compared to them, I learned nothing. |
| | François: | Oui, **m'enfin**, tu veux dire euh… C'est pas vrai ce que tu dis, t'as appris autant de choses qu'eux, tu vois, euh toute à l'heure chacun cherchait aussi, c'est- c'est pas forcément facile, tu vois, de, de, d'essayer de se souvenir comme ça de but en blanc de ce qu'on a appris, donc, bon. | You learned as much as them. / They had to think hard too. // It's not easy // to remember what you learned. |

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hr 59'47'')

Here the subtitles for François' response do not appear on screen until the words *C'est pas vrai*, leaving *Oui, m'enfin, tu veux dire, euh…* untranslated. The subtitler's reasoning is likely to have been that, compared to everything that comes after *C'est pas vrai*, this first line does not contain anything to really advance the dialogue. François' surprise and consequent difficulty in responding to this student would be comprehensible from his puzzled but sympathetic expression and from his hesitant tone of voice. He also changes his body language when he trails off, waving his hand while trying to find the right words, before shaking his head slightly to show abandoning the false start, and then putting his hand down on the desk to begin again.

Whilst it is true that the British viewer would most likely be able to pick up on these cues, and this logic would be acceptable had the dialogue been much more fast-paced, in this case it seems to be a clear example of a subtitler disregarding non-core dialogue as not worthy of translation. Henriette's utterance is delivered extremely slowly, with a lot of pauses, and by the time François says *Oui, m'enfin* there is no subtitle on the screen. The subtitler would therefore have had adequate time to translate this line at least partially, even if not word-for-word. The *enfin* token here is one of *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8), which serves to signal and arguably mitigate François' opposition to what Henriette has said. In the French, François makes clear to his student by means of *Oui, m'enfin, tu veux dire, euh…* that, even

though he cannot immediately formulate a response, she should absolutely not think of her year as being this unsuccessful. This is a subtle insight which the British viewer is not granted by means of the subtitles.

Lastly, in (259), the exclamation *enfin !*, which would most naturally be translated as 'At last!', appears not to have been prioritised as it occurs in the background. The general mood of the class should still be clear from their quick reaction to the sound of the bell.

(259)	François:	Vous allez sortir vos cahiers de texte, et vous allez noter la consigne suivante pour jeudi prochain. C'est très simple : « écrire son autoportrait ». *[The bell sounds ; students jump up to leave]*	Note the following exercise // for next Thursday. // It's very simple. / "Write your self-portrait."
	Student:	*[off-screen]* **Enfin** !	*[Not subtitled]*
	François:	Je vous rappelle que l'autoportrait, c'est pas une autobiographie. Je vous demande pas de raconter votre vie.	A self-portrait isn't an autobiography. // I don't want your life story.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 37'00'')

Shorter omissions

I now address the situation which applies to the majority of the omitted *enfin* tokens: the line in which *enfin* occurs appears in the subtitles, yet there is no translation evident for *enfin*. In order to better understand these tokens, we need to build up a picture of the subtitle lengths. Forty-nine of these are single-line subtitles, which have a guideline maximum length of forty spaces (Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007: 84). Taking these first, the lengths range from twelve to forty-four spaces, with the mean at twenty-eight. These subtitles tend towards the upper end of the space limit, with the mode being thirty-one spaces, and three of the subtitles are over the theoretical maximum of forty. If we discount these three tokens, we are left with forty-six subtitles (the longest of which is thirty-six spaces) which potentially have room for the addition of a translation of *enfin*.

Thirty-three of the STs appear over two lines. These have an even greater range of lengths (thirty-one to seventy-two spaces), but tend to be shorter per line than the single-line subtitles, with none exceeding the combined maximum of 80 spaces. The mean length is forty-nine. They all therefore have space available for the inclusion of a translation of *enfin*.

Suggested translations: enfin*6* (corrective *enfin*)

The most concise translation for corrective *enfin* (see chapter 5) is 'well', but it is not always the most suitable. In (260), for example – the one token in the corpus of corrective *enfin* used to express uncertainty – 'well' would be possible, but 'that is' would appear to better capture the downtoning of S's suggestion:

| (260) | Peut-être que… **Fin**, je sais pas, mais peut-être que Juliette pourrait les garder, enfin, si elle est d'accord et puis surtout si elle a rien d'autre prévu. | Maybe… // I don't know, maybe Juliette could. // Unless she has other plans. |

<div align="right">Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (enfin at 1 hour 17'25'')</div>

Either 'well' or 'I mean' could be an effective translation for corrective *enfin* after *oui*, *non* or *si*, except in (261) where both the initial *Non* and the corrective particle have been omitted from the translation and, at seventy-four spaces, there is not sufficient room for these to be added. However, the British audience should be able to infer Gilou's need to protect his face from his body language, and the fact that French *non* is likely to be widely understood by British viewers.

| (261) | From.: | Quelqu'un a fouillé l'appartement d'Elina Andrescu. T'as vu sortir quelqu'un de l'immeuble ? | Andrescu's apartment was searched. / Did you see anyone leave? |
| | Gilou: | Non. *[Pause]* Ok **enfin**, si, si, si ! l'y avait un grand mec avec un gros sac, euh, mais j'suis même pas sûr qu'il sortait de l'immeuble, alors. | There was a tall man with a big bag, / but I'm not sure he came from there. |

<div align="right">Engrenages, episode 1 (enfin at 25'22'')</div>

In (262), there is the additional possibility of translating *enfin* as 'at least', as what follows is an explanation for the initial non, which at the same time serves to limit its scope (Julie makes clear that she is not objecting to the action in principle, merely restricting the reasons why it might be carried out).

(262)	Julie:	C'est lui ?	Was it him?
	Laure:	On sait pas. Mais je vais laisser un gendarme en faction devant l'immeuble.	We don't know // I'll place an officer on watch
	Julie:	Non, non. **Fin**, si c'est pour moi en tout cas, c'est pas la peine.	Don't do it for my sake

Les Revenants, episode 4 (*enfin* at 14'40'')

Precision *enfin* is more complex. All of the subtitles to have omitted precision *enfin* have space available for a reformulative marker such as 'well' or 'I mean', but the choice of English marker depends on the precision being made. In addition, three of the tokens omit the correction all together. These are shown in (263)-(265):

(263)	Ben, i'y a un truc que je trouve bizarre. C'est que… dis que le Mali joue pas, tous <u>les noirs</u> qui sont ici, **enfin**, tous <u>les Africains</u>, on dirait que c'est plus des Africains.	But the weird thing is // when Mali don't play, // it's like all the Africans here // aren't African.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 13'46'')

(264)	Arthur, moi y a, moi j'ai trouvé une petite contradiction en ce que tu dis. Tu dis, ben, j'ai envie d'être moi, mais est-ce que tu peux dire que ces fringues correspondent à toi, alors qu'en fait ces fringues, elles sont, euh, <u>utilisées</u>, **fin**, <u>portées</u> par énormément de gens ?	There's a contradiction in what you say. // You want to be you. / Are those clothes you? // Those clothes are worn / by a huge number of people.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 15'26'')

(265) Euh, euh, je peux, je prends, euh, une tarte tatin, s'il vous plaît ? Mais cuite. Parce qu'il y avait un problème avec le gâteau au chocolat, il était cru. Tout <u>moulant</u> là, tout, **fin**, <u>moelleux</u>. Bizarre.

A *tarte tatin*, please. // Cooked. // The chocolate cake was raw. // It was all squashy and gooey.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 44'38'')

For the first two of these tokens, only the substituted lexical item (*Africains* and *portées*) has been translated, so the British viewer cannot know from the subtitle that the character has made a reformulation. In (264) this is a relatively minor point; the speaker (who is the class teacher) is perhaps concerned that he should be accurate with terminology as he is making a comment on a student's behaviour which is bound up with his identity. The potential for offence here appears minimal, however. In (263), on the other hand, the speaker changes from *les noirs* to *les Africains* in order to exclude a student who is from the Caribbean, Carl. On the face of it this seems to be for Carl's benefit, as to assume that all the black students in the class support Mali at football would be insensitive to his non-African background. However, it could also be interpreted as a move to antagonise, as Carl is new to the class and has not been accepted by the others. This is partly because he is from *les DOM-TOM* and thus proudly French, when many other students are disillusioned with French society and base their identity on their immigrant background. This is a subtlety that will be lost to the British viewer, making an angry outburst from Carl later in the scene appear an unreasonable overreaction. Lastly, in (265), S corrects an unspoken term, a correction that seems to stem more from his difficulty in producing what he feels is an accurate description than from face concerns. This could have been translated as 'It was all squashy and, well, gooey.', but the omission here is less serious from a facework point of view.

The remaining five precision tokens – including (266), below – could all be translated with 'I mean', the solution found in the published subtitles for translated precision tokens in the corpus. Alternatively, 'that is' would also appear to work well. The same would be true of three of the five untranslated restrictive tokens (see 5.2.5 for a discussion of the similarities between precision and restrictive *enfin*).

(266)	Euh… moi, je sais qui tu es, **enfin**, j- je sais pourquoi t'es là.	I know who you are, / why you're here.
		Entre les murs (*enfin* at 55'25'')

The restrictives could all also be translated as 'at least', which is Beeching's main criterion for identifying tokens of restrictive *enfin* (2001: 31; 2002: 137). Indeed, the translation equivalence (Beeching 2011) of *enfin* and 'I mean' may be the most reliable test for in distinguishing restrictive from precision *enfin*, although some other categories can also be translated this way, as we saw in (262).

The fourth restrictive token omits the whole correction in the subtitles, thus removing the need for a corrective particle, while the final token, in (267), would work best as 'well', as it follows the same structure (similar to a self-mimic) as (268) (see 5.2.7 for a discussion of this structure).

(267)	Ça c'est mon carnet secret**. Enfin**, i'est pas tellement secret parce que je le laisse traîner partout et tout le monde le regarde.	This is my secret diary. // It's not very secret, / because I leave it lying around.
		Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 19'46'')

(268)	Bo- oh j'en ai <u>des kilos</u>. *[Putting the packet in Gilou's pocket]* **Fin**, peut-être pas <u>des kilos</u>, mais *[Gilou tries to bat her hand away; she squeals]* Tu la gardes, hein.	I have kilos of it. // **Well**, maybe not kilos… / You keep that.
		Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 14'48'')

There are six omitted tokens of syntactic repair *enfin*, of which three are justified by space constraints. Two of these do not have space to reproduce the false start that the *enfin* token overrules, meaning the corrective would be entirely redundant in the subtitles. The third is shown in (269), where we find two syntactic repair tokens, of which only one (the second) has been translated:

(269)	Non, non, mais moi, j'ai rien à vous dire qui puisse, euh, **fin**, qui… **Fin**, je, je, je, j-	No, but I didn't mean… **Well**, I…
		Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 50'09'')

Although the omission of the first *fin* means that we do not have an exact word-for-word translation here, this seems perfectly adequate to convey the character's discomfort within the technical constraints of subtitling.

In the next two examples, the main purpose of the utterance is humour, and this appears to have been conveyed well without including a translation of *enfin*. In (270), the joke is aimed at the audience (a comedic scene in a job interview where a candidate asks whether he has answered a question correctly). The subtitle does not represent the trailing off and syntactic repair of the original French utterance; rather, the subtitler choses to deal with the repetition by means of paraphrase ('Is that ok?' followed by 'Did I get it right?'), interpreting the implied word in the French to be *réponse*. However, the character's unease and the disjointed nature of his response should still be visibly and audibly clear to the British viewer.

(270)	Magalie:	Quelle est votre principale motivation ?	What is your key motivation ?
	Cand. 1:	Ben, l'argent *[laughs]*	Money.
	Cand. 2:	L'humain. Ah moi, j- je suis à fond dans l'humain.	The man. // I'm totally into that.
	Magalie:	*[laughing]* C'est bien.	That's nice.
	Cand. 3:	C'est d'aider l'autre, je pense. C'est bon ça comme, euh… **fin**, c'est bien comme, euh… ?	Helping others, I think. // Is that ok? Did I get it right?

Intouchables (*enfin* at 8'48'')

In (271), humour is used to convey key interpersonal information to the viewer, as it signals two characters have re-established a good relationship following a fall-out earlier in the film.

(271)	François:	D'accord. Khoumba ?	Khoumba
	Khoum.:	Moi ?	Me?
	François:	Euh, ouais, ouais, si, si, **fin,** j- c'est ton prénom ?	Yes. That is your name?

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 56'24'')

The subtitle does leave space to reproduce the false start and a translation of *enfin* within the character limit, and a better translation might have been 'Yeah if, I mean, that's you?'. However, the subtitled translation is still successful (according to my intuitions as a native speaker), as the humour displayed by François' reply is evident in the fact that both of the characters laugh. François' false start is a result of Khoumba not giving the response he was expecting (when asking various individuals in the class what they have learnt that year), and adds to the good humoured atmosphere in the classroom, but need not be a priority for the subtitler.

Lastly, in (272), the character's disfluency is again clearly audible to the British viewer, and conveyed by the set of suspension points. However, the addition of 'I mean,' at the start of the final subtitle would have added to the overall effect of a student struggling to put her thoughts into words.

(272)	Oui, mais, euh, nous, euh, ç- ça va pas être si passionnant que, par exemple, celle d'Anne Frank, c'est-**enfin**, ce qu'on va, s- si notre vie, elle est pas passionnante, enfin…	What we write / won't be as gripping as… // as what Anne Frank wrote. // Our lives aren't as gripping.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 31'08'')

Suggested translations: enfin*7,* enfin*8 and* enfin*9*

I now move on to the other three main categories of *enfin* which form the focus of this study: *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6), *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7) and *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8). As with *enfin*6 (see above), many of these can be translated using the same strategies as are found applied to the translated tokens in the corpus. Perfomative *enfin*, for instance, could be rendered by means of suspension points (see 7.2.2) in three of the five cases where it has been omitted. The other two tokens – shown in (273) and (274) – are followed by a concluding phrase (*j'sais pas et j'ai du mal à expliquer* and *vous me comprenez*):

(273) Non, euhm, c'est pas ça c'est…   No, it's not that. It's… // I was
       Vous savez, j'étais au labo, je   in a lab, amongst test tubes /
       voyais que des éprouvettes et les   and microscopes. No, it's… //
       microscopes. Non, c'est plutôt le fait   starting again, / something
       de- de, de recommencer, que   starting again… // I don't know,
       quelque chose recommence.   / I find it hard to explain.
       [Pause, shakes her head] **Enfin,**
       j'sais pas *[laughs]*. Et j'ai du mal à
       expliquer.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 1 hour 8'58'')

(274) Quoiqu'il en soit, si jamais il est   If he agrees, nobody must ever
       d'accord, il faudra ici que personne know / you were a doctor… //
       ne sache que vous étiez médecin et   and certainly not that you… /
       encore moins bien sûr que… **enfin** You understand.
       vous me comprenez.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 41'43'')

These might thus be better translated with 'well'. This fits with the use of 'well'
as a frame marker with a falling intonation and 'a function of closing previous
discourse and focusing on the previous discourse' (Mattsson 2009: 81), as in
(275):

(275) [B]ut if they wanted people around to talk to, then I would be very
       happy to stay, and got a letter back saying we have arranged for you
       to stay – well let's take the interview first. (Jucker 1993: 446)

Turning to the interruptive tokens of *enfin*7, four of these could be translated as
'anyway', which is the translation given in the subtitles in the two cases where
interruptive *enfin* has not been omitted (see 7.2.3). The fifth token, shown in
(276), would work best as 'well, anyway', as it appears in combination with *ben*,
although 'anyway' alone would also work well. However, the subtitle is already
at thirty-six spaces, meaning there is unfortunately not enough room for the
addition.

(276) Non, j'suis vraiment désolé mais,   I'm sorry. It's a godsend. / I
       c'est une aubaine pour moi, et je   can't afford to say no. // You'll
       peux pas me permettre de refuser.   have time to find a solution.
       Ben fin, ça vous laisse le temps de
       trouver une solution.

Partir (*enfin* at 49'02'')

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Similarly, the interruptive token in (277) also leaves insufficient space for the desired addition:

(277)	Ah, ça c'est important. C'est important la famille. Vous avez de la chance. Vous savez, la solitude, c'est pas bon, hein. L'homme est pas fait pour ça. *[Pause]* **Bon fin**, je vais pas vous raconter ma vie. Bon, on se revoit dans quinze jours.	That's important. // Family's important. You're lucky. // Solitude isn't good. / Man isn't made to be alone. // I won't tell you my life story. // See you soon.

Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 15'28")

A good, idiomatic translation here, which would capture the finality of *bon* and the 'moving on' sense of *enfin* would be 'right, well'. However, this would add eleven spaces to the existing thirty-one, taking the single-line subtitle over the forty space limit. A compromise might be to sacrifice part of the pragmatic meaning here, by including 'well' alone, or, indeed, 'anyway'.

The last two interruptive tokens might best be translated as 'look'. As seen in 4.2.6, these tokens are slightly different in function from other interruptives, allowing S to change topic in order to continue a line of argument. They are confrontational, introducing direct disagreement without any apparent mitigation:

(278)	Ben tu d- tu doutes bien pourquoi je suis là. Non ? *[Philippe raises his eyebrows]* **Fin** c'est qui ce type-là ? Autour de toi tout le monde s'inquiète. Yvonne me dit qu'il est inconscient, violent. Il a frappé un voisin ? *[Philippe doesn't answer]* **Enfin,** Philippe c'est pas à toi que je vais expliquer qu'il faut être vigilant. Tu dois pas laisser entrer n'importe qui chez toi. *[Pause]* Surtout dans ton état.	You must have some idea / why I'm here. // Who is this fellow? // Everyone's worried. // Yvonne tells me / he's reckless, violent… // He hit a neighbor? // I don't need to tell you / you have to be vigilant. // Don't let just anyone / into your home, // especially not in your state.

Intouchables (*enfin* at 33'35" and 33'44")

Turning to *enfin*8, although this is often translated in the corpus by means of punctuation (see 7.2.2), the category is not as straight forward when it comes to omissions. Only one of the tokens could be easily rendered with the addition of an exclamation mark. Two occur in questions, meaning the exclamation mark

would have to be added next to the existing question mark, which could be argued to make the subtitle appear untidy, and less easy to read. In the case of (279), it may also make the utterance seem unduly confrontational, since for brevity the remark has been reformulated as a direct question – an unmitigated FTA – in the English subtitle.

(279)   **Enfin**, vous n'allez quand même   Are you defending him?
        pas prendre sa défense, Annabelle?
                                            Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 59'33'')

For (280) it might be best to make the translation of the accompanying utterance more emotive.

(280)   M'**enfin**, qu'est-ce qui t'as pris ?   What made you do that?
                                            Partir (*enfin* at 5'43'')

Here, the rather bland 'What made you do that?' could be replaced with 'What got into you?'.

Three other emotional tokens, of which two are shown in (281) and (282), could be directly translated with an English DM:

(281)   Mais **enfin**, tu la connais à peine !   You hardly know her.
                                            Il y a longtemps que je t'aime (*enfin* at 9'26'')

(282)   **Fin**, si c'est pour me faire passer   To get me to confess, it sucks.
        aux avo c'est complètement con,
        non ?
                                            Ne le dis à personne (*enfin* at 44'51'')

In both of these examples either 'come on' or 'look' would be a good rendition of *enfin*, as – like the *enfin*7 tokens seen in (277), which share some overlap with *enfin*8 (see 4.2.6) – they express opposition. In (281), S is arguing with his wife, while in (282), he is trying to persuade a friend of his point of view, when it is clear from her body language that she is unconvinced by his theories and impatient to get away. The emphasis with both 'come on' and 'look' is on appealing to H to change his or her stance, rather than expressing S's

frustration but, as discussed in chapter 4, these two tokens of *enfin* have similarities to *enfin*9, and the translations for *écoute* in the corpus (see 7.3.1) show that 'look' can be used in emotionally charged contexts.

In (283), however, 'look' would be unnatural if also used to translate *écoute*. In this case, 'I mean' might be a better equivalent for this expressive use of *enfin*.

| (283) | Margot: | Hier soir tu lui a même pas adressé la parole. *[Pause]* C'est parce qu'elle veut pas vendre la ferme ? | Last night, you totally ignored her. // Because she won't sell the farm? |
| | Alex: | **Ecoute**, c'est une connerie énorme ! **Enfin** ça a un entretien malade, vous vous rendez pas compte ! Elle ne veut même pas y vivre ! | It's crazy! // It costs us a fortune. / She doesn't even want to live there. |

Ne le dis à personne (*enfin* at 5'33'')

The last point with regard to *enfin*8 is that the emotion conveyed by *enfin* in (284) and (285) is reinforced by the visual channel. (284) is accompanied by a shrug visible behind the subtitle (which has a transparent background); this is easily accessible to TL viewers even if they are concentrating on the written words. (285) is accompanied by a gesture in the background (an outstretched arm, palm up, pointing towards H, followed by a shrug and both hands hitting against S's legs to suggest unreasonable behaviour on the part of H), which should emphasise to a British audience the emotive aspect of the utterance.

| (284) | M'**enfin**, tout est à toi ici. | Everything here is yours. |
| (285) | **Fin**, regarde toi, que t'as aucune retenue, t'es pitoyable. | You've lost all self-control. / You're pathetic. |

Partir (*enfin* at 59'49'' and 1 hour 00'30'')

Finally, there are twenty tokens in the corpus of *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*), all of which are omitted in the subtitles. Two belonging to the concessive subcategory combine with *mais*, and in these cases the subtitler has included 'but' in the subtitles, as in (286). However, this would appear to be a translation of *mais* rather than of the whole collocation.

(286)	On a fait, euh, une pétition, hein, Monsieur procureur. Ouais, i'y a 24 familles qui ont signé pour qu'elle soit remplacée, 24. Qu'une enfant, euh, raconte des mensonges, ça, ça existe, **m'enfin**, 24, ils peuvent pas avoir tous inventé la même histoire au même moment, quoi.	So, we drew up a petition, // signed by twenty-four families / who want her replaced. // Children can tell lies / but not twenty-four at once.

Engrenages, episode 1 (*enfin* at 3'44'')

'I mean' would arguably be the best translation to include here as it is more emotive than 'well'.

In (287), for which the subtitle, at sixty-one spaces, could easily accommodate an English DM, the most natural translation of the utterance as a whole would most likely feature 'I'm afraid' as an equivalent for *enfin* (e.g. 'I'd like to believe he didn't touch it, but I'm afraid I can't.'). However, this would not fit with the expression chosen by the subtitler. A much more workable translation here would be 'well' (i.e. 'but, well, as for the rest…').

(287)	Enfin je veux bien croire qu'il ne le touche pas, mais **enfin**, là, j'ai un peu de mal, hein.	I'd like to believe he didn't touch it, / but as for the rest...

Engrenages, episode 4 (*enfin* at 38'49'')

Both 'well and 'I mean' also appear to be good candidates for utterance-initial *enfin*9, with 'well' being particularly appropriate when opinions are ventured early on in discussions, before the waters have been tested (as in (288); see 4.3.2 for the background to this token); when answering a question indirectly (as in (289)); or when proposing a compromise (as in (290)). Jucker (1993: 444), for example, attests the use of 'well' as a face-threat mitigator to signal disagreement.

(288)	Parent 1:	Et quand on arrive à zéro, que se passe-t-il ?	And when they run out of points?
	Stéph.:	Ben, quand on arrive à zéro, c'est le conseil de discipline.	They go before / the disciplinary committee.
	Parent 2:	**Ben enfin**, moi, ce que je constate, en tant que parent d'élève, c'est qu'une fois de plus, euh… ben, on est dans la… droite lignée de ce qui se passe, euh, toujours dans ce collège. C'est que, euh… vous pensez beaucoup à pénaliser, et jamais à va- à valoriser les élèves.	As a parents' representative, // this is typical / of the school's bad habits. // You always condemn the students // but never praise them.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 41'19'')

| (289) | M. Costa: | Mais dans combien de temps ? | In how long? |
| | Julie: | **Enfin**, le temps de venir, euh, on n'habite pas côté à côté. | As long as it takes / me to get there |

Les Revenants (*enfin* at 15'39'')

(290)	Samuel:	Allez, faut encore faire un petit effort, hein. Ma femme ouvre son cabinet, pour l'instant elle a pas de clientèle. *[They join Suzanne, who is pouring coffee]*	Try a little harder. // My wife is starting up. / She has no clients yet.
	Suzanne:	Un peu de café ?	Coffee?
	Samuel:	Un café ?	*[not subtitled]*
	Rémi:	Merci, non. *[pause]* **Enfin**, la solution ça serait que mon gars fasse lui le boulot, et que moi je passe de temps en temps. C'est un Espagnol, vous verrez qu'il travaille très bien.	No, thanks. // I could put my mate on the job / and keep an eye on him… // He's Spanish. Works well.

Partir (*enfin* at 2'21'')

'I mean', on the other hand, would appear to be a better translation when a discussion or debate is in full swing, as in (291) and (292), again, because of its emotive qualities.

(291)	Patrick:	Oui, il y en a combien qui sont menacés d'internat, euh... et des uns à l'internat mmm… On voit jamais la couleur, hein, de toute façon.	Some are threatened // with boarding school / but it never happens.
	Rachel:	C'est pas toujours que des mots, hein.	It can happen.
	Frédéric:	**Enfin** i… i'y en a beaucoup, ils passent leur temps à bon dire la, la menace et euh… *[turns to François]* Fin, c'est pas un truc que tu peux prendre en compte, toi, en tout cas.	A lot of parents spend their time / threatening their kids with that. // You can't take it into account.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 41'44'')

(292)	Vincent:	Là m'enfin j- moi, j'ai l'impression que… il faudrait quand même commencer à envisager sérieusement pour une sanction là. C'est pas une attitude d'élève, quoi.	I think we should seriously think about / disciplinary measures. // His attitude is unacceptable.
	Anne:	*[Speaking over the top of her colleague]* Non, moi, c'est, c'est… c'est bien simple, hein. Un cours sur deux, euh, je, je le vire.	Every other lesson I kick him out.
	Patrick:	Non, **enfin**, moi, je le mets même plus dehors puisque à chaque fois que… ça arrive euh, il est, il est trop content et donc c'est pas la peine, hein.	I don't even bother kicking him out anymore // because every time I do it, / he's happy about it.

Entre les murs (*enfin* at 1 hour 24'30'')

In contexts where characters express opposition more directly, as in (293), 'but' would express contradiction whilst implicitly incorporating positive politeness in the same way as Hatim & Mason (2000: 442) describe for *mais* (see 6.3).

| (293) | Philippe: | Il se bat pas devant la poste en tenue de postier, ça c'est intolérable. Il sait peut-être pas dire non, mais moi j'sais dire stop. | He winds up fighting outside, / in uniform. That's intolerable. // He can't say no. I say stop! |
| | Anna.: | **Fin**, un blâme, ch'est peut-être beaucoup, Monchieur le directeur. | An official reprimand is a lot. |

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (*enfin* at 59'30'' and 59'33'')

In summary, idiomatic English translations for *enfin* appear possible – at least within the guideline character limits adopted for the purposes of this study – in many cases where the particle has been omitted from the subtitles. This would suggest that omission of *enfin* from the translation may often be due to working conditions or a preference for brevity (see 2.3), rather than to space constraints. However, more research would need to be conducted, using appropriate software to calculate accurate character limits for the subtitles concerned, in order to confirm this finding.

7.4.2 Omissions of *Ecoute*

As with *enfin*, only a quarter of the *écoute* tokens have been directly translated in the subtitles. Again, this leaves a considerable number untranslated: thirty-five tokens. The mean length for the subtitles where *écoute* has been omitted is very similar: twenty-seven for single-line subtitles (almost identical to the figure for *enfin*) and forty-six for two-line subtitles. The longest of the two-line subtitles is only fifty-seven spaces of a potential eighty. So, as with *enfin*, there is much greater potential for translating *écoute* in the two-line subtitles. This would improve the subtitles by giving the British viewer a better sense of the subtleties of the facework strategies used by the French characters, making their utterances appear both more natural and less abrupt.

According to Romero Trillo (1997: 220-21), collectively 'look' and 'listen' in English are not used as much as their equivalents *oye*, *oiga*, *mira*, *mire*, *fíjate*, *fíjese*, *escucha* and *eschuche* in Spanish, because 'English is a more prosody-oriented language, and as such is able to focus the attention of the addressee onto the most important pieces of information by means of tonality features.' It

would seem logical, therefore, that the same might apply to a comparison between the relative frequencies of 'look' and 'listen' with that of *écoute* in French, although the variety of attention-getting forms in Spanish also plays a role in their frequency (ibid: 221) . However, this should not be used as an argument for regular omission of *écoute* translations from the English subtitles, as the British viewer, reading a written in translation accompanied by the oral French ST, does not have access to information from English-language prosody.

None of the single-line subtitles exceed the guideline forty-space limit, but five lack sufficient space for the addition of 'well', 'look' or 'listen' (plus comma and space). An alternative translation of 'ok.' might be possible for one of these tokens:

(294)	**Bon, alors, très bien, écoute,** tu viendras me voir à la fin de l'heure et on en parlera tous les deux.	We'll talk it over after the lesson.

Entre les murs (*écoute* at 28'55'')

This token occurs in a heated exchange between a teacher and one of his students, who refuses to read in class when asked. At thirty-six spaces, this subtitle has little room for even one of the four markers here to be translated, let alone all of them. 'Ok' might be a good solution, given its multifunctionality in English. It could be interpreted as conveying either the decisiveness of *bon*, the indecision of *alors*, the finality of *très bien* or the arguably mitigating quality of *écoute* (as an indicator of agreement or H's openness to reaching a compromise). However, there is a risk that on its own, it may make François' utterance seem weaker – more of a suggestion than an order – at one of the rare moments in the film when he does choose to impose his authority. This is especially a danger given the omission of the second-person 'tu viendras me voir' in the translation. The inclusion of a full stop (as opposed to a comma) would go some way to preventing this. However, a more authoritative option might be 'Right, we'll talk after the lesson.' (thirty-five spaces).

Of the remaining thirty subtitles where *écoute* is omitted, 'look' or 'listen' would seem to be the best solution for the majority. However, there is one token which might be better translated as 'well'. This is shown in (295):

(295)	Ali:	Tu gagnes bien ta vie ?	Make a good living?
	Richard:	Eh, **écoute**, hein, *[pause]* on va dire qu'on arrive à joindre les deux bouts.	We manage to make ends meet.

De rouille et d'os (*écoute* at 7'29'')

Unlike the other tokens described in 6.2.3 of *écoute* used to avoid answering a question directly, where in both cases a confident response was forthcoming, here the subject is a delicate one, and there is considerable reluctance to answer. 'Well' can fulfil the same function in English of avoiding answering a question directly: Jucker (1997) lists one of the four main functions of 'well' to be that of a qualifier, which 'prefaces a reply which is only a partial answer to a question'. The expected answer to *Tu gagnes bien ta vie ?* would be *oui* or *non*, so the use of 'well' in this context allows Richard to give a different answer from what is expected. As with (252) and (253) (see 7.3.2), 'well' again stands in for a complex DM formed with *écoute*.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter I have confirmed the finding of previous studies that DMs are overwhelmingly omitted from subtitled translations, and indicated some of the contexts in which *enfin*, in particular, is more likely to be omitted by subtitlers (most notably when it is a mitigator of disagreement). In many cases omission appears to be a result of a general strategy of concision, and I have proposed some translation solutions that could be used for each of the two particles, space permitting. However, I have also shown by means of a qualitative analysis (based on my intuitions as a native speaker) that the translations which do occur are generally successful, and that in some cases the omission of *enfin* or *écoute* in the translation appears justified. There is also an interesting pattern that emerges in relation to *écoute*, in that this tends to be substituted with 'look' when the context is more confrontational, and 'listen' when it is more conciliatory. In addition, 'listen' occurs exclusively in situations of *vouvoiement*,

reflecting greater social distance, and perhaps, therefore, greater degrees of mitigation. Initial comparisons with other studies suggest that this pattern does not reflect the practice of native English speakers, and more research would be needed to confirm whether it exists across larger subtitling data sets.

This is the final part of the analysis. In the next chapter I sum up the main findings of the research, reflect on my experiences conducting the project, and suggest some possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

In this final chapter, I recap the main findings and contributions of the thesis, before reflecting on the research process, and making some recommendations for future studies.

8.1 Summary of the Main Findings

The aim of the thesis was primarily to investigate use of the pragmatic particles *enfin* and *écoute* in a corpus of recent French films and television programmes readily available on DVD to UK audiences. It took into account the use of these particles in the French dialogue, and their translations in the English subtitles, seeking to determine both their facework functions and treatment by translators. Regarding the latter point, it is the first investigation of DMs in subtitling to use English as the target (rather than source) language. In undertaking the above, the thesis posed the following questions:

1. What is the frequency of *enfin* and *écoute* in the corpus, and how does this compare to other corpora?
2. What are the functions of *enfin* and *écoute* in the corpus, and how do these compare to those described in the literature?
3. Is a film corpus a useful means of investigating DM use in spoken French?
4. Which strategies are used in the film corpus to translate *enfin* and *écoute* in the subtitles, and how successful are they?
5. How frequently are *enfin* and *écoute* omitted from the subtitles? Are there any patterns to these omissions?
6. To what extent can the omissions be attributed to technical constraints? What other explanations might there be for untranslated DMs in the corpus?

I will start by addressing the first two questions, firstly in relation to *enfin*. There are several conflicting accounts in the literature regarding the functions of this item, but I believe that in combining the categories put forward by Bertand &

Chanet (2005) and Buchi & Städtler (2008), I have arrived at the most detailed and accurate model for use as a research framework, into which – with some minor adjustments – I was able to fit the majority of my tokens. The only major adaptation required was the addition of a ninth category: disagreement-mitigating *enfin*, a use of the particle which had been previously documented by other researchers as an adversative, and which played a relatively important role in the corpus dialogue. As in previous studies, the most common use of the particle was as a corrective (see chapter 5); however, the proportion was lower than in other corpora, and *enfin*7 (performative and interruptive *enfin*; see 4.2.6), *enfin*8 (emotional *enfin*; see 4.2.7) and *enfin*9 (disagreement-mitigating *enfin*; see 4.2.8) also accounted for a significant number of the tokens.

My analysis also established that the use of corrective *enfin* in the corpus closely mirrors that described by Beeching (2001; 2002), although there were no tokens denoting a move from the particular to the general case, and only one of *enfin* used to express uncertainty. The most frequent use of this category of *enfin* was to introduce corrections made after *oui, non* or *si,* which is another difference from Beeching's corpus, where it was precision *enfin* which dominated. I was able to confirm Beeching's suggestion that syntactic repair *enfin* was anomalously low in the Bristol corpus, and also identified a new structure similar to the echo/self-mimic, whereby the speaker contradicts him- or herself, but without the repetition of the original term (see 5.2.7).

Turning now to *écoute*, as with *enfin*, I was able to compile a framework for analysis by combining the descriptions given in two previous studies – Rodríguez Somolinos (2003) and Diwersy & Grutschus (2014) – in order to best account for the particle's simultaneous structural and arguably mitigating functions. I was able to show that all of the pragmatic functions described in the literature were attested in the corpus, but in terms of the discursive and metadiscursive functions, the film and television data presented a stark contrast to the spontaneous speech corpus *C-ORAL-ROM*, which Diwersy & Grutschus found to contain very few turn-taking signals, and numerous tokens of *écoute* used to introduce reported speech. My research also uncovered an important problem in terms of distinguishing *écoute*1 (arguably a mitigator) and *écoute*2 (the reproach). While this distinction appears very clear in the literature – where

it is represented by means of a difference in punctuation – in the film corpus there are several tokens which exhibit characteristics of each of these categories. These appear to represent intermediate stages in the evolution of *écoute* between *écoute*1 and *écoute*2, supporting Rodríguez Somolinos' (2003: 82) concept of the *écoute* continuum.

In answer to question three, the film corpus revealed uses of both *enfin* and *écoute* in a wider range of situations than had previously been found through use of spoken corpora. The data was particularly useful for *écoute*, as this particle has been generally less researched than *enfin*, and occurs with a greater frequency here than in corpora constructed from interviews. It is, of course, important to remember that film dialogue is not authentic speech, and therefore cannot give researchers as accurate a reflection of everyday speech practices as do some other forms of corpora. However, the resemblance is closer than it may first appear. I have shown that, as suggested in 3.1, the fact that the dialogue has been designed as a representation of the speech used by native French speakers makes it a very useful resource for demonstrating the ways in which pragmatic particles *can* be used. This is a conclusion I have reached both because the corpus affirms the functions of *enfin* and *écoute* already attested in the literature (as well as uncovering some further, undocumented uses), and because of the similar relative proportion of corrective *enfin* tokens here compared to the Bristol Corpus. This appears to confirm Degand's (2015) finding that DMs occur in film dialogue with a similar semantic distribution to that of French conversation.

The film corpus is particularly useful for the study of *écoute*, not only because of its overall frequency, but also because the auditory salience of the particle meant that it is used even in films, such as *Home*, whose style is arguably closer to the written than to the spoken norm; that is, whose dialogue contains very few overall occurrences of DMs. Films and television programmes which favour (or appeared to favour) a greater proportion of improvisation in the filming process have higher totals of *enfin*, and would therefore be of particular use to studies targeting this type of high-frequency, non-relational DM (as these markers become less common in preplanned or scripted dialogue; see 3.1).

In relation to the last three questions, the subtitlers of the films and television episodes in this corpus approached the particles *enfin* and *écoute* predominantly with a strategy of omission (72% of tokens omitted for *enfin* and 73% for *écoute*). However, those translations that do exist are generally successful (according to my intuitions as a native speaker), although in the case of *enfin*, not all are word-for-word equivalents: performative and emotional *enfin* can also be translated by means of punctuation, and emotional *enfin* by the inclusion of swearing. A preliminary analysis of the subtitle character totals suggests that in most cases the prescribed character limits would have allowed for the inclusion of an English DM, or other means of translating *enfin* or *écoute*. Although this would not have made a big difference to the British audience's understanding of the plot, it would have better portrayed the various nuances in the French dialogue which result from facework strategies, and thus provided more information about the interpersonal dynamics on screen.

This result should be considered with caution, however, as the figures I used as my guideline character limits were not necessarily those adopted by the subtitlers working on the films in the corpus. I also did not have access to the software needed to make calculations relative to the pace of the dialogue and assumed viewer reading speed; nor did I take into account visual cues such as facial expressions and gestures in any systemic way (though they do form part of the analysis in relation to tokens where they are particularly pertinent). This analysis cannot therefore give an entirely accurate picture of the constraints within which the subtitlers were working, or of other information which may help the British viewer to recoup the information lost from the subtitles. Rather, it serves as a demonstration of the sort of dedicated investigation that could be undertaken in an extended subtitling study (see 8.3).

Throughout my analyses – of *enfin*, *écoute* and the English subtitles – I also took into account combinations of the particles with other DMs: a developing area of interest in the field of French DM research, but one which I believe deserves far more attention than it has so far received. I have identified a clear tendency for restrictive or precision tokens of corrective *enfin* to combine with *je veux dire*, and for dialogic *enfin*9 to co-occur with *mais*. I also found that the

combination *ben écoute*, though present in the corpus, does not dominate the compound *écoute* tokens in the way that the literature might suggest.

8.2 Reflections on the Research

This study has proved to be a worthwhile undertaking and, as summarised above, makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of DM functions in film and television dialogue, as well as demonstrating both the utility of a film corpus for this type of study and a potential future avenue for subtitling investigations. The findings of the thesis have generally met my expectations, with the exception of one surprising result: the contrast in the subtitles between 'look' and 'listen' (with 'look' used to translate more confrontational *écoute* tokens, and 'listen' appearing in cases where S is being persuasive or making an attempt at a compromise). This division is not attested in the literature on English attention-getters, and it would be interesting to see both whether the pattern would be borne out in a larger subtitling corpus, and whether such a division indeed exists in spoken English.

The research was, of course, not without its limitations. As with many PhD theses, time was probably the most important constraining factor, in particular with regard to the planned audience perception element of the project which – as with Mattsson (2009) – had to be jettisoned due to lack of time. It remains, however, an important next step for further research into facework in film dialogue and subtitling. The question of whether the apparent loss of facework or interpersonal information from subtitles really does negatively affect viewers' understanding of the film has been posed by a number of researchers (e.g. Hatim & Mason 2000; Chaume 2004; Biagini 2010), but very little studied (with the exception of Kao 2011; see 7.1.2). An audience response study would also be very useful in the future for testing the argument that *écoute*1 can function as a mitigator.

The other aspect of the project which had to be scaled back due to time restrictions was the comparison of the use of *enfin* and *écoute* in other corpora. This would have given me a more informed picture of authentic spoken use of these particles, which would have served as a point of comparison by which to

judge the accuracy of the representation of the vernacular in the film and television dialogue. This turned out to be an unrealistic expectation, as a detailed study into *enfin* and *écoute* use across existing corpora would form a large-scale research project in its own right. In the end, the investigation was limited to *écoute* (as this particle had been less researched by other scholars), consisting solely of an examination of the total number of tokens and any salient points (e.g. the very frequent occurrence of combinations in *88milSMS*) in a handful of other corpora.

It would also have been helpful to have fully transcribed the corpus before beginning the analysis, something which I judged at the time to be too time-consuming to be beneficial. However, my approach of making short transcriptions of the relevant film and television segments was perhaps a false economy, as repeated viewings of the corpus at various points during the research process continued to uncover tokens which had been missed on previous occasions. This is to some extent to be expected, as familiarity with the material and with the task increases one's ability to pick out the relevant information; but it is also certainly the case that my French aural comprehension improved significantly over the course of the investigation, as a direct result of the corpus-building task.

A full transcription of the corpus would also have facilitated its use for other, future research. The sound and visuals are, of course, available to any researcher able to purchase, or otherwise obtain, a copy of the DVDs, but further transcription work would need to be carried out as part of any future investigation. Something I would recommend to other researchers is to record or 'rip' relevant clips from the films for ease of reference. This was a great help for the analysis, as I could easily review the tokens in context without needing to spend time loading the DVD and navigating to the correct time code.

Lastly, the question of the motivation for omissions in the subtitles has the potential to be a very enlightening investigation, but unfortunately I lacked both the software and the information to carry it out effectively. Should this issue receive more attention from researchers, it could help to refocus the debate in AVT studies, encouraging subtitling scholars to avoid putting too much

emphasis on loss, but at the same time allowing them to make recommendations to the subtitling industry that could improve the viewer experience. I hope that by attempting this analysis, I have shown the possibilities open to researchers able to invest the time and resources needed to explore this issue in a productive way.

8.3 Future Directions for DM and AVT Research

In view of the findings and limitations discussed above, I would like to propose the following as questions for future research:

1. Are the facework functions of *enfin* and *écoute* described in this thesis also found in authentic speech data?
2. What is the relationship in English between the attention-getters 'look' and 'listen'? Does the functional division found in the subtitles reflect real speech practice?
3. To what extent are DM omissions in subtitling problematic for the TL viewer's understanding of the facework strategies, interpersonal dynamics and relationships on screen?
4. Why does DM omission in subtitling occur, and is there anything that can be done to encourage subtitlers to adopt higher retention rates?

For both questions one and two, research could be conducted on using existing French and English spoken corpora. For 'look' and 'listen', it would be particularly interesting to look at the ages of the speakers, as my own anecdotal evidence would seem to suggest a shift away from 'listen' in favour of 'look'. Given the nature of these DMs as attention-getters, it would also be beneficial to use data from English language films and television programmes alongside the speech corpora, in order to view their use in a wider range of contexts.

Question three is one that, as stated earlier, has been put forward as a future avenue by previous researchers, but which as yet has not been investigated. Indeed, there has only been one audience perception study relating to the omission and misrepresentation of facework more broadly (Yuan 2012; see 2.4). The results of Yuan's study suggest that the current treatment of facework

in subtitling can have a serious negative impact on audience understanding of the interpersonal dynamics onscreen, and it would be interesting to know whether this would also apply to the narrower issue of DMs, especially in the context of closely-related cultures such as those of France and the UK.

Finally, as discussed in 8.2, the issue of DM omission in subtitling is one that deserves a lot more attention. A detailed investigation into this area could make clear whether researchers should direct more attention to making recommendations for improvements to subtitling practice, or indeed lend statistical weight to the professionalism of subtitlers, who work within very difficult constraints. The preliminary evidence suggests that both are necessary, and research in this area would help to pin down exactly where current subtitling practice is working well, and where it needs to be improved. Researchers would need to be equipped with professional subtitling software, and to be in contact with subtitlers in order to establish the particular regulations of their subtitling company, their working conditions, and perhaps even the motivations behind selected DM decisions.

As was noted in 2.4, Hatim & Mason (2000: 444) emphasise in their study of facework in subtitling that their intention is not to criticise, as the translations found in subtitling are only intended to be partial. While this is to an extent true, and I have considerable sympathy for subtitlers (who are generally not considered to be as well respected as other translators), I believe that we should not be deterred from making recommendations for improvements to the industry as a whole. As well as encouraging more consideration of factors such as facework and DMs within current subtitling norms, it is also worth exploring changes which could be made to subtitling practice in order to lift some of the restraints on subtitlers, so as to facilitate a fuller translation of the ST. This might include incorporating techniques used in fansubbing (see 2.3), in addition to promoting better working conditions for subtitling professionals.

Overall, the project has provided new insights into the ways in which *enfin* and *écoute* are arguably used as facework markers (mitigators and intrinsic FTAs), as well as providing more detail on the known, interrelated issues of DM and facework omission in subtitling. These findings open up exciting new avenues

for DM and subtitling research, particularly in relation to DM use in contexts outside of spoken interviews, the use of attention-getters in English, and the analysis of DM omission in subtitles.

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