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Subtitling and loss of meaning: politeness features in Pieces d'identite/ID

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Introduction

This research focuses on subtitling as a discipline in translation studies and investigates the extent to which constraints in subtitling lead to loss in meaning, in particular loss of politeness features in the film *Pièces d'identité/ID* (1998) by Ngangura because of differences in the expression of politeness in French and English which are two opposing cultures.

For the past two decades, there has been a growing awareness of African cultural values across the African continent and the African Diaspora as expressed through language. The desire to express those cultural values has led to what is termed "Afritude"[1] in Cameroon and other French-speaking West and Central African countries. The spirit of Afritude has long had a tremendous impact on the way Africans consider their cultures and cultural values. The pride in their expression has greatly revolutionised the show business sector: African designers are creating wears that reflect Africanness; musicians are creating and or modernising African musical genres (Makossa, Kwaito, Dombolo, Kwassa-kwassa, etc.); writers are moving from postcolonial themes to other themes which highlight African cultures and values, and finally, film producers and writers are today some of the pioneers of Afritude in the Multimedia sector.

Multimedia input in the film industry, through advertisements and the screening of films, further enforced by the relentless activities of FESPACO[2] in the promotion of African films and documentaries, has led to an increase in the demand for African films across the continent and beyond. However, between the demand and supply of these films lies the aspect of language barriers created by the huge variety of

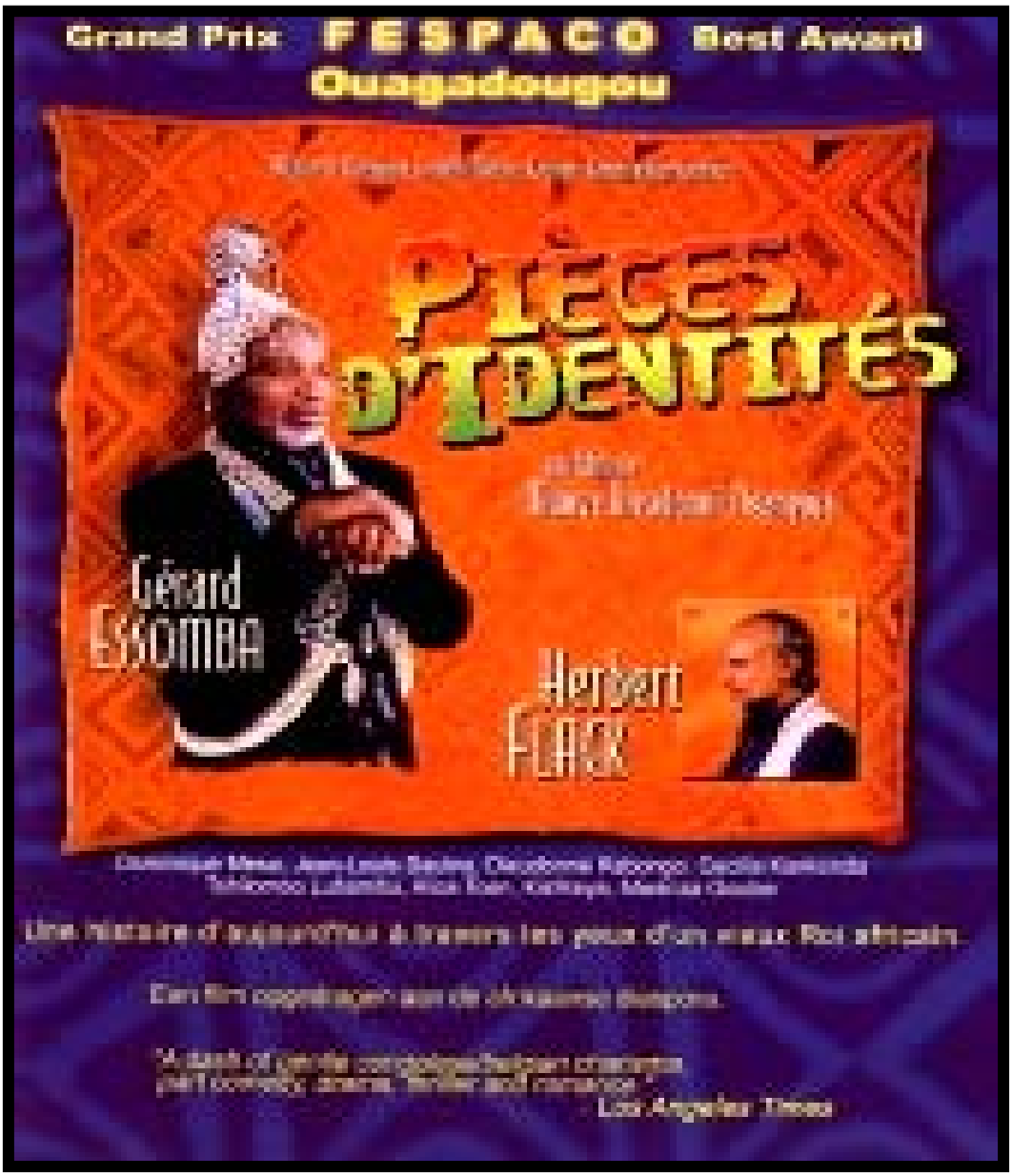
[1] This refers to the pride to be African and to consume African as expressed by individuals in Cameroon and Gabon, through their preference for African designs, music, dances, and films among others, over those from the Western World. In South Africa the term afrocentrism is used to express this reality. This term was used during the early 1990s till when I left Cameroun and Gabon around mid 2001. The closest synonym to the term Afritude is Afrocentrism as used in South Africa (Personal Experience).

[2] Festival Panafricain du Cinéma et de la Télévision de Ouagadougou/ Panafrican Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou.

languages spoken by prospective audiences and consumers. Hence, if the demand for those films is to be met they have to be translated. Film translation is a mode of translation which takes place in four different forms: Voice-over, dubbing, surtitling and subtitling. Voice-overs and dubbing are isosemiotic forms of translation which involve translating speech into speech while diasemiotic forms like surtitling and subtitling have to represent the speech from the soundtrack of the film in writing, usually posted as captions at the bottom of the screen (Hatim and Mason 2000:430). This research focuses on subtitling and shows how constraints in subtitling (linguistics, cultural and technical) have in many ways affected the writing of subtitles in films, and how these constraints have led to loss of meaning, in particular in relation to politeness features, in scenes depicting interpersonal interactions between characters in the film *Pièces D'identité/ID.*

The film

Figure 1



The film tells the story of an old African king, Mani Kongo, a character who in the film symbolises African tradition, who goes to Brussels in search of his daughter, Mwana, who had left Congo twenty years earlier to study medicine and has not been seen nor heard of since then. While in Brussels, Mani Kongo encounters various problems, due mostly to his inability to understand the culture of the people and the place in which he finds himself and vice versa. Ironically, his lack of understanding of these cultures, his rejection and at times acceptance by the people in Brussels lead him to his daughter. They reunite, and the loving Mani Kongo unconditionally forgives Mwana and they put the past behind them for a happy and better future. At the time of their reunion, she had recently graduated from a Belgian penitentiary on probation and had been sent to work as a spy at a cabaret club called *Le Privé*. Full of hope for a better future in Africa, father and daughter leave Brussels for Congo (DRC).

Pièces D'identité/ID won the 'Fespaco 99' Best Award of *The Etalon de Yennenga*[3] and the award for best female actress by Dominique Mesa as Mwana at the sixteenth Fespaco film and television festival at Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso in 1999. They also won the prize awarded by the public at the eighth African Film Festival in Milan, (Nde 2004).

The film was originally written and acted in French with English subtitles. Ninety four minutes in length, the film was directed, screenplayed and produced by Mweze Ngangura in 1998, Jacques Besse was responsible for the cinematography; Jean-Louis Daulne and Papa Wemba were responsible for the music; and France Duez and Ingrid Ralet were responsible for the editing.

Gerard Essomba Many plays the part of Mani Kongo; Herbert Flack plays the part of Jefke; Jean-Louis Daulne plays the part of Chaka-Jo; Dominique Mesa (laureate of the 1999 award of Best Female actress) plays the part of Mwana; David Steegen plays the part of Van Loo; Cecilia Kankooda plays the part of Safi; Tshilombo Lubanbu plays the part of Mayele; Muanza Goutier plays the part of Viva-Wa-viva; and Kis'keya plays the part of Noubia. The film is set in Congo and Belgium.

[3] Prize awarded for the best African film in all categories during the Fespaco festival since 1972 (3rd edition of the Fespaco festival) (Le Fespaco 2007).

The reason for choosing this film as subject of this study over many others was primarily because of its rich multicultural nature. It is set in three different geographical areas, each reflecting different socio-cultural aspects. First, we have the rural BaKongo; homeland to King Mani Kongo, the main character. The BaKongo, Mani Kongo and his subjects are a representation of Africa's untarnished traditional values and upholder of the latter. Second, the plot briefly moves to Kinshasa, the capital city of Congo (DRC). Although this setting is dominated by African beliefs and ideologies, it represents a cultural mélange because of the impact of European beliefs and ideologies on the Kinois[4] brought about by colonization and its aftermath. Finally, the plot moves to Brussels, the dream city of Mani Kongo's youth, where most of the film's plot unfolds. This setting is also characterised by a diaspora of cultures: Belgian cultures, African cultures and a blend of the Belgian and African cultures, reflected in different ways by the characters in the film.

The diverse nature of the characters and settings provides fertile ground for the crises of identity expressed on screen. The cultural disparity among characters leads to verbal jousting because the characters, in most cases, fail to understand the rationale behind each others' expressions even when speakers mean well. The plot brings in four main types of identity expressed through different characters. The first category is "the African Africans". These are the upholders of African cultural values and beliefs who express themselves in accordance with African tradition e.g. Mani Kongo. The second is the "European Europeans". They are the upholders of European tradition and are completely ignorant of the African tradition, e.g. Jeanneke, Marienke, and Ludo. The third category includes the "African Europeans". This group is made up of African immigrants in Belgium who have assimilated Belgian beliefs into their previously pure African beliefs. They now uphold a blend of African and Belgian beliefs which in most cases they use indiscriminately to achieve certain goals. Characters like Viva-Wa-Viva and Chaka-Jo are examples of such a category. They tend to behave more or less like either Europeans or Africans when the situation suits them. This category stands outside the "African Africans" and the "European Europeans", and are not welcomed by any. Finally, we have the "European Africans". They are ex-colonials who have been to Africa, understand African beliefs

[4] Residents of Kinshasa irrespective of their nationality or cultural affiliation (Personal Experience).

and ideologies, but, like the African Europeans, exploit them only for selfish reasons. These include characters like Jefke Schengen, and Mr Jos.

The linguistic and cultural richness of the film under study is reflected in the representation of two major cultures: 'Western' culture(s) and 'African' cultures. Except in very few instances, most characters speak French, but because of the impact of different cultures on different characters, language use varies from one character to another. As a result, politeness is expressed in different manners by different characters. In some instances such expressions are not understood by the characters as expressions of politeness. This leads to constant verbal sparring between the characters as they, consciously and/or unconsciously, express positive and negative 'face threatening Acts' (FTA) towards each other. The desire of each character to preserve face in interpersonal communication makes politeness and respect, as cultural constituents in language, important issues to be considered in the subtitling process. Culture and language are therefore important factors in the translation of the film (Mogridge 1988).

This research seeks to answer the question of how politeness, a cultural element which is expressed differently across languages and even within the same language by different linguistic communities, has been represented in the film's subtitles and to what effect, on the understanding that the translator's options are always limited by constraints of time, space and synchrony.

As a result, the theory to be applied in this research is the theory on politeness in language and translation. Politeness is of a dual nature in this research. First, it focuses on Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory on politeness universality which assumes that all competent language users have the capacity of reasoning and have what is known as "face" or pride which should be constantly maintained in interpersonal interactions so as to avoid Face Threatening Act (FTA). Second, politeness theory is considered from the point of "displaying courtesy" through language, which serves to establish, maintain or modify interpersonal relationships between text producers and text receivers (Hatim and Mason 2000:431).

The application of the theory on politeness has also taken into account the theory governing subtitling. According to the subtitling theory, the subtitler must consider constraints of time, space and synchrony, which govern the subtitler's task in the production process. Texts must appear on screen within a particular time limit; usually 1-5 seconds, between 1-3 lines, and the subtitles must match the action on screen to facilitate the audience's understanding as paralinguistic features constitute about 93% of conveyed meaning in a text (Hay 1998:132-133, Low 2002:101-104). Constraints of this nature force subtitlers deliberately to reduce meaning values of the original film dialogue as they translate, with the hope that the audience will make use of their knowledge of kinesic communication to understand the overall meaning in the text.

Both views on politeness and on subtitling were taken into consideration during the analysis process and without being overly critical of the subtitler's task, to show how subtitling, through omission and the use of different choice of words, fails to maintain certain cultural aspects which reflect politeness in *Pièces D'identité/ID.* This study concludes by answering the question as to why, despite such loss of meaning, audiences still continue to watch, understand and enjoy subtitled films, in the same way as audiences of the original audio language do.

To achieve this aim, this research has been divided in three chapters. Chapter One looks at, and establishes translation as a multimedia discipline. It briefly discusses and compares other types of multimedia translation with subtitling and finally focuses on subtitling, where a brief history of the practice of subtitling, the different kinds of subtitling, and discussions on the constraints which bring about loss of meaning in subtitling are provided. Discussions in this chapter highlights the constraints involved in subtitling and exonerate subtitlers from being scapegoats to loss of meaning in general in subtitling as it provides an answer to the question of why texts are reduced by them.

Chapter Two provides a general survey of culture, language and translation. It examines culture both in its universal and its individual aspect. Moreover, because of the different belief systems, this section suggests that although culture is universal in nature, its understanding and use, must be constantly based on the different contexts

and situations in which the users find themselves. Of particular importance to this study is Baker's (2006) suggested cognitive, social /interactive, dynamic and power relation contexts. It further shows that language and culture are two inseparable elements in communication, language serving as a means for the expression of culture. Having asserted that language and culture are inseparable in nature, this chapter concludes by suggesting that translators as intercultural mediators should always consider the intercultural notion such as contextualisation in the translation process so as to achieve a culturally balanced translation. Drawing on discussions from Contextualisation scholars such as Hewson and Martin (1991), Baker (1992, 2006), Lefevere (1992) Robinson (1997) and Katan (1999), the notion of a balanced translation in this study is defined as a translation which mediates between the LC1 and LC2: A rewriting of an original text which reflects the ideology and poetics of LC2, and which adapts the LC1 texts to function in specific ways within a defined linguistic community (LC2). In addition, it is a translation whose textual features can help in the evolution of a literature and society through the introduction of new concepts, genres and devices or can also repress, distort and contain innovations to give voice to marginalised societies. Furthermore, it is a text whose syntax is congruent with that of the target language and capable of giving the reader unobstructed access to great thoughts as to what is present in the original (LC1).

After establishing a general relation between culture, language and translation and suggesting methods of engaging in translations of an intercultural nature in Chapter Two, discussions proceed to Chapter Three which focuses on politeness as a cultural element and discusses it from two perspectives. Using Brown and Levinson (1987), it considers politeness as a 'face threatening act (FTA)' which must be constantly taken into consideration in interpersonal interaction and in translation, so as to preserve interactants 'face value'. It then discusses politeness as a 'display of courtesy' through language as discussed by other sociolinguists (Hatim and Mason 2000:431). It asserts that the 'what' (words) and the 'how' (manner of approach) are vital in expressing politeness in communication (Wardhaugh 1986). Finally it looks at kinesic communication systems and implicature as important factors in expressing and understanding politeness across cultures. Although discussions from both perspectives posit the universalisation of politeness they also highlight the notion of politeness relativity and assert that politeness, like culture, is expressed differently

depending on the context and situation of communication. The latter assertion therefore sustains the contextualisation approach which considers meaning interpretation from a text based on characters' different identities and personalities adopted during a particular interactive situation as the best approach to intercultural translation.

Chapter Four is an analysis of loss of politeness in the subtitle of *Pièces D'identité/ID* with consideration of the constraints in subtitling and the different ways in which politeness has been expressed across different languages by different characters on screen. Seventeen selected excerpts which represent the different kind of politeness lost during the subtitling process of the film as a whole were extracted from the data in Appendix II for Analyses. Appendix II provides notes on the transcription process, a full transcription of the film and the subtitles, as well as backtranslations of the original sound dialogue. This data is comprised of the transcribed original French sound dialogue, appearing at the top in Times New Roman font (that is, immediately after the character's name), followed by corresponding subtitles copied verbatim from the film, in bolded and italicised Times New Roman font. The back translation appears at the bottom in bolded Times New Roman.

Gafaranga and Torras's (2002), and Greer's (2003), conventionalised symbols in transcription were used in the transcription process (see figure 3 in Appendix II). Moreover, as suggested by Bucholtz (1999), links to the original oral discourse, such as accent or dialectic idiosyncrasies are retained in the transcription process. In addition, the transcription and data analysis was done taking into consideration the conversational analytic (CA) method. This method places emphasis on transcription, both as a means of orthographically representing spoken words (that is linguistic elements), and nonverbal elements such as turn overlaps, gaps and pauses, breathiness, laughter and intonation as suggested by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, (1974) and Greer (2003). A detailed explanation on this has been provided in Appendix II. Furthermore, unlike Greer's (2003) suggestion on the use of letters (e.g. A, B, C etc) to resolve issues of identity such as name or gender distinction, this study uses names of characters in the film for reasons explained in the notes on transcription in appendix II.

Finally, utterances selected from the film for analysis are done on the basis of their representation of the different categories of loss of politeness features identified in the translation. This is done to avoid repetition. The analysis process involves a comparative study of meaning (implied or denotative, depending on the context of utterance and culture of the speaker) between the French audio text and its corresponding English subtitles. Consideration was given to the cultural and ideological positions of the characters in the film. The findings explain how and why politeness features were lost in the subtitles. They highlight two major ways in which this occurred: through omission and the choice of words. Generally, meaning lost through omission constituted a significant 64.70%, while about 35.30% of politeness features were lost through the choice of words by the subtitler. This finding led to the conclusion that most meaning lost in subtitling occurred mainly through omission.

It concludes by showing that constraints on subtitling and cultural differences in the expression of politeness by linguistic communities are responsible for loss of meaning in subtitling. These findings raise the question as to why audiences who depend on subtitles still continue to watch, understand and enjoy films in the same way as the original sound track audiences would do. The response is provided by an understanding of the kinesic communicational system, which make the subtitler a mere language guide to viewers. The viewers will compensate for meaning loss by referring to synchronised information from the paralinguistic features (moving images on screen), which constitute about 93% of meaning encoded in the communication process.

Chapter One

Multimedia and Screen Translations

Translation in this study is the 'art' (Benjamin 2000) of interpreting meaning of a "text" in one language, called the source text or Language Culture 1((LC1) Hewson and Martin (1991:112), and a contextualised production of its equivalence in the target language or Language Culture 2 (LC2) to the extent that both texts communicate the same message and create the same effect in their different cultures. The process behind this procedure, whether we are talking about translation or interpreting, seems simple because it involves only two main tasks: - decoding the LC1 message and encoding it in the LC2. It is nonetheless a rather complex cognitive operation as discussed below and further in Chapter Two.

1.1 The Translation Process and the Nature of Text

Decoding is a process of understanding meaning in the LC1. To be able to decode, the translators first have to read the text from an LC1-based perspective, in order to understand the message as contextually expressed in LC1. They then place themselves in the LC2 context from where they are required to establish contextual, semantic, syntactic, idiomatic and cultural equivalence of LC1 in LC2. This second process is called encoding through contextualisation[5] (Hewson and Martin 1991:112-141).

According to Katan (1999), this can be achieved only if the translator has an in-depth knowledge of the grammar, semantics, idiom and culture of the language pairs he works with. Hewson and Martin (1991) and Robinson (1997) further assert that a thorough knowledge of LC2 is equally important if a good translation is to be achieved. In addition to the abovementioned considerations, the translator should also take into account constraints such as the context[6] and situation of communication, writing conventions and idioms of the source and target languages (Walpole 1941:105-106, Bell 1991:107). Integrating all the abovementioned aspects while

[5] Baker (2006) has recently encouraged this process as an approach to intercultural translation.
[6] Discussions on Baker's (2006) elaborate discussion on context and cotextualisation in relation to this study is provided in section 2.3 Some Aspects of Translation of Chapter Two.

translating or interpreting makes translation and/or interpreting a complex task which requires expertise and not merely an understanding of two languages (an elaborate discussion on this is provided in Chapter Two).

Translation is a human activity dealing primarily with written texts. It includes verbal or oral texts as well as nonverbal or paralinguistic features that add meaning to the written texts[7] as asserted by Nord (1991), Hoey (1991), Gottlieb (2001:1), Kinga and Károly (2002). Moreover this concept has been extended to include texts translated from a visual input to visual output or from audio to visual and vice versa. This process is commonly referred to as multimedia or audiovisual translation and is understood to consist of isosemiotic and diasemiotic modes (Gottlieb 2001: 1) as explained below.

A diasemiotic mode of translation is a kind of translation in which the translator in translating moves from one form of communication to another, mostly the verbal or oral form to the written. It includes disciplines like subtitling and surtitling. An isosemiotic mode of translation is a kind of translation whereby message transfer from one language into another takes place within the same form of communication. It can either be from LC1 verbal into LC2 verbal in the case of simultaneous interpreting or LC1 written into LC2 written in the case of translation. It also includes disciplines like dubbing, voice-overs and conference interpreting (Gottlieb 2001: 1).

Taking the above definition of text and translation into consideration, a novel, a newspaper, a bench on which is written "wet paint', soundtracks and film, silent films (that is only image plus subtitles) are all considered texts (Gottlieb 2001:1). We can therefore conclude based on the above understanding that multimedia translation is a discipline in translation studies.

1.2 Multimedia (MM) and Translation

Multimedia is broadly defined as "the processing and presentation of information in two or more media simultaneously" and, in a narrower sense, is "the processing and presentation of text, graphics and pictures if not animation and motion video".

[7] More on the importance of paralinguistic features in meaning retrieval in texts has been discussed in Chapter Two in the section on Kinesic communication.

(Cattrysse 2001:1) It is a system of communication which uses multiple sensory organs; eyes, ears, and polysemiotic codes of communication such as verbal or audio, writing or graphics and gestures or signs in its processing (Cattrysse 2001:1).

There have been significant developments in the multimedia sector, evident through constant productions of increasingly sophisticated information and communication technology systems. Considered today as a product in the international marketplace, in industrial, administrative, political and other domains, multimedia has had, and continues to have, an impact on our daily lives. More significant is the impact on language usage and language transfer. The latter is one of the major instruments in daily transactions, in all areas of today's global and technologically advanced world (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001: viii). Although many studies have been carried out on the impact of modern technology in various fields, very little has been done with regard to our command of foreign languages, and translation is an important component to be considered here. Investigations would be important to establish a standard way of referring to translation in the field of MM (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001: x-ix). A multiplicity of names has been used by different people to refer to multimedia translation. These are: localisation, language transfer, language mediation, language management, language-service provision, language consultancy, multilingual text creation and design, co-authoring, versioning, copywriting, and adaptation. However, despite such wide and varied appellations, this process is referred to in this research as screen translation (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001: x).

1. 3 Screen Translation

Reiss was the first theorist to refer to what she termed, "audiomedial", meaning texts written to be spoken or sung. Later in 1984, with advances in the audiovisual sector especially in TV broadcasting, she replaced the term "audiomedial" with 'multi-medial' to include texts, such as silent comedies with subtitles (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001: x). However, screen translation does not only involve subtitling, but includes surtitling, dubbing, voice-over and simultaneous TV interpreting (Hay 1998:131).

Although this work focuses on subtitling, it is essential to provide a brief review of other types of screen translation in relation to subtitling. Such an analogy will

illustrate their differences with regard to subtitling; hence establish subtitling as a separate and unique discipline in screen translation.

Different types of screen translation versus Subtitling

Surtitling vs. subtitling

Surtitling as "part of the development of audio-visual media" is designed for the opera and theatres (Low 2002:97). Although there have been numerous recorded examples of projected titles in theatres dating back to around the 1920s, surtitling is a relatively new discipline in screen translation (Ivarsson 1992:157). Generally, it refers to the subtitling of stage productions. Titles are placed on a screen or board at some point on stage, depending on the stage setup, to enable the audience to follow and understand the words or the lyrics said or sung by actors or musicians on stage. It is also used in churches such as *Bread of Life International* Lusaka Zambia[8] (Personal communication with Mubenga, 2005) and *His People's Ministry* Johannesburg South Africa[9] (Personal communication with Dikeledi 2005), to enable the congregation to follow and understand the lyrics of songs sung by choristers. With today's sophisticated technology, it may sometimes appear on small screens placed behind seats or members of the audience may be given palmtops (Hay 1998:131). Writings always appear in "black and white or pale coloured letters on a dark background" to ease readability (Low 2002:97). With the use of data projectors, varied colours have been introduced to indicate stylistic differences such as to place emphasis on some parts of the lyric, the chorus for instance, as seen in *His People's Ministry* in Parktown North, Johannesburg, South Africa (Personal experience).

Prior to this, because texts in operas and theatres were difficult to comprehend, small and incomplete versions of the stage dialogues were printed and sold to the audience. Therefore, surtitling, originally written to help the hearing-impaired, evolved to solve the problems of intelligibility as well as of the cost involved in the purchase of these titles in the opera. Its advent represented a new approach to resolving such problems in live performing arts (Hay 1998:131-32; Low 2002:98-99).

[8] Faith-based evangelical church.
[9] Faith-based evangelical church.

With further developments in the use of surtitling around the 1990s, dozens of opera companies started using surtitles for many of their foreign-language productions. Live performances could then take place in the original language but be watched and understood by audiences foreign to the original language, thanks to the efforts of translators. Surtitling therefore evolved from intralingual translation to include interlingual translations (Hay 1998:131-33; Low 2002:97-99). Besides their various appellations and contexts of use, subtitling and surtitling have some points of similarity as well as differences which set them apart as autonomous disciplines in screen translation.

They are diasemiotic modes of screen translation because they produce legibly written versions of verbal interactions and are subjected to constraints of time and space in the production process. Hence, the text produced must appear on screen within a particular time limit usually 1-5 seconds for subtitles (Hay 1989:133), or 10 -20 seconds for surtitles (Low 2002:104). These titles must moreover be easily legible and understood by the audience (Hay 1998:132-133; Low 2002:101-104).

Surtitling and subtitling require the synchronic appearance of titles to match the speeches and actions of the characters on stage. Perfect synchrony of stage action and titles, the quality of technical transfer, and good translation of the text are all contributing factors in the understanding and enjoyment of performances and films (Hay 1998: 132; Low 2002:101).

It is important to remember, however, that dialogue and its translation in surtitling are not the only factors involved in generating the understanding and interpretation of films or stage productions. Audiences are also involved in a kinesic process when they watch performances or films. Kinesic process is an activity that involves the reading of moving images and texts and listening to the sound track to derive meaning from the text. Hence, the audience's eyes constantly move from the message to the stage and back so as to keep pace with the action on stage (Hay 1998:132). This is what Cattrysse (2001) refers to as polysemiotic mode of communication as discussed above.

The differences between surtitling and subtitling are that surtitling takes place during live performances which involve lots of action, sudden on and off the stage movement on the part of characters, spontaneous evolutions and changes of plots and subplots. Such occurrences make the task of simultaneously reading the titles and following the action on stage more strenuous than in subtitling which requires the audience to focus on a unique point, the fixed screen on which the action and texts appear (Hay 1998:131-133; Low 2002:104).

Although technological innovation has been introduced to resolve reading difficulties, for example the use of small screens placed behind seats as in the model of modern aircraft, to enable audiences to follow the titles at leisure, the probability of wide usage in the near future is very low because of the high cost involved in the purchase and maintenance of such gadgets (Hay 1998:131-136; Low 2002:104). Another drawback is the difficult task of watching the titles on the screens and having to go back to the stage to follow the action.

Although both surtitles and subtitles are subject to time constraints, the degree of time constraint is less in the case of surtitling as compared to subtitling because words sung in operas are generally slower than those said in films. This makes it possible to translate everything that is said in the surtitles, which is rarely possible in subtitling.

Moreover, the need to synchronise surtitles with words as they are said or sung on stage is not necessary in surtitling since repeated utterances can be displayed in only one sentence to give the audience an idea of what is being said, or the screen is left blank for a short while whereas in subtitling, every utterance has to be titled (Low 2002:104).

Finally, the settings in which these two disciplines occur constitute an important distinction. Subtitles may occur on TV, video, computer screen, live or delayed, but surtitling occurs only before a live audience. It is therefore clear from the above that, although surtitling and subtitling may have points of convergence, their differences make them separate and autonomous disciplines in translation.

Voice-Over vs. Subtitling

According to Dries (1994:36), voice-over, usually abbreviated as VO or V/O, occurs when a person speaks but does not appear on screen and only his/her voice is heard. S/he may be an announcer, an anchor, a reporter, a commentator, or a narrator, who at times is not seen in a shot but speaks the words heard in the voice-over.

Sandrelli (1996), in defining voice-over from a screen translation perspective, considers it to be the revoicing of the originally audible message, rendered inaudible by the translated audible message. The original sound is often audible for a while, that is at the start of the interaction before being silenced by the translation that is dubbed over it. The same procedure occurs at the end of the original soundtrack where the translation stops some time before the end of the interaction and is replaced by the original audible soundtrack and this makes the revoicing process shorter than the original sound track (Sandrelli 1996:428).

Voice-overs are a rare discipline in the field of screen translation. However rare it may be, it is preferred to dubbing proper in Eastern Europe. Countries such as Poland, Russia and the Balkan states, for instance, prefer voice-over to subtitles and dubbing as the main method of revoicing imported television programmes. This is because it is cheaper to produce than subtitling and dubbing respectively (Hendrickx 1984, Dries 1994:36; Sandrelli 1996:428; Gottlieb 1997:76; De Linde and Kay 1999:1-2).

Voice-overs which were naturally adapted for radio have become part of screen translation in countries such as Denmark, and are constantly used to enable viewers who cannot understand a foreign language spoken on screen to comprehend what is being said. Moreover, as a form of screen translation, it is not limited to the translation of short monologues but is sometimes used to cover lengthy discussions such as parliamentary debates and conferences (Dries 1994-95:36; Gottlieb 1997:76).

Subtitling and voice-overs as disciplines in screen translation are similar in the sense that they are required to convey both connotative and denotative messages and that their translational processes are both intralingual and interlingual. Furthermore, they are the cheapest forms of screen translation.

Aside their similarities, subtitling has time and space constraints, as well as the constraint of having to synchronise the text with the action in the film, whereas voice-overs are free from such constraints (Gottlieb 1997:95-99). Moreover, voice-over is an isosemiotical kind of screen translation which implies translating voice by voice, while subtitling is diasemiotical in nature and involves the translation of voice or oral text into written forms.

In addition, in the case of voice-overs, the third person is normally used in children's programmes and the first person in TV fiction for all ages. In both cases, the mode of discourse is always informal, simple and conversational (Gottlieb 1997:78). This is different to subtitling, given that subtitles mostly appear in the form of dialogue, the exact person, genre and mode of discourse used in the audible texts being maintained in the subtitles (Gottlieb1992: 78; Hassanpour 2004).

Therefore, it may be concluded from the above discussion that voice-over is an integrally different and autonomous field in screen translation and asserting alongside, the autonomy of subtitling in this field.

Dubbing v Subtitling

Generally speaking, dubbing is an isosemiotic process in which new voices are dubbed over the original voices in a soundtrack of a motion picture (Gottlieb 1997:78). It is a complex process in which "the foreign dialogue is adjusted to the mouth movements of the actor in the film" (lip synchronisation[10]) and occurs mostly in films and television series (Dries 1995:9), so as to increase the linguistic accessibility and foster popularity of films. This has been achieved in most popular Hollywood series and serialised Japanese cartoons which have been dubbed into several foreign languages in which voice artists replace the original language actors (Shochat and Stam 1985:49).

Dubbing is done by a team involving not only a dubbing translator but also a number of actors and technical personnel, resulting in the cost of dubbing being 10-15 times higher than that of subtitling (Gottlieb 1992:169). As a result, it is used predominantly

[10] It is generally referred to as lip sync in the media industry and has been further explained below by Barbe (1996:259).

in economically richer countries such as France, Germany, Italy, and Spain (Luyken 1991:181; Gottlieb 1992:169; 1997:75-79; Kilborn; 1993:646; Dries 1995:14-16; De Linde and Kay 1999: 1).

Moreover, dubbing for translation purposes does not only involve language transfer but also includes a multitude of disciplines such as screenwriting and revoicing. This is because the dialogue of a movie is multi-functional and, if written wrongly, may lose some, if not all, of its communicative purpose. For instance, the dubbing translator has to be aware of the way actors in the films speak, that is, of the tone and gesture that accompany the speech, what they convey and what they do not. These aspects are very essential in the unfolding of the plot, as well as the manner in which characters interact with each other. It is therefore essential for the translators to understand these if they want to achieve the same source text effect in their translation as that of the original (Cattrysse 1998:8-9). To achieve a correct translation, the dubbers should be able to avoid "labial slackness" which will enable them to achieve lip sync and so make their audiences believe that the target soundtrack is the original and not a translation of an original (Burgess 1980:303). This act is referred to as, 'lip sync' or "the agreement between the articulatory movements seen and the sounds heard" (Barbe 1996:259). However, Delabastita (1989:203) asserts that although the audience to some extent expects actors' lip movements to match the sound, the constraint of synchrony varies according to the camera angle, and this constraint is greater in close-ups[11] than at distance. Moreover, demand for synchrony also varies across cultures (Barbe 1996:257) and according to Delabastita (1989:203) is "generally subordinated to idiomaticity and natural language fluency", implying therefore that it is largely norm-governed.

Dubbing and subtitling are the best known disciplines in screen translation. They function mainly as language barrier breakers, geared towards increasing audiences and popularity of films (Gottlieb 1997:95-99)

Nevertheless, these relatively similar disciplines have certain points of divergence. The dubbing process does not involve the translator alone, but a team made up of

[11] Close-ups occur when the camera is close to the face of an actor in the film to the extent that the audience can clearly read the actor's lip movement.

dubbing actors and actresses and other technical staff. This makes the dubbing process a more time consuming and costly form of screen translation (Kilborn, 1993:646; Gottlieb 1997: 75-99; The freedictionary.com Encyclopedia 2004).

However, although subtitling is comparatively the preferred kind of screen translation in many countries, dubbing at certain stages is preferred to subtitling. For instance, it is preferred for children's programmes such as cartoon series, in cases where viewers reading speed cannot match the pace at which titles appear on screen or where the viewers are unable to read either because of eye-impairments or low literacy level, while intralingual subtitling, is in contrast, preferred to serve the interest of hard-of-hearing and deaf viewers (Hay 1998:131; De Linde and Kay 1999:1).

Finally, dubbing is functionally isosemiotic in nature while subtitling is diasemiotic (Gottlieb 1997:78). Therefore, their differences and ways of functioning make them autonomous disciplines in translation.

1.3.1 Subtitling

Subtitles appeared around 1903, a period that marked the silent film era (Ivarsson 1992: 23). They came about as a result of the need to reach a larger audience speaking different languages and to increase the popularity of these films. For instance, bilingual subtitles made it possible for a larger audience of new-comers to Israel to enjoy cinema (The freedictionary.com Encyclopedia 2004).

The debut of subtitling was marked by texts usually written on transparent film and projected alongside the film because of a lack of automated means. Moreover, subtitling and printing processes were long and were mostly done manually. The work entailed making individual clichés[12] for each title. These were 20 by 3 mm in size imprinted into the film. Translators were required to watch the film before translating it. As they worked from film scripts, the work involved writing the scripts by hand. Often translators were called upon to check the subtitles that had been done by a stenographer or technician who, in most cases, did not understand the language in

[12] Clichés consist of a resistant layer of photosensitive material anchored by an adhesive layer to a steel base plate. The steel base plate allows the cliché to be easily affixed to the magnetic cliché holders found on most pad-printing presses. See appendix I (John Kaverman 2004).

which the subtitle had been written (The freedictionary.com Encyclopedia 2004) Subtitling at this stage was a relatively complex process as it required great technical expertise in order to handle technical equipment to produce subtitles of high quality (that is with accurate timing) without damaging the film, and translators at this time were not believed to possess these skills (Gottlieb 2001: 30; Carroll 2004, The freedictionary.com Encyclopedia 2004).

Around the 1940s when television subtitles became common, broadcasters realised that film subtitles were difficult to read because of the size of the writing, which was usually small. (Carroll 2004).

Various techniques were used to resolve this problem. The first involved writing subtitles on paper which were then filmed by technicians, posted on a single frame, and put on negative prints that were later placed on a telecine machine (see Appendix 1). Blank frames were inserted between the actual subtitles, and the subtitles were then placed in black or semi-transparent boxes to ensure their legibility even against a light background. During this period, subtitles were manually placed on screen as the film was being broadcasted or recorded. Punch cards were later used, which allowed the subtitles to be automatically inserted. The task of subtitling thus moved from a manual to an automated medium and this form of subtitling was practised until 1980 in developed countries and longer in underdeveloped countries.

Around the 1960s, caption generators were developed to facilitate the insertion of subtitles directly into video material. However, this apparatus had its drawbacks mainly because its main purpose was to provide captioning[13] rather than subtitling and secondly, because it was highly costly, bulky and heavy as well as user unfriendly, with only rudimentary word processing capability, and hence not appropriate for subtitling. At this stage, subtitlers still translated the scripts while technicians and typists took care of the timing and pasting of the subtitles on screen (Carroll 2004). These drawbacks led to the search for appropriate and easy ways of projecting subtitles on screen and the result was the use of videotext and teletext systems.

[13] Name commonly given to subtitles which cannot be switched off at liberty by the viewer.

Videotext and Teletext

Developments in videotext and teletext systems that could be accessed through decoders, though meant for advertising and information purposes, paved the way for increased accessibility to television programmes for the deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers. In 1978, Oracle, a UK Independent Television broadcaster, launched the first teletext service on air. These were the first subtitles to be broadcast in Great Britain. Two years later, they were officially launched in Britain and the United States. Great Britain thus led the way for hard-of-hearing subtitles, which spread rapidly throughout Europe in the 1980s (Carroll 2004).

At the start of close captions[14], stenographers and typists, rather than trained translators, were still given the task of typing subtitles. It was usually done on a one-to-one rendition of what was said on the sound track, and the captions were mostly intralingual. Speakers were identified by colour coding or the alignment of the subtitles to persons speaking rather than by synchronising the written text with the verbal text as is the case with interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid.

From mid 1980s to the 1990s, the introduction of time codes, new technological advancements, such as PCs, and the introduction of laser applications increased the use and improved the speed and quality, of subtitles. These completely revolutionised the subtitler's profession and made way for interlingual subtitling throughout Europe. Intralingual subtitling was initiated primarily in the Scandinavian countries. Technicians 'spotted' a film, defined the 'in and out' times of the subtitles by identifying the start and finish of actors' utterances or the end of a take, and marked these times on the original script. A certain amount of time, or feet and frames in the case of films, corresponded to a specific number of characters that translators were allowed to use for each respective subtitle (Cenematyp 2004, Carroll 2004, Gottlieb: 2001:30-34).

[14] Captions are on-screen text descriptions that display a video product's dialogue, identify speakers, and describe other relevant sounds that are otherwise inaccessible to people who are deaf or hard of hearing. Captions are synchronized with the video image so that viewers have equivalent access to the content that is originally presented in sound, regardless of whether they receive that content via audio or text. Captions are either *open* or *closed*. Open captions always are in view and cannot be turned off, whereas closed captions can be turned on and off by the viewer (The free dictionary.com 2005).

With these identifications given to translators, the subtitlers were required to use software and a video recorder with a jog shuttle. Their working materials were a VHS[15] copy of the film and the script in the original language.

Later translators 'spotted' the film themselves, worded their translations to fit the time slots they had set. They could simulate their subtitles on the screen and alter both the wording and time as they saw fit. Unlike in the era where stenographers and typist would place the subtitles, translators could truly match their subtitles to the images and replay difficult passages as often as needed in order to find the optimum solution. After revision and proofreading, the files were used to insert the subtitles electronically into a dub of the master tape.

Many subtitling companies today have substituted the subtitlers' VCRs with digitalised workstations. From these workstations, subtitlers can access their films from a server's hard drive. Today, translators have moved from being mere translators of the language to technicians, hence earning them the appellation of "subtitler".
Subtitlers in the world today are invariably university graduates of translation studies who have undergone specialized training in subtitling and translation for the audiovisual media (Cenematyp 2004; Carroll 2004; Gottlieb: 2001:30-34).

Subtitling for Cinema and Television

The first subtitled movie ever was *The Singing Fool,* a sequel to *The Jazz Singer* from late 1927, and was translated for the Danish audience on August 17 1927. It was screened in Paris with French subtitles for the first time on January 26 1929. But these subtitles soon faced criticism, and France switched to dubbing as a method of screen translation. It was emulated by Italy and many other European countries (Gottlieb 1991:27-28).

In January 1930, Holland and Japan had their first film subtitle, and in January 1932 subtitling made its debut in Great Britain. Subtitling finally established itself internationally in 1933. Its success lay in its economical affordability in terms of cost

[15] The acronym VHS means **V**ideo **H**ome **S**ystem. It is a half-inch, analog videocassette recorder (VCR) format introduced by JVC in 1976. It is generally called Video Cassette (retrieved 16 September 2006 from online answers.com - Dictionary Topic from Answer.com).

of production, which relatively poorer countries could afford (Gottlieb 1991:27-28; Jaskanen 1999).

The first scheduled public transmission of a subtitled feature film on TV took place in Britain on August 14, 1938 with the broadcasting of the German silent film *Der Student Von Prag* with the insertion of English cinema titles (Gottlieb 1991:27-28).

Subtitling and dubbing, the main forms of TV translation serve as a medium of communication in a global world, constituting about 5,000 known languages. Subtitling and dubbing solves the problem of communication in a situation where the presence of many languages has created communication barriers that have reduced the ability of people to communicate freely (Dries 1994:35).

However, the scope of subtitling and dubbing in television depends on particular countries' technical and financial capacities with relatively poorer countries like Belgium, Cyprus, Finland, Greece, The Netherlands, Portugal, and Scandinavia preferring subtitling to dubbing, and relatively richer ones like France, Germany, Italy and Spain choosing dubbing as a means of screen translation (Luyken, 1991:181; Gottlieb 1992:169).

The choice of the kind of subtitle also depends on the people's cultural, linguistic and communicational environment, as well as on audience preferences. In an attempt to resolve impediments to communication, the Council of European Communities, under the auspices of the EU, in 1990 recommended subtitling as a means of improving knowledge of foreign languages and facilitating communication within the European Union (Luyken, 1991:181-20; Kilborn, 1993: 654). Hence subtitling has become a very important tool in communication today, with a significant increase in its demand since 1990. For instance, one company, under the Stockholm Subtitling International Group with branches in six capital cities, produced about 26,000 hours of subtitled footage/programmes in 1994 alone (Luyken, 1991:64-65, 68).

Subtitling as a Process and a Discipline

Subtitling may be considered as both a discipline and a process. As a discipline, it is a complex form of translation that involves the transfer of the LC1 message from a

verbal or oral form into LC2 in a written mode. It is therefore, as already stated, a diasemiotic form of translation that deals with two modes of communication, the oral and the written. As a process, it takes into consideration both linguistic and extralinguistic features for the retrieval of meaning in the text. This process is always subjected to constraints in time, space and synchrony as discussed below.

During subtitling, the titles are usually cued in advance to achieve a synchrony with the original image of the film. Where prepared subtitling is cued on air, especially simultaneous subtitling, the subtitles usually appear on screen with delay of about 1/3 of a second. Their appearance is nevertheless synchronic with human reading speed (Gottlieb 2001: 14-15).

Types of Subtitling

As indicated earlier, there are two major forms of subtitling: - intralingual and interlingual, Gottlieb (1992:162). They are further subdivided into two sub-categories in relation to the functions that they perform. These are intralingual subtitling as a physical aid, interlingual subtitling as a physical aid, and intralingual subtitling as a linguistic aid and interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid. Intralingual and interlingual translations are expressions of the same kind of process although they have various points of convergence and divergence. Although our focus is on interlingual and intralingual subtitling as linguistic aids, we will nevertheless briefly look at the other kinds of subtitling (De Linde and Kay 1999:1-10)

Intralingual subtitling as linguistic aid

According to Ivarsson (1998) subtitles as an aid to intralingual translation are meant for learners with basic notions of a language which usually is not enough to enable them decode the text in its spoken version. The process involves the simultaneous reading of the written text on screen and listening to the audio texts. An example of such subtitles is the broadcasting of TV5[16] broadcastings where films are subtitled in the same language.

[16] I last watched in Cameroon in June 1999. It is broadcasted in most French speaking countries and member states of the Francophonie, and also in South Africa on DSTV's Channel 90 (last checked 2005).

It goes further to standardise language by replacing the audio dialects or regionalisms spoken by characters on screen with standard words. Standardising the language in the subtitles helps listeners who do not understand certain dialects or regionalism in the spoken text to decipher the intended meaning. It therefore helps in the listening and deciphering process, as well as in the didactic process. The words articulated in the film spelled out on screen, hence helping the learner to understand how certain words are pronounced correctly and how some sounds are written.

Interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid

Interlingual subtitling as linguistic aid is subtitling done between two languages: The source and the target languages. It can, in a technical sense, be either be *open*, that is not optional, meaning that the subtitles appear simultaneously on the screen with the images and action of the film or television programme, *closed* that is, optional and is shown as a teletext (Gottlieb 1992:162-163).

Subtitling in particular, is prototypically interlingual and open, implying that the source language linguistic material, which includes speech, and other linguistic features, is transferred from the source language into the target language. The transferred material is shown simultaneously with the film or programme. Interlingual subtitling in film is an art that is perceptually bifurcated as the audience hears another language - the source language, which may be unknown to him, while reading his or her own language (Shochat and Stam 1985:41; Gottlieb 1992: 162-163; De Linde and Kay 1999:1).

Intralingual subtitling as a physical aid

From a semiotic point of view, intralingual subtitling as a physical aid is one of the most important forms of audiovisual translation because it consists of a mixed intrasemiotic and intersemiotic form of translation. It is subtitling with complementary value meant for the hearing-impaired and deaf viewers. Though the hearing-impaired audience can see the actors' expressed gestures, their corporeity and expressive movements, they cannot perceive the latter's phonic executions. It is therefore a process that consists of giving both textual and extratextual information that contributes to the overall meaning of the audiovisual text to viewers. (Gottlieb 2001:1). In addition, information that is inaudible to the audience is explained in the

subtitles. Intralingual subtitles contain explicative expressions like “background music” “sudden noise” “crack” “kiss smack”. In brief, it is a written synthesis of meaning that otherwise would be lost (De Linde and Kay 1999:1; Gottlieb 2001:1).

Interlingual subtitling as a physical aid

Interlingual subtitling as a physical aid is aimed at helping the hearing-impaired to understand what is said in the original text but unlike, with interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid, the original audio text is usually, although not always, silenced, and the written text is a translation of the original audio text (De Linde and Kay 1999:1). In the film *Kiss of the Dragon* (2001) by Chris Nahon, starring Jet Li, Bridgette Fonda, the soundtrack and subtitles are maintained with the inclusion of all sounds that contribute to the overall meaning of the film. This includes expressions like “background music”, “sudden noise”, “crack”, “kiss smack”, “gunshot noises”, “sneezes” “screams”, all highlighted by the subtitler. The inclusion of this extratextual information is aimed primarily at helping the hearing-impaired in the retrieval of extratextual meaning in the original text. Interlingual subtitling as a physical aid has characteristics that are similar to intralingual subtitling as a physical aid and as a linguistic aid, as well as characteristics similar to interlingual subtitling as a linguistic aid (De Linde and Kay 1999:1-15; Gottlieb2001: 1-16).

Interlingual and intralingual subtitling serve two purposes, viz: to translate the dialogue of foreign language films for secondary audiences (interlingual) and to transform the soundtrack of television programmes into written captions for deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers (intralingual). They serve as aid in any of the above processes (Hay 1998:131-136; De Linde and Kay 1999:1)

There are however, apparent technical differences that separate intralingual subtitling and interlingual subtitling although they both fall under subtitling. The main difference is apparent at the level of their purpose. While intralingual subtitling is subtitling done within the same language, interlingual is done between two languages - the source language and the target.

Secondly, interlingual texts are not suitable for the hearing-impaired as other extralinguistic features as mentioned above are not subtitled whereas intralingual

subtitling transfers both the linguistic and non-linguistic elements (De Linde and Kay 1999:1; Gottlieb 1997: 1-16).

Constraints in Subtitling

What distinguishes subtitling from other forms of translation is that it involves both technical and contextual constraints. According to Hatim and Mason (2000:430) the main constraints, which create difficulties for translators are as follows.

-shift in modes

-spatial and temporal constraints and

-synchrony as explained below.

Shift in Modes

The shift in mode from speech to writing at times leads to the omission of certain features of speech, such as non-standard dialect, emphatic devices, for example intonation, code-switching, style-shifting, and turn-taking during the rendition from the source text into the target text. Such extra-linguistic components often subtitled during translation as a physical aid and especially as a physical aid for the hearing-impaired viewers are always absent in interlingual translation as a linguistic aid. In subtitling, the omission of extralinguistic components which contribute to the global meaning of the text also lead to loss of meaning because their presence in the text contributes to the overall meaning of the programme (De Linde and Kay 1999:1; Hatim and Mason 2000:430)

Spatial and Temporal Restrictions

Subtitling is also faced with the physical constraint of limitations of space and time (Hatim and Mason 2000: 431), what Gottlieb (1992:164) refers to as the textual (qualitative) and formal (quantitative) constraints on subtitling. Textual constraints relate to issues of content while formal constraints are the space factor: a maximum of two lines (Gottlieb 1992:164), or about 40 keyboard spaces (Hatim and Mason 2000: 431), is allowed for the subtitles on screen and the titles are expected to remain on screen for approximately 1-7 seconds, sufficient time to read a two-liner.

Time factor plays a central role in the decisions that translators make. These constraints may force them to reduce the texts on screen and hence to sacrifice

meaning as is the case with the subtitling of the film *Pièces d'identité/ID*. The literature indicates that the reading speed of hearing viewers hovers around 150-180 words per minute (De Linde and Kay 1999:6). Furthermore, reading speed does not only vary according to the quantity and complexity of linguistic information found in the subtitles, but also depends on the type of visual information, posted on the screen at a particular time. Decoding this information also depends on the genre of film or programme. In an action film for instance, it will be easier to understand the subtitles because they are fewer. This is because of the constant complementation of meaning by the actions in the film. Romantic, crime and espionage films pose problems to the readers as they have many titles to read and images to watch simultaneously in order to understand the film.

Because of the impact of technical constraints on the subtitling process, many people have considered subtitling to be more of an adaptation than translation (Delabastita 1989:200 and 213) with Kovai (1994:250) sustaining that subtitling is not a "maximally faithful linguistic recoding process".

Synchrony

The task of matching the subtitled text with the moving image in the film, normally referred to as synchrony, is a difficult task for the translator (Barbe 1996:257, Gottlieb 1992:166; De Linde and Kay 1999:7; Hatim and Mason 2000:430) Translators are required to create a text that is congruous with the action in the film and this requirement is motivated by the natural fact that, physiologically, the ability of human to listen is faster than their reading and understanding ability. This means that it is difficult for viewers to read the subtitles at the same pace as listening to the soundtrack (De Linde and Kay 1999:7; Hatim and Mason 2000:430-431).

With this understanding in mind, translators have to consider coherent strategies, such as reducing texts through omission, in order to maximise the retrievability of the intended meaning from a more concise target language version which match the action and soundtrack of the film. This explains why soundtrack dialogue is often greatly reduced by translators (Kovai 1994:250; Hatim and Mason 2000:430-431).

Moreover, the extent of text reduction varies as we move from one language into another. Culturally, the norms governing certain languages require them to use longer sentences than others. For instance, since German uses longer sentences than English and French, the translation of an English utterance into German will tend to be longer and this poses a problem in terms of textual synchrony (Delabastita 1989:203; Barbe 1996:257), leading therefore to the adoption of decisions to delete or omit elements in the target text (Kovai 1994:250). This leads to decisions like "condensation" or "reduction", and or "adaptation" that as a consequence lead to loss in meaning (Gottlieb 1992:166; Kovai 1994:250). Such loss may at times lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretations by the target audience.

1.4 Summary

The above discussion of subtitling and related multimedia disciplines has enabled us to briefly understand the dynamics involved in translation and to establish translation as a multimedia mode. Analogies between the different modes of multimedia translation, that is surtitling, voice-overs and dubbing in relation to subtitling, as well as and an elaborate discussion on subtitling and its process, has affirmed the discipline of subtitling as an autonomous discipline in screen translation. More important is the fact that we have gained insight into why subtitlers constantly sacrifice meaning in texts as is illustrated in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two

Culture, Language and Translation

Language is a viaduct through which cultural elements are expressed. Politeness as a cultural element although universal in nature, is expressed in a particular manner, by speakers (that is choice of words and sentential constructions, etc), which may be different from that of other speakers. The manner in which these cultural elements are approached is conditioned by intrinsic or learned ideologies of particular speech communities.

Understanding the importance of cultural considerations in language enables language users, translators, translation researchers and interpreters to be aware of the fact that translation is a process of mediation "which does not stand above ideology but works through it" (Simon, 1996:1). Hewson and Martin (1991); Baker (1992, 2006); Lefevere (1992); Robinson (1997) and Katan (1999) suggest that translators and translation researchers should produce culturally balanced translations (discussed below in section 2.3 *Translation and culture*) so that texts are not seen to be translations but as originals written in the target language (Norman Shapiro in Venuti 1995:1). A discussion of politeness and translation would therefore be incomplete if it does not include a discussion on how culture impacts on the way language is used to express culture, in particular, politeness within a given speech community and to what effect.

This chapter discusses and establishes the importance of cultural considerations in translation with particular focus on politeness as a cultural element. It also provides an overview of culture, language and translation and establishes a relationship between them in the translation process.

2.1 Culture

Tylor in Katan (1999:16) defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits

acquired by man as a member of society." It is considered as a product of human society and constitutes a base for human behaviour and survival. Culture is realised through concrete and intangible phenomena like buildings, governments, ideas, customs, family patterns, behaviours, languages and other human creations known as the "share[d] product of human society" (Robertson 2004). In brief, culture refers to the complete way of life of a society, determined by their ideology. A definition of ideology draws on similar notions and is defined as the way people within a given community think, behave, speak, their social arrangements and interactions which are "a basis of the social representations shared by members of a group…the mental framework - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the system of representation which different classes and social groups use to understand, think and define clearly the way society works" (Van Dijk 1998: 8-9). According to Thompson (1981:1), "to study ideology is to study ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination" and such relations are established by members of that community as a whole and cannot be arbitrarily changed by a single individual at will. The terms culture and ideology have been used to refer to the same reality by different authors, hence a discussion on culture in this study would concurrently relate to a discussion on ideology. Culture and/or ideology in this study refer to the different social values and beliefs which influence the way different speakers use language to express themselves in relation to politeness during face to face interactions and how these values and beliefs influence translators' decisions and strategies as they translate.

According to Mogridge (1988), culture in this context, can be approached from two different perspectives. These are:

1- Cultural traditions,
2- Universal culture.

Cultural Traditions

Cultural traditions may be understood as an embodiment of particular behaviours of a specific group of people, different from other groups and such behaviours constitute the cultural specificities of that community. Such particularities are referred to as sub-cultural traits and are determined by the temporal ideology of the people at that particular moment (Robertson 2004). It is temporal in nature because it constantly

evolves in time and space. Instances of cultural traditions include greeting habits, use of honorifics and titles as a show of politeness in interpersonal interaction. In previous decades until the late 1980s, it was tradition in most parts of Northern Cameroon[17] for men to doff their hats, take off their shoes and lie on their bellies, while women veiled their head, genuflected and simultaneously screamed out endless eulogistic "houlililili" sounds when their sultan or Lamido[18] and his entourage passed by as a show of respect. This tradition has with time changed and sultans and Lamidos are today greeted only with eulogies, bows (for both men and women) and the doffing of hats (men only).

In *Pièces d'identité*/ID, cultural tradition is expressed in the way King Mani Kongo is greeted, spoken to and venerated by his kinsmen and people back in Congo as compared to other born Congolese in Belgium like Viva-Wa-Viva and Rev. Father Musantu, who approach him almost on an equal footing although they are aware of Mani Kongo's status. This exemplifies the shifts in outlook manifested by Africans who have moved from Africa to Europe and have, with time, adapted to the culture and ideology of their new location. As a result, they now act and think like the autochthones of that region, a custom, different from their original practice. Such shifts would in several circumstances pose an FTA to interlocutors who fail to understand the impact of cultural tradition on their interlocutor (s).

Universal Culture

Universal cultures include generally familiar knowledge, used by humanity as a whole (Robertson 2004). Culture in its universal sense, as suggested by Robinson (1997:231) is "the whole tissue of beliefs and values and unspoken assumptions, of turns of phrase and proverbial wisdom, of attitude and activities, of symbols and meaning which make up the fabric of a society." For instance, the semantic universals in colour terms, the structure of ethnobotanical nomenclature and arguably kinship terms are reflective of the universal nature of culture (Gumperz and Levinson 1996:133). Constituents of universal culture also include verbal communication, politeness terms, beliefs in a Supreme Being or beings, and distinctions between good and evil. Briefly, it involves all basic knowledge and inherent ideologies among

[17] Personal experience.
[18] Traditional and overall chief of a region.

human beings (Mogridge, 1988: 45-49; Robinson 1997:231; Robertson 2004). Some notions of politeness and respect can be considered to fall within this category although the way in which they are articulated differs from culture to culture, social group to social group and so forth.

The diverse nature of culture creates awareness on the importance of the notion of cultural and/or ideological relativism which must be taken into consideration in communication. In *Pièces d'identité/ID,* although interactants originate from distant cultures, respect for interactants' faces, as a cultural trait is expressed through the use of the universally known honorifics and titles. The fact that it works across different cultures gives credence to the existence of a cultural universal, in particular a politeness universal expressed through language. However, the existence of politeness universals does not negate the existence of politeness specifics as is discussed in the section on politeness of this study. A discussion of culture and politeness would be insufficient if consideration is not given to how they are transferred. This leads us to discussions of language as an integral part of culture, an instrument and a channel for cultural expression.

2.2 Language and culture

> *Language …is an integral part of culture. It is culture's most omnipresent and potent vehicle and a culture is mediated by language, to teach language is thus inevitably to teach culture - whether consciously or not… [and language is] important both in high culture and popular culture as a vehicle for expression of culture and most importantly in literature.*
>
> (Mogridge 1988:45)

Language can be defined as a tool for encoding and decoding messages, a channel for the expression of feelings, knowledge, and other realities [such as politeness] of the world around us (Mogridge 1988:45; Pousada 2004). According to Walpole (1941:105-106), communication always takes place between at least two interactants

within a particular context and situation of communication[19]. It does not only involve the act of reading and writing but also includes creating and sharing meaning through selected signs and symbols used according to rules developed and agreed upon. These symbols and signs must be learned by new and old language users to enable consistent and fluent verbal and written interactions between interlocutors in that language community (Emmitt and Pollock, 1997:11; Lightbrown and Spada 1993:23-30).

Therefore, language as an element of culture is learned from many interactions within our environment. Like culture, meaning in language is ever changing and is a system which remains at the service of society. It functionally transmits specific societal values among other things. Hence, language is rooted in culture and cannot be explained without constantly referring to the context and situation of the utterance (Mogridge 1988:45; Katan 1999:73; Pousada 2004; Baker 2006:329 and 330).

Moreover, as an element of culture, language is used differently by different speech communities. This is because speakers attribute different levels of (connotative) importance to certain words and utterances, even within the same language as sustained by Gumperz and Levinson's (1996:133) theory which asserts that language varies according to semantic structures and that semantic categories are determined by aspects of individual thinking. It is further sustained by the Kantian theory of meaning which states that the meaning of a word varies with space (geographical location), time and cause (which may be ideological) among other things (Gumperz and Levinson 1996:133). For instance, the concept of greeting although universally considered polite would vary from one speech community to another. As regards greeting habits, it is ideologically polite in Britain and most Western countries to greet a person with a simple "how do you do/Hi", but in most cultures in Cameroon and the Congo (DRC), such greetings would be impolite. In the northern and north western regions for instance, greeting as an expression of politeness in addition to the British and Western cultures' notion, includes the speaker's show of concern about the listener's health, family, business and even personal life. For instance: the

[19] De Saussure's (1972), Jakobson's (1973) and Bell's (1991) and Baker (1992 and 2006) are also of the same opinion.

Fulfude[20]*Sanuh/hello, njamna/are you fine? Njam bodoumna/very fine? Debo Njam/Is your wife ok? Bingueldo njam/are your children fine/ saré njam/is your house fine?*[21] The greeting list would at times extend to the listener's animals and birds etc, but generally ends with *osokoh maldala/Thank you very much*. An example of such greeting habits in *Pieces d'Identité/ID* although not as intense as that in the Fulfude culture is in scene 30 from utterances 326-334 of Appendix II[22]. The use of just the British form would at times be considered offensive, especially between acquaintances, friends and family as it is considered too impersonal in the latter cultures (Personal experience). It is therefore clear that although greetings are considered polite, geographical, ideological and temporal factors influence the way in which it is done.

Same applies to the concept of 'food'. When a coastal Fang[23] speaks of 'mɔdzie'(food) the mental image is always fish eaten with either Cassava, Bibuole[24] or fufu[25] etc, while a forest fang will mean meat (including any game) with the above. This is because, regionally, the coastal fangs depend on fishing as a means of survival while the forest fang depends on hunting. Although they are from the same tribe and speak the same language, their geographical location, occupation and lifestyle make them use the same word to refer to different realities. In the above examples, the concept of food has changed due to migration and human adaptation to new environments across time which has in the event of the adaptation shaped their thoughts in ways different from the original concept of the word 'food' above. The above sustains the argument that language is a formative organ of thought, and that language and ideology or culture are inseparable from each other (Tschumi 1978:3; Von Humboldt [1836]1988:60; Simon 1992:159; Robinson 1997:163). The variation in meaning and the varied use of language, which can be understood only when we

[20]Fulfulde is a northern tribe in Cameroun that have close cultural ties with the normadic Fullanis and Hausas of Cameroun, Nigeria, Ghana and other parts of Africa Fulfulde is also the name given to the culture and language of that tribe (Personal experience).
[21] Saré in Fulfulde denotatively mean House, in this context might also refer to home.
[22] The Unknown man's greeting habits and Viva-Wa-Viva's response are direct translations of their culture into French.
[23] Central African tribe found in the southern regions of Cameroon, almost the entire Equaltorial Guinea and extends into the north of Gabon and the north western parts of Congo (Republic).
[24]Boiled fermeted cassava paste wrapped in leaves.
[25] Porridge made out of either corn or cassava flour or both.

infiltrate particular communities, are conclusive evidence of the influence of culture and ideology in language (Tschumi 1978:3-4; Humboldt 1988:60)[26].

A critical consideration of the above discourse on language and culture and the fact that politeness is a cultural constituent, expressed through language, indirectly reflects the narrow relationship between language and culture and in particular, language and politeness. During verbal communication, politeness is expressed through language. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of universal politeness assumes that "all competent language users have the capacity to reason and have what is known as "face" (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). Therefore "[*when*] we speak, we must constantly make choices of many different kinds: what we want to say, how we want to say it, and the specific sentence types, words and sounds that best unite the *what* and the *how*" (Wardhaugh 1986:251). The reason for such a cautionary utterance is that politeness is verbally expressed in most cases, through the use of selected words depending on the context and situation of communication. The use of these words within certain contexts and situation of communication always creates a particular effect on interactants. They may show, minimise, or breach politeness during communication (Wardhaugh 1986:251). Hence, the equivalence of the French polite terms *tu* and *vous*, titles and certain grammatical constructions are used in different ways, depending on the context and situation of communication to express politeness in many languages (Wardhaugh 1986:253-257; Brown and Gilman 1960:260). Discussions on this section are further elaborated upon in the section on politeness.

Lakoff in Watt (1992) defines politeness as a group of different forms of behaviour that have been "developed in societies in order to reduce friction in personal interaction… [expressed through a] verbal velvet glove to conceal the iron fist." That is thoughts expressed using subtle words to conceal the provocative intent. This definition illustrates the relationship between language and politeness as well as bringing forth the concept of Linguistic Politeness (LP) (Watt 1992), which from concurrent discussions by linguistic politeness researchers may be understood as politeness expressed across language. There is therefore a close relationship between language and culture hence language and politeness.

[26] Similar discussion has been sustained by Whorf (1956:221) and Salzman (1993:151).

2.3 Translation as a socio-cultural act

Understanding discourses on language and culture is important to the translator because translation in recent times does not only focus on establishing semantic equivalences of LC1 words found in sentences, what Baker (2006:321) refers to as "internal mechanisms of language" in LC2, but also involves working with people, agencies, networking, research, and in general, an awareness of the impact of society on translation and that of translation on the society[27] (Robinson 1997:110). Therefore, like any human activity, it takes place within specific socio-historical and political contexts which condition its process. This process also includes the actors (Translators) involved. Translation therefore implies working with two languages and cultures, and requires bilingual and bicultural competencies.

Bilingual competency is expressed by translators' abilities to understand the denotative or "cognitive" (Baker 2006:322) meaning of a text. That is, translators' abilities "to interpret words and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentence and paragraphs" of a source text (Baker 1992:180), and subsequently rewriting meaning interpreted in the target language. This approach which focussed exclusively on the internal mechanisms of language has been practised by translators and scholars (DTS[28] scholars) for long as an approach to translation. An approach which made translation practice and its process seem "relatively straightforward" (Baker 2006:321) and a relatively easy task to perform.

However, a shift in scholarly discourse from static and cognitive viewpoints (explained below), as approaches to translation which characterised the previous dispensation of translation practice, to an increasing acknowledgement of the socio-dynamic, and aesthetic nature of meaning interpretation from the source language, and a subsequent transfer of the interpreted meaning in the target language, led to a call for negotiations in the translation process. It therefore becomes clear that translation does not concern itself only with meaning at word level in sentences but

[27]Baker (2006:322) and Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) proponent Toury (1985: 24) are all of the same opinion.

[28] Descriptive Translation Studies.

have to consider other parameters such as culture and power relations which influence meaning conveyed and its interpretation in texts. Hence, the need for translators and translation scholars to have both bilingual and bicultural competencies. Biculturalism requires them to be cognisant of cultural components such as the different contexts and power relations which influence the interpretation of meaning in a text as well as the manner in which equivalence is to be established in the translation process. These requirements reflect the highly complex nature of the translation process (Baker 2006:321).

Biculturalism covers the understanding in contexts of the conceptual or connotative meaning of a word or expression used in a text. This requires translators' abilities to interpret lexical items from a text based on how such items have been used within a particular culture with considerations of the different contexts of use (Baker1992:218-219), so that the equivalence is established in a way that the target reader reads and understand the LC2 text as if it was originally written in that language (Hewson and Martin 1991:111,132-136). Newmark (1987:295) suggests that translator's knowledge of discourse analysis, in particular, of cohesion and coherence is of great importance in both cases[29]. Baker (2006: 322-332) in her discussion on context and contextualisation in relation to translation and interpreting, has suggested different contexts (cognitive, social or interactive, static, dynamic and power relation) which would help translators and other language users understand speakers or writers implied message .

However, the contextualisation (Baker 2006), or mediation[30] (Hewson and Martin 1991) process has never been an easy one due to pressure being exerted on the translator in relation to the different decisions and strategies to be adopted during the translation process (Gorlée 1994:67). Of particular concern to this research, which deals with intercultural translation, is the ongoing foreignising and domesticating debate in translation.

Proponents of foreignisation advocate the importation of LC1 features in LC2, even to the extent of resulting in non-comprehension on the part of the LC2 audience.

[29] This view is also sustained by Baker (1992).
[30] Hewson and Martin's (1991) uses the term "mediation" to refer to contextualisation.

(Hewson and Martin 1991:130). However correct their claim may seem, and considering the aim of translation, which is to inform a target audience of meaning (denotative and connotative) decoded from the source text, this would imply establishing an SL signifier with the same signifier in the target text which may lead to misinterpretation in relation to intercultural translation. Let us take the example of greeting habits to substantiate this argument. Would a British speaking community understand the implications of the Fulfulde greeting habits if translated as such into English? Would the effect of such a habit on the Fulfulde speech community be the same as on that of the British? It would not be surprising to see a British person take offence at such greetings or to laugh at them. His reaction in this situation should not be construed as sheer arrogance but ignorance due to the strangeness of the Fulfude culture to him. Similarly, the impact of the Unknown man's utterance in Appendix II, scene 30, although said in French, may not be considered to be intrusive, in other words not polite, and hence provocative by a French European speaker who is not familiar with the African culture. The foreignising approach to translation seems to be source-oriented only with little consideration given to the target text and culture. Hence, would a translation achieve its goal if the ST culture were transferred so closely that it was scarcely comprehensible in the target language and culture as has been illustrated in the example above? Should the LC1 syntax and words be maintained even if they are not in line with that of the LC2? If yes, how would it help in breaking intercultural communication barriers? Advocates of such an approach in communication are without doubt in support of hegemonic domination ("cultural or political outlook" (Baker 2006: 329) in the transfer of information which if accepted as such would not "give voice to marginalized source culture participants" (Baker 2006: 330)[31].

In contrast, proponents of the domesticating approach advocate the removal of LC1 textual features in LC2 texts and posit, as a model, a cultural contextualisation of the LC2 text so that it could be read as if written in the target language (Hewson and Martin 1991:130). It should be fluent and devoid of foreign words, its syntax should follow that of the target language and capable of giving the reader unobstructed

[31] Katan (1999) Robinson (1997), Hewson and Martin (1991) in their defence against hegemonic influences in translation and on translators have all expressed similar ideas.

access to great thoughts as to what is present in the source text (Hewson and Martin 1991:130). This approach is target-oriented and consequently negates the importance of the source text in the process, giving as a result, voice only to the target text. This is another case of hegemonic translation.

These two opposing approaches discussed above, are restricted to certain texts, and in my opinion, their one-sided approaches do not express fairness in the cultural transfer of information. While the first gives voice to the ST only, the second (the view of DTS scholars), promotes a target-oriented approach to translation. In both instances, socio-lingual domination is fostered in favour of either the source text and culture or the target text and culture. These translation practices which do not establish a balance between the two cultures involved in the process have been criticised by a third category of translation scholars (Those in favour of contextualisation as a solution to achieve a balanced translation), for their hegemonic or unbalanced nature. They have suggested a mediated solution through contextualisation, an approach which considers the source text and culture and target text and culture as equally important in the translation process, a view which concerns this study. They include scholars like Hewson and Martin (1991), Lefevere (1992), Baker (1992 and 2006), Robinson (1997) and Katan (1999).

According to scholars of contextualisation, the source text serves as a base for deciphering both denotative and connotative information and an adaptation of the decoded ST message to suit the target text language and culture. This leads to both cultures being exposed and as a result maintaining a balance of power between both cultures in the process. Their approach to translation which gives equal weight to both ST and TT in the translational process is referred to as, the contextualisation (Baker 2006) or mediation (Hewson and Martin 1991) process and is in line with the kind of text involved in this research. The end product of contextualisation is what Hewson and Martin has referred to as a balanced translation. As a result, contextualisation and its notions would be considered over the foreignising and domesticating approaches discussed above, as a means of achieving a culturally balanced translation in this research.

Contextualisation according to literature from Hewson and Martin (1991), Baker (1992 and 2006), Lefevere (1992), Robinson (1997) and Katan (1999), implies replacing culture specific element from the source language with their corresponding equivalence in the target culture. That is the introduction of new ideas, genres and devices, while suppressing other aspects to help create awareness of the different cultures in which we live (Lefevere (1992: (a) xi). This strategy does not necessarily deprive the LC2 reader from realities (meaning) found in LC1. It is just the same reality in LC1 put in a different way and language to help the LC2 reader to understand realities found in LC1. A view which is also consonant with some DTS theorists like Toury (1985) whom in his discussions on contextualisation of metaphors[32] (Toury 1985: 26-27), suggests methods of overcoming situations of socio-cultural non-equivalence.

Strategies suggested by Baker (2006) as an approach to contextualisation which achieves a balanced translation is a two-fold process. This involves interpretation of meaning in an SL text with consideration of the different contexts and the establishment of the interpreted meaning in the target language to suit the target language user's culture. Baker (2006) suggests that to be able to contextualise, language users, translators and interpreters should be able to understand the different contexts[33], that is cognitive, social/interactive, static dynamic and power relations in which meaning in texts are embedded. This would help language users, translators and interpreters to decipher the intended meaning and to reencode such meaning to gives voice to the less dominant culture.

A cognitive approach to translation is one in which meaning in an utterance is interpreted based on the reader's mental understanding in the context of the various denotative or root meaning of the different signifiers in that utterance and a subsequent establishment of the ST interpreted meaning in the target language. This implies a situation whereby a sequence of signifiers from the source text is replaced by another sequence of signifiers in the target text, based on the translator or language user's assumption of what is in the real world rather than on what in fact is in the

[32] Asides Toury's (1985: 27) fourth solution to adaptation, which is not relevant to this study, the rest are important solutions to contextualisation which leads to the achievement of a balanced translation.
[33] This view is also sustained by Hewson and Martin (1991).

world. The cognitive approach is a post-modern literary approach to translation as suggested by scholars such as Venuti (1995) (Baker 2006:321-323). This approach however fails to consider the social context in which language use is embedded and in which meaning attributed to different words in a language are ever increasing. More so, in an era wherein translation does not deal primarily with written texts but also includes verbal or oral texts as well as nonverbal or paralinguistic features that add meaning to the written texts Gottlieb (2001:1) as is the case of subtitling which concerns this research.

To compensate for the short coming of the cognitive approach, Baker (2006) suggest the application of the social/interactive approach which acknowledges the polysemic nature of words in an utterance. It also acknowledges the fact that such utterances are made within specific social environments which influence interpretation of meaning. This approach is a base from which the intended meaning of an utterance by an interactant is filtered from its other ascribed meaning during communication.

Nonetheless, suggestion for a social context does not undermine the usefulness of the cognitive approach. The latter posits meaning interpretation from a denotative viewpoint and serves as a base for social interpretation. Translators and language users can only ascribe secondary (connotative/social) meaning to a word or signifier if they understand the primary (denotative/cognitive) meaning of that word or signifier. Reason for which, Baker (2006) advises that both contexts should be jointly used in a in the translation process.

However, Baker (2006:326) further cautions that although the cognitive and social contexts are important, meaning even within a social context changes because participants adopt different identities even within a particular interactive process. This leads to creativity in language which she describes as "the ability of the language user or translator to produce new meanings [of even a single lexical item] by extending the resources of language to new contexts of situation" (Baker 2006:325). To Baker, this impacts on meaning interpretation in a text hence, her suggestion of a dynamic approach which requires translators, interpreters and other language users, to "adapt their methods of analysis to allow for the fact that participants in a translation event can themselves define rather than simply respond to the context that is sometimes

assumed to surround them 'statically'" Baker (2006:327). This calls for an approach to meaning interpretation which can be both cognitive and dynamic, "because in order for the researcher to appreciate whether someone is 'doing' or 'performing' the role of interpreter or friend or caring adult at any point, he or she first needs to know who the speaker is, in what capacity they are engaged in the interaction, and so on" Baker (2006:328). That is, the understanding of the different identities adopted by a speaker so as to clearly decode meaning intended with regard to those identities in the course of an interaction, through reference to both linguistic and extralinguistic features such as co-text Nord (1991), images, action, facial expressions etc Gottlieb (2001:1). Her suggestion here is in line with kinesic communications system as a method of understanding meaning from texts discussed further down in this chapter.

Although the cognitive, social/interactive and dynamic contexts are relevant bases for the interpretation of meaning, they are however limited in the sense that they are purely a speaker-led form of communication. As a result, what a communicative participant including translators might intend in their utterance, even within social/interactive and dynamic contexts might not necessarily be understood or accepted as such by other participants with different cultural and/or political outlook because of "the conflicting agendas they bring to the speech event" (Baker 2006: 329). This is because of the influence of power which always shapes the context in which meaning is interpreted and transferred in a subtle way in translation, interpreting and other instances in which language is used. From a translation perspective, consideration of Baker's power context serves to "evoke narratives that have currency within the dominant target culture… and enable a process of identification or empathy to ensue" (Baker 2006:330). Power, referred here, is different from that exerted by translators and interpreters, which occurs in situation where only them understand both languages and as a result make decisions in the translation process based on their own understanding, influenced by their own culture or ideology without objections from other participants (Baker 2006:330).

Understanding the cognitive, social/interactive and dynamic speaker-led contexts and the power relation contexts, as approaches to the interpretation of meaning in a text would enable language users in general and in particular subtitlers to interpret specific meaning intended by speakers at each stage of a conversation and enable

contextualisation to ensue so as to give voice to both cultures involved in the translation process. It is only through reference to the above contexts that subtitle viewers can clearly decode meaning from a text of a diasemiotic nature such as in the film *Pièces d'identité/ID*. Baker's contextualisation process as an approach to the decoding and encoding of meaning during an interaction is in many ways similar to the kinesic communications system. The latter, like contextualisation, is a process in communication which combines both linguistic (intonation, projection and resonance of the voice) and extralinguistic (gestures, smiles, sighs, frowns, grooming and body movement) parameters in the deciphering of meaning from a text. (Foundations of Nonverbal Communication 2006:7). They are both vital in audiovisual communication, in particular to subtitling which is the focus of this research but differ in the case where, contextualisation also includes transfer of the interpreted meaning into another language. More on the kinesic communication system in relation to the translation of politeness features have been further developed in this chapter on the section which deals with politeness expressed through kinesic communications.

The end result of contextualisation is what Hewson and Martin (1991) have referred to as a balanced translation. My definition of a balanced translation in relation to this research is considered first, from the premise that translation is a bilingual and bicultural affair. Second from the understanding that although politeness is used by all linguistic communities, it is expressed differently from culture to culture and can be understood only if the translator infiltrates a particular culture. In addition, it is sustained by my understanding of the role of translators as cultural mediators. They are required to seek appropriate means to render the source text information in the target text so as to achieve the same ST author's in the TT. This will enable the original author's intended effect on the source text audience to be equally felt by the target text audience who depend on the translation.

Consider the translation of the French tu and vous pronouns as forms of expressing politeness to sustain the above argument. Would it be considered polite to translate the neutral English 'you' into French as 'tu', in a formal context and situation wherein the speaker is referring to a listener of superior ranking which requires 'vous' as equivalence? Otherwise, would it be polite to greet a stranger without using the title 'monsieur or madame' in a French formal context because the English culture does

not impose such usage as a polite approach during translation? Bearing in mind the aim of this study, it would be inappropriate to import the source text 'you'/tu in the target text as it would lose its intended effect. I am therefore of the view that contextualisation is a reasonable approach to a balanced translation as it adapts meaning found in LC1 into LC2, using LC2 realities. Translating 'you' with the appropriate 'vous' and using titles where and when necessary while greeting strangers as an accepted convention in French would achieve a balanced translation.

Based on discussion on contextualisation above, a balanced translation in this study is therefore that which mediates between the LC1 and LC2, a rewriting of an original text which reflects the ideology and poetics of LC2, and which adapts the LC1 texts to function in specific ways within a defined linguistic community (LC2). In addition, it is a translation whose textual features can help in the evolution of a literature and society through the introduction of new concepts, genres and devices or can also repress, distort and contain innovations to give voice to marginalised societies. Furthermore, it is a text whose syntax is congruent with that of the target language and capable of giving the reader unobstructed access to great thoughts as to what is present in the original (LC1) as suggested in Hewson and Martin (1991). This approach transcends the concept of hegemony in translation, which proponents of foreignisation and domestication alike, seem to be influenced by. It sets precedence to contextualisation which places equal emphasis on both source and target texts and cultures in the translation process as a contemporary approach to translation.

The strategy to be adopted during the comparative analysis of utterances in the film under study in Chapter Four would be that of contextualisation. It is only through such a process that meaning can rightly be interpreted and reencoded hence the only way in which a balanced translation can be achieved.

2.4 Summary

The above discussion clearly establishes the existence of a relationship between culture, language and translation, hence a relation between translation, language and politeness. It also establishes that intercultural translation is a rather complicated process and suggests contextualisation as solution to achieving a balanced translation. The understanding that language and culture are closely linked and must constantly be taken into consideration in the translation process enables agents of translation, that is the TI, and/or the TO, to seek to conform to norms during action[34] as suggested by Hewson and Martin (1991:113-116); Baker 1992 and 2006).

The next section focuses on politeness features as cultural elements and shows how they (politeness universals not exempted) are used in different ways across cultures, with particular reference to French and English. This will lead to Chapter four which analyses the subtitles in *Pieces d'Identité/ID* so as to assess the degree of politeness lost, minimised, maintained and or exaggerated in the subtitles during the translation process.

[34] Action implies "changes in the status of affairs" The "status of affairs" being the source language text and its improvements and the establishment of equivalence in the target text, following certain strategies governed by certain ethical values which is the avoidance of cultural and ideological influences on his or her task so as to achieve a balanced translation (Chesterman 1997:172).

Chapter Three

Politeness in Language, Culture and Translation

This Chapter illustrates how politeness, as a cultural element in communication, is perceived and represented in various ways as we move from one context and situation of communication to another. It also suggests what effect threats to interactants' faces might cause if not well understood and managed. The discussion of politeness is examined from two main perspectives with focus on translation.

The first is that of Brown and Levinson's (1987) discourse on Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) with 'face' being understood as positive self-image or pride in the self, 'Threats' as the danger that interlocutors, be they speakers or addressees or both, pose to the other's self-image, and 'Acts' as actions which breach, minimise or maintain interlocutors' self-pride during interpersonal communication (Brown and Levinson 1987:55-65; Hatim and Mason 2000:431-432). These include speech acts which serve either to establish and maintain or to modify interpersonal relationships between interactants during communication (Hatim and Mason 2000:431).

Secondly, it is considered from the angle of 'displaying courtesy' (Hatim and Mason 2000:431), which entails strategies used by interactants to show respect to their interactants in the communicational process, as discussed by other sociolinguists such as Brown and Gilman (1960); Martin (1964); Vigner (1978) and Wardhaugh (1986). In this second instance, the focus is on specific communicational aspects like the use of the *tu-vous* pronominal forms, titles, naming and honorifics, the use of negative formulations and other conventionally accepted grammatical structures, the use of long sentences to express politeness, the use of nonverbal or kinesic communication systems and conversational implicatures, which all serve to either minimise, avoid or cause face threatening acts during interpersonal communications, as understood from concurrent discussions by the above-mentioned linguists, as well as by Grice (1957) and Leather (1976).

It has been asserted in the discussion on culture above that politeness is a social feature which is applied in different ways, depending on the social context and situation of communication. This section illustrates the fact that politeness in its universal nature, as claimed by Brown and Levinson (1987), is applied on the basis of social judgements rather than of universal and stereotyped assumptions as asserted by Lakoff in Watt (1992); Brown and Levinson (1987) and Watts (1992).

3.1 Politeness Expressed Through Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

FTAs occur when one of the interlocutors decides to violate the other's face or face wants, through trickery or by coercion or other means without reciprocal compensation (Brown and Levinson 1987:60).

Face and Face Wants

Brown and Levinson's (1987:61) theory of universal politeness assumes that all competent language users have the capacity of reasoning and have what is known as "face", a term which according to them was first used in Goffman (1967). The expression "face", used in this context does not refer to its denotative but figurative meaning. It is derived from the English folk term to refer to nonverbal expression ipso facto created by verbal utterances during interpersonal interactions (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). That is, expressions shown on one's face depending on the moods or circumstances in which that person finds him/herself. This mood is caused by another interactants' behaviour during a conversation. In other words, face is "that public self-image" which everyone "lays claim" and expects others to constantly preserve, during interpersonal communication (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). Face can be lost if the actions of one of the interactants are disapproved of. It can be gained through appreciation of actions by the interlocutor. Alternatively face can remain neutral. Brown and Levinson (1987:61) caution that face must constantly be taken into consideration during interpersonal interactions. This is done through the use of "socially appropriate" approaches (Watts1989), or "reciprocal action" (Brown and Levinson 1987:58) in communication which minimise FTAs. An act which Lakoff (1975:45) refers to as, "verbal velvet glove to conceal the iron fist."

"Reciprocal action" in face preservation is the attempt to preserve another's "face wants" so that one's face may be preserved in return. What Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to as the preservation of "mutual vulnerability of self pride". That is, person A is called upon to preserve person B's pride in order that his/hers be preserved in return (Brown and Levinson 1987:58). Therefore, the degree of face wants, which is the amount of respect interlocutor A would like to receive from interlocutor B, will depend on the manner in which interlocutor A, approaches interlocutor B. For example, if A is rude or impolite towards person B, he will, in normal circumstances[35] be approached in the same manner (Brown and Levinson 1987:58). This is what is referred to in Pidgin English as, *scratch ma back, a scratch ya own*[36]. In scene 8 of the film under study, Chaka-Jo, during an interpersonal interaction with Mani Kongo constantly respected the latter's face who in turn respected Chaka-Jo's. However, a reciprocal breach in face preservation occurs at utterance 89-90, when Mani Kongo expresses disapproval of Chaka-Jo's personality and receives an equivalent response from Chaka-Jo (see Appendix II[37], scene 8).

In another instance, in scene 19 utterance 171-172, Mani Kongo's disapproval of Viva-Wa-Viva's attire which reflects his personality wounds the latter's ego an inflames him as he sets to justify himself.

Mani Kongo is also a victim of such disapproval in scene 22, utterance 257-258 and his reaction is similar to that of those he had previously victimised. This occurs when his kingly apparels are referred to in a trite manner; 'fetishes' by Jos.

Mani Kongo and the other's reactions lend credence to the fact that face wants and face preservation are mutual acts in interpersonal communication. Most acts carried out by an interlocutor, be they positive or negative face threats, simultaneously accrue relative benefits from one another as illustrated in the examples above.

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[35] There are however nonreciprocal cases of face wants as explained below.
[36] Literally: You scratch my back and I scratch yours.
[37] The French utterance appearing in normal Times New Roman which comes immediately after the name of the speaker which is in bold and Times New Roman is a transcription of the original sound dialogue while the English utterance appearing in bolded and italicised Times New Roman immediately below the transcription is the subtitle copied on screen. Finally, the last utterance which appears in Bold Times New Roman is a back translation of the original sound dialogue transcribed above. See note on transcription in Appendix II for more information.

Except in the case where one party assumes a position of power or outwits the other by tact, as is further discussed below, interactants generally co-operate with each other so that their faces can be respected (Hatim and Mason 2000:432). Due to mutual vulnerability of face, interactants are inherently conscious of the fact that certain linguistic actions that they may wish to perform may threaten their face or that of their interlocutors. This involves acts like speakers' requests for a favour, apologies, confessions, refusal and rejection, from friends or acquaintances who are their addressees (Hatim and Mason 2000:432). Similarly, these actions may concomitantly pose a threat to the addressee who may feel that his inability to deliver, in the case of a request for a loan for instance by another interlocutor, may be interpreted by the speaker either as a sign of poverty (which today's society considers as a vice), or as a deliberate refusal (sheer wickedness or selfishness) which are qualities which would tarnish the listener's self image. FTAs depend on the relationship between the interlocutors and the manner of approach (depending on their cultural affiliation) which each interactant espouses in putting across the message. Some FTAs may simultaneously lead to both positive and negative face threatening acts while others may lead only to one (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70-71). Suggested strategies to avoid FTA's in communication have been discussed below in consideration to the different kind of face and politeness. Face has a dual nature: 'Positive face' which is affected by a breach in positive politeness acts and 'negative face' which is affected by a breach in negative politeness acts. Some acts however may breach both (Brown and Levinson1987: 61).

Kind of Politeness

3.1.1 Positive Face and Positive politeness

Positive face is the desire of a member within an interactional community that his or her self-image be appreciated or at least be justified by others (Brown and Levinson (1987:61). For instance, it is the desire of an interactant that others respect and appreciate what he likes or does. In *Pièces d'identité/ID*, Viva-Wa-Viva's positive face is provoked by Mani Kongo when he disapproves of Viva's attire. The latter's violent reaction in the face of this justifies the fact that his positive pride has been

tampered with (see Appendix II, scene 19, from utterance 171-172, conversation between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva at the Canteen). Scene 8 utterances 89-90 and scene 22 utterances 257-258, used above, also illustrate FTAs on interactants positive face in the film.

Positive politeness is therefore an act oriented towards the addressee, and includes the speaker's actions which preserve the addressee's face wants through approval or recognition of the latter's acts. Positive politeness is also manifested by the speaker's acknowledgement of the addressee's actions as being likeable, by associating the latter with an acceptable group (for instance accepting someone as a friend, a member of a community), and by granting such a person, the status that is pleasing to him/her (flattery) (Brown and Levinson 1987:70). For instance in, *Pièces d'Identité/ID*, scene 42 utterances 485-486, Saffi is pleased when Mani Kongo positively acknowledges her actions towards Mwana, and at the same time, accepts her as a member of the Mani Kongo family through the use of the noun phrase 'ma fille/my daughter'. Her emotional response to the above is indicative of her reciprocal satisfaction and also

sustains the fact that positive politeness is a speaker's act, oriented towards the addressee, while the earlier examples above in which Chaka-Jo and Viva react angrily to Mani Kongo's disapproval of Chaka-Jo's[38] status and Viva's attire[39] respectively, emphasise that, although the previous is true, the speaker's act would however lead to a reciprocal FTA in case of breach of the addressee's face wants by the speaker.

Acts which speakers may pose, which threaten their addressee's feelings of appraisal, approval and/or acknowledgement of face as discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987) may include the following.

Firstly, expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, reprimand, disdain, rejection, complaints, accusations and insults. Challenging acts of this nature threaten the hearer's positive face because it contradicts or disagrees with, or challenges his/her addressee's actions, beliefs and values. The case, for instance, where Jos refers to Mani Kongo's necklaces, hat and walking stick, which are all

[38] Dialogues between; Mani Kongo and Chaka-Jo in Scene 8 utterances 89-90.
[39] Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva in scene 22 utterances 257-258.

symbols of his dynasty, merely as 'fetishes', a rather derogatory term (see Appendix II, scene 22, utterances 257-58), is an act of contempt towards the latter's personality. Although Mani Kongo does not reciprocate, he advises Jos that, had he not been a friend to Jefke, he could have been impolite as well. Scene 8 utterances 89, and scene 19, utterance 171, are acts of disapproval, criticism, ridicule, reprimand, insult and rejection towards the addressees face wants.

Secondly, when a speaker expresses violent emotions which create a forum of fear and/or embarrassment in the mind of his/her addressee, s/he poses a positive FTA on the hearer's positive face. There are various ways of enacting this. By being disrespectful through the use of contextually and situationally inappropriate language or engaging in topics that may be perceived as taboo in a particular context of communication. The case in *Pièces d'identité/ID,* where Viva-Wa-Viva engages in provocative discussions on Mwana/Amanda's jail situation (embarrassment), bullies and orders her around (forum of fear) are instances of such in the film (see scene 15 utterance 135). Her reaction to Viva-Wa-Viva's utterance is indicative of the embarrassment and fear instilled on her by Viva (see utterance 136).

Another way is by raising debates on dangerously emotional topics on politics, religion, sexism, racial segregation, and cultural hegemony, which denote the speaker's arrogance, lack of respect and insensitivity toward his/her addressee's emotions, values and beliefs. An example of this would be in scene 38, utterance 430, when Van Loo's lecherous desires for Mwana/Amanda lead him to confess to her that he has never kissed a **black girl** (racism) before and receives a slap across the face in return.

Positive FTA also occurs when a speaker conveys news of a provocative, foul or intense nature about the addressee in an insensitive or boastful manner. Scene 15 utterance 135 in which Viva-Wa-Viva speaks in a cynical manner about Mwana/Amanda's shameful incarceration in public can be construed as provocative and foul, and Viva's approach, as boastful. Meanwhile, Mwana/Amanda's reaction vis à vis Viva's utterance is as a result of the impact of Viva's disrespect and insensitivity towards her emotions.

Positive FTA can as well occur when an interactant blatantly refuses to co-operate in an activity. Such a refusal can be expressed through acts such as disruptions and interruptions while the addressee attempts to speak. Non-sequitur comments on the subject of communication and/or lack of interest in what the addressee is saying are also acts of the speaker's disregard for the addressee's positive face wants. The case in utterances 377-383, where Mwana callously rejects Viva's plea for assistance and would not listen to his explanation is an example of such a case in the film. Insulting Mwana/Amanda by Viva in retaliation for Mwana/Amanda's actions shows that her lack of interest has posed a positive FTA on Viva's positive face.

Finally, when an interactant mistakenly or expressively uses incorrect address terms and/or other titles while referring to the addressee during a conversation, he poses an FTA on the listener positive face (Brown and Levinson 1987:67). This is because such incorrect use may wrongfully identify the addressee, especially if the title used or address term is derogatory or debasing. For example, instead of referring to a colonel by his rank, e.g. Colonel Jean François, he is referred to as Captain Jean François, a lower rank. Mani Kongo while speaking to Father[40] Musantu in scene 9 utterances 101-102, calls him 'mon fils/my son' instead of 'mon père/Father'. Although he quickly saves face by apologising, Musantu's reply shows evidence of potential explosiveness had Mani Kongo not sought to mend matters.

Since interpersonal communication is a two way process, Brown and Levinson (1987) have also suggested acts which addressees may pose which may threaten their speaker's feelings of appraisal, approval and/or acknowledgement of face as discussed below.

The first instance may occur in the case of an apology or confession. That is where the hearer rejects the speaker's expressed regrets for previous action(s), especially if, in the process, the speaker divulges certain awful information which tarnishes his/her reputation and is rejected.

[40] Reverend Father.

There are however exceptional cases where a breach of face value by a speaker may not necessarily have the same effect on the perpetrator during communication. A person with a high social position may pose an FTA to the subaltern's positive face without a reciprocal reaction from the latter (Brown and Levinson 1987:71). An example of this can be found in scene 7, utterance 70-79 where police superintendent Jefke uses his position of power to compel Mwana/Amanda to act against her will without a reciprocal reaction from her. He also uses his position of power to criticise and order Van Loo around, without any retaliation from Van Loo in utterance 217.

Another instance is when a speaker uses tact or shrewd to conceal his /her aggression or coercive act to a point where his addressee may not perceive it, or have the opportunity to react in the same manner (Brown and Levinson 1987:71). For instance, the speaker or the addressee, in ordering the other to leave his/her office, may adopt the following approach; "Would you please leave my office". This utterance is conventionally polite and at the same time can be interpreted as being conventionally coercive. The speaker is being tactful in using this manner of approach as s/he sends away his/her addressee without giving him/her the chance to react. A case of tact which compelled Viva-Wa-Viva to act against his will by Jefke in *Pièces d'identité/ID* can be found in scene 46 from utterances 520- 530. During an interrogation at the police station, in a dialogue between Jefke and Viva, the latter refused to divulge information relating to the cabaret robbery[41] case in spite of threats from Jefke but Viva who believes that "seule la griffe fait l'homme/Only the brand makes the man" (Utterance 172) finally lets the cat out of the bag when Jefke in utterance 524, acknowledges Viva's attire and asserts that he is a man of substance in Belgium (tact through flattery) and promises to set him free if he provides information that will lead to the arrest of the culprit.

3.1.2 Negative Face and negative politeness

Negative face is the desire of every reasonable interlocutor that his or her actions should not be hindered or impeded by others. In other words, it is the expressed desire

[41] See scene 4 and 24

to be free to act without obstruction (Brown and Levinson1987: 61). For instance, A's criticism towards B's homosexual practices constitutes an act of a negative face threat to B's face. This is because criticisms of this nature may be a hindrance to B's actions. In so doing, interactant A wounds B's pride, as B will feel that A is infringing on his/ her freedom to act as pleased. A case of negative face can be found in the film under study in the dialogue between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva from utterance 170-172. Viva-Wa-Viva's dress code is considered as poor by Mani Kongo. This infuriates Viva who believes that "seule la griffe fait l'homme/Only the brand makes the man" and dresses accordingly. But Mani Kongo's opposite thought of what 'makes a man' leads him to further criticise Viva much to the latter's anger. Mani Kongo's action, by implication, constitutes a hindrance to Viva's desire to act without restrictions. The fact that Viva is infuriated as expressed in utterance 173 is proof that his negative face has been wounded.

Unlike positive politeness which is an act oriented towards the addressee, negative politeness is mainly orientated towards the speaker's act of making a situation fairer and more equal so that it does not obstruct the addressee's liberty to act as may suit him/her. In this case, the speaker would partially or fully recognise and respect the addressee's action and will not interfere with his/her freedom of action. It can be achieved through self-effacement, formalities and restraints in relation to the addressee's wants (Brown and Levinson 1987:70). The case where Mani Kongo tells the female immigration officer not to touch his apparel at the Belgian airport and is respected is unquestionably an act of formal respect through restraint, which consequently appreciates Mani Kongo's desire that no woman should touch his apparel (See Appendix II, scene 5, utterance 61 and related scene in the motion picture of the film for non verbal response to Mani Kongo's desire by the female Immigration officer).

A case of self effacement can be seen in scene 19, from utterance 184 – 187. In this context, Mani Kongo stops Bibiche Ninja from touching his headdress, claiming that women are not allowed to touch it (a discriminatory act). Bibiche Ninja instead of expressing anger for breach of negative face respects his wish as indicated by her response, "Ok viens" (utterances185 and 187 see appendix II). Her response shows that she takes Mani Kongo's request lightly. This situation can also be considered

from a formality view point. As a professional prostitute she has learnt to ignore certain constraints from difficult-to-deal-with clients.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speaker's acts which may pose a negative FTA on an addressee's face are as follows.

Firstly, speaker's actions which predict the addressee's future actions and as a result place some constraint on the addressee to proceed or not with that particularly envisaged action, may constitute a hindrance to the addressee's liberty to act. An instance of this occurs in the film in utterance 344-346. Saffi finds Viva-Wa-Viva in a conversation with Mayele and she immediately anticipates Viva's intention, which is to swindle Mayele, and reveals it to Mayele. In so doing, she stops Viva from proceeding with his crafty schemes. The resulting brawl between Viva and Mayele is evident of Viva's frustration from Saffi's revelation.

Secondly, by providing possible suggestions and advice to the addressee, the interactant expresses his thoughts about what the addressee should or should not do. An example of this in the film under study is in Scene 2, utterance 9-10 when Mani Kongo's Kinsman advises the young lady that women are not allowed to touch the Kings apparel. In so doing he implicatively stops her from touching them.

Thirdly, by reminding the addressee of an act that he or she should have or should not have done, constitutes a hindrance to the latter's desire to act at will. An example of the above in *Pièces d'Identité/ID* is when Jefke informs Amanda that she is not doing what is expected of her and the fact that her action gives him no reason to extend her residence permit (see appendix II utterances 209-211).
Lastly, acts in the nature of warning, threats, offers, promises[42], compliments[43], expression of admiration[44] and strong emotions also constitute negative FTAs to the listener. Examples of such are; envy, disdain, hatred, anger, lust, which respectively indicate appreciation, or harmful, or violent intentions from the speaker, are acts

[42] See Utterance 520-530 scene 46.
[43] See Utterance 524 scene 46.
[44] See Utterance 524 scene 46.

which compel the mind of the addressee to act differently (Brown and Levinson 1987:65-66). A notable example of promise/offer is the case where police chief Jefke, in scene 7 utterance 72 in trying to convince Mwana/Amanda to take the job at Le Privé club promises her that she will be well paid "◦tu sera très bien payé (.)/**You will be very well paid"** and in utterance 76 **"&** tu n'auras jamais de problème de carte de séjour ni de permis de travail (.4)/ **you will never have problems with your residence permit or work permit**". The fact that Mwana/Amanda who was previously against the idea finally succumbs to the above is an indication of the fact that Jefke's offer did compel her to act against her will.

A typical case of threat which constitutes an FTA's is when Le Sauveur de l'Humanité uses his poisonous darts to subject both clients and owner of le Katanga to kneel and then robs the bar of money in utterance 27.

Equally, there are negative face threats on the speaker by the addressee as seen below.

By expressing gratitude to or by asking for favour or apology from the addressee, the speaker humbles his/herself before the addressee. For example, when the speaker accepts the debt or favour, or when s/he reveals facts about him/herself that may tarnish his/her self-pride. Such acts pose a threat to the speaker's face if the addressee fails to respond positively to the request or cede to the speaker's demands (Brown and Levinson 1987:65; Hatim and Mason 2000:432). For example, when Viva-Wa-Viva finds himself in a difficult situation and seeks help from Mwana/Amanda, requesting her to provide him with temporary lodging and she refuses. Her refusal causes Viva to insults Mwana/Amanda and her father. This is a clear illustration of the fact that he has been offended by Mwana/Amanda's (addressee) refusal to yield to his request (See Appendix II, from 377-383).

Similarly, unless one party assumes a position of power or outwits the other as discussed above, most interlocutor's acts, be they an infringement to the other's positive or negative face, simultaneously accrue relative benefits from another interlocutor (Brown and Levinson 1987:65; Hatim and Mason 2000:432). In the

previous example, Mwana/Amanda's angry reaction to Viva's insult shows that a mutual reciprocation of face has been done by her victim (see Appendix II, scene 33 from 355-363).

Negative face threats may be minimised through acts of apology, non-coercive acts, and the use of passive utterances that take responsibility off the speaker. In so doing, the addressee feels that his freedom of action is not impeded and preserves his negative face. A relevant example in the film under study can be seen in the dialogue between Mani Kongo and the Immigration officer. The immigration officer, instead of asking Mani Kongo to pay duties for his apparel, uses the passive mode "Ces trois objets sont à declarer/these three objects are to be declared' (utterance 56); a passive utterance which masks the commanding tone from the Immigration officer's utterance.

The Immigration Officer is also apologetic when he informs Mani Kongo that he is only doing his job, "° Je fais simplement mon travail monsieur/ Just doing my job, sir", (see utterance 58), and gives him the choice (non-coercive act) either to keep his apparel at the airport and collect them on his way back to Congo or to pay custom duties and go through with them (see utterance 60). The fact that Mani Kongo finally opts to pay the required custom duties as suggested by the immigration officer, without feeling any constraint or imposition, is as a result of the Immigration officer's use of the above strategies to avoid FTAs.

Moreover, there is always natural tension in negative face politeness by communicative participants to go on-record[45] and off record[46]. This tension has led to a generally accepted manner of approach approved and recognised as a conventional manner of approach within that speech community. For instance, many indirect requests in English language have been fully conventionalised so that they are on-record, e.g., can I have some sugar please? Can you please leave by 4pm? This means that interlocutors who are familiar with that convention do not perceive such

[45] To go on-record, is, to acknowledge the other's face (positive politeness) (Brown and Levinson 1987).
[46] To go off-record, is to avoid causing an FTA on a person's face (negative politeness) (Brown and Levinson 1987).

utterances as a threat to their negative face. An illustration of this in the film under study is an extract of a dialogue between Mani Kongo, the caretaker and Father Musantu. Firstly, the Caretaker, instead of bluntly ordering Mani Kongo to return home (to Congo), uses a conventionally accepted polite approach which makes her request more a subjective than a coercive one; « & monsieur Kongo (.) >< Nous avons pensé le père aumônier et moi-même (.4) ◦que pour votre bien vous deviez retourner chez-vous/ Mr. Kongo, the chaplain and I think that it might be best for you to go back home (utterance 281). The above utterance has been expressed in a conventionally polite way and hence minimised FTA on Mani Kongo's face (see Appendix II, scene 25 from utterance 279-290).

In the above example, it is clear that everything had been decided without his consent, and that gives him no other alternative but to leave. Nonetheless, the manner in which the order has been formulated conceals the provocation behind her utterance (see Appendix II, scene 25 from utterance 279-290).

It is worth mentioning here that most cultures have created conventions in language which lead to on-record, and as a result avoid negative face threatening acts. These conventions vary from culture to culture and from one speech community to another (Brown and Levinson 1987:70-71). Interlocutors and translators in particular should be familiar with such culturally accepted conventions while deciphering and transferring meaning, if they wish to avoid FTAs and misinterpretation of speakers' intent.

Moreover, there are some acts which may simultaneously lead to both positive and negative face threatening acts while others may lead only to one, depending on the kind of FTA and person carrying it out. For instance, utterance 184 used above, does not only stop Bibiche-Ninja from acting (negative FTA) but the reason for stopping her from acting "(…) aucune femme n'as jamais touché les ornements de Mani Kongo/ No woman has ever touched the ornaments of Mani Kongo, (gender discrimination) also rejects her personality (positive FTA). Conscious of this fact and for the sake of avoiding FTAs, both interactants are advised to co-operate with each other to mutually maintain face (Brown and Levinson 1987:65; Hatim and Mason 2000:432). Brown and Levinson (1987:65) have suggested five constitutive strategies

to avoid both positive and negative FTAs in interpersonal communication as discussed below.

The first suggestion is to avoid doing the FTA in situations where the interactant is not certain about the appropriateness of the manner of approach. Such uncertainties are always triggered by the different nature of approaches which exist across cultures. So rather than venturing, it is preferable to omit. For instance in the use of naming as a politeness marker in English, it is advised to rather say "good morning" than good morning Miss or Mrs or Doctor or Sister (nurse). However, such omissions in the same context and situation may be perceived as impolite in other languages and cultures such as French. Hence, it will be impolite to say "bonjour" or "bonsoir" especially in a formal context and situation without using relevant titles. It is appropriate to say "bonjour madame" or "bonsoir monsieur" in French (Wardhaugh 1986:261). So, language users, translators and translation researchers should constantly consider the LCs in communication. For instance, utterances 393, Mani Kongo, a new guest at Marienke's Inn, greets her using, her title, plus her first name as a process of avoiding FTA as seen below.

Secondly, they suggest that, if the speaker has to do the FTA, they are advised to express themselves with deference and formality. This is done by hedging and by maintaining distance which reassures the addressee that they are being addressed with respect. The Caretaker's compelling and rude approach when requesting Mani Kongo to return to Congo is counterbalanced by her respect for his personality seen through her use of titling, "monsieur Kongo" and the third person pronoun "vous" to assure him that he is being respected (see utterances 281 and 283). In the case of positive politeness, it is advised to do the FTA on-record with redressive action but unlike with negative politeness, this involves acknowledging the addressee's face by agreeing, sympathising or approving the interlocutor's actions.

Finally, the FTA should be carried out bluntly while acknowledging the listener's face. The case of the caretaker discussed above is a clear example of such an approach.

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 68 and Hatim and Mason 2000:432).

It is worth reiterating that success in the application of the above strategies depends on the context, situation, and culture in which communication evolves. Due to cultural variance, some may be perceived as appropriate by a particular linguistic community and as inappropriate by another. The concept of cultural and politeness universality notwithstanding, interlocutors, especially translators and interpreters, with their double functions of transferors of meaning across languages, and intercultural mediators, need to understand the notion of cultural and politeness diversity. This will enable them to avoid general assumptions during cross-cultural communications hence, transmit an equivalent LC1 message into LC2.

3.2 Politeness Theory from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

Sociolinguists like Wardhaugh (1986) have also undertaken an almost exhaustive study on issues of politeness in language. However, unlike Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory which focuses on politeness outside its 'display of courtesy' (Hatim and Mason 2000:431), they base their approach on the traditional display of courtesy. To Wardhaugh, "*[when]* we speak, we must constantly make choices of many different kinds: what we want to say, how we want to say it, and the specific sentence types, words and sounds [mode tone tenor] that best unite the *what* and the *how*" (Wardhaugh 1986:251). This explains why Father Musantu in Utterance 286, instead of informing Mani Kongo that "he cannot stay in Belgium because his flight ticket has already been confirmed without his consent, which gives him no other alternative but to leave that night, chose to convey his message using a rather courteous indirect approach, marked by the use of soothing words like 'gentiment/kindly' and the third person plural pronoun approach.

In utterance 288, Mani Kongo insists on staying in Belgium against the Caretakers's and Father Musantu's wish, Father Musantu in (289) in insisting that Mani Kongo Leaves, adopts a polite approach so that the latter's face be maintained. In the process, instead of telling him that "You must leave" he advises him not to miss his3. flight. "◦ Il n' faudrait pas râter l'avion/ You mustn't miss tonight's plane" The verb

"faudrait" is a conditional verb which atones the coercive nature of the speaker's intention. The Caretaker's, (in utterances 381 and 283), and the Immigration officer's (in 56) approach when addressing Mani Kongo also expresses speaker desires to be courteous during interactions.

3.2.1 Kinds of approach to politeness as a show of courtesy

Wardhaugh (1986) and other sociolinguists have examined politeness as a show of courtesy and solidarity from five different perspectives. They based their considerations on specific aspects like the French *Tu* and *Vous* pronominal forms in languages, the use of naming, terms of address and honorifics, the performance of politeness through conventionally accepted grammatical utterances, politeness expressed through kinesic communicational system and finally through conversational implicature as discussed below.

Tu-Vous pronominal approach

Pronominal appellations as polite forms in language, in particular the *Tu-Vous* pronouns as politeness markers have been used for centuries across various languages, especially in Latin languages (Wardhaugh 1986:252). This concept stems from the French second person singular pronoun, '*tu'* and the second person plural '*Vous*' which were originally used as singular and plural pronominal markers respectively. However, their usage has long been expanded to include expression of politeness (Brown and Gilman 1960:252). We have a distinct equivalence to the French *tu-vous* (*T-V*) forms in Russian (ty/vy), Italian (tu/lei), German (du/sie), Swedish (du/ni) and Greek (esi/esis). English once had such a distinction, the '*Thou/you'*, but its use, except in certain restricted dialects, has fallen away, giving rise to the use of only the 'you' in both formal and informal communicational contexts (Wardhaugh 1986: 252).

The cultural and socio-semantic evolution of the *Tu-Vous* forms and their acquisition of new roles in communication resulted in them being used as politeness markers. The *Tu-form* is generally used to refer to persons during informal or familiar contexts and situations of communication without posing an FTA to the hearer's face

Notwithstanding the above, even within this spectrum of assumed generality are some exceptional cases in which the just mentioned rule does not apply as discussed in subsequent paragraphs below. The *Vous-form* unlike the *tu-form* is generally used in formal communicational situations. An illustration of the above-discussed in the film can be found in utterances 220 and 429, in dialogues between Amanda/Mwana and Sergeant Van Loo. Amanda/Mwana addresses Van Loo in two different instances using the *Vous* and *Tu-form*s respectively, without posing an FTA to her listener's face, as explained below.

At the police station, which is a formal context, Amanda/Mwana who is aware of the context of communication, even in anger, addresses Van Loo with deference and formality through the use of the vous-form.
In the second instance, at a night club and an informal context which is different from that above situation of communication, she uses the second person singular pronominal form ***Fais*** instead of ***faites*** and the possessive singular pronoun ***ton*** instead of the plural ***votre,*** without posing a threat to Van Loo's face.

Indications of respect through the use of the *Tu-Vous* forms run almost everywhere in the original sound dialogue of the film under study. Nevertheless the subtitler in establishing equivalence in English used the neutral 'you' because of lack of a socio-cultural distinction in English as discussed above. The absence of the *Tu-Vous* equivalence in English leads to loss of politeness in the subtitle of the film under study as further illustrated in the analysis chapter below.

However, it is not in all contexts and situations which the tu-vous forms is applied in respect with the above-explained convention (Wardhaugh 1986:251-252). Depending on the context and situation of communication, some communicants for one reason or another, may decide to break or suspend such a convention. The reason can be a quest for solidarity or a mere desire to be polite (Wardhaugh 1986: 252- 253; Brown and Gilman 1960:260-61). A director for instance, may request his subordinate to address him/her in the *Tu-form* or may decide to address his/her subordinate in the *vous-form*. With today's corporate flattened bureaucracy, mutual address forms which break conventions are becoming an address model and it is common in most companies and

workplaces to hear the employee address their employer or senior in the Tu-form and vice versa without necessarily being impolite or disrespectful.

Notwithstanding, the above conventional breach in the use of pronominal politeness markers does not apply in all contexts. This is because of the salient nature of politeness in certain communicational contexts (Wardhaugh 1986: 252- 257; Brown and Gilman 1960:260-61). For instance, it is still common today in the army and police force to hear high ranking officers refer to subalterns using the *Tu-form* without due reciprocation. In the film, Van Loo constantly refers to Jefke, his superior, in the *Vous-form* " j'attends ***vos*** ordres/*What should I do?* (Utterance 549) in spite of the fact that Jefke refers to him using the *Tu-form*. For instance, «! Alors Van Loo t**'**est au courant (.4) pour le Katanga hier soir (.)" (utterance 67).

The *Tu-vous* pronominal use in this case functionally expresses power or social status which is exercised and enjoyed by some interactants during communication. A breach in its use by the low ranking officer without authorisation in due context will constitute an FTA. Translators and interpreters should therefore constantly refer to the context of use to establish equivalence so as to avoid FTAs in context.

Moreover, there are functional variations in the use of the *Tu-Vous* in formal and informal contexts in languages. They serve to express different emotions depending on established conventions of the users' LCs. For instance, the German *Tu-form* is used to express solidarity founded in family relations and excludes remote family relationships. A German will ipso facto use the *Tu-form* while referring to relations like grandfathers, and elder brother's wife, and the *Vous-form*, during interactions with relations like father, mother, a married elderly brother as well as remote relations like cousins (Wardhaugh 191986: 252-257). In contrast, in the French context, the *Tu-form* does not automatically apply to remote relations, but is more likely to express camaraderie towards speakers with the same affiliation, (E.g. co-workers, fellow countrymen, fellow students, friends and within the family context etc,) while the *Vous-form* is used in very formal situation and when addressing strangers (Brown and Gilman 1960:260).

Although such usages are dynamic in nature and have changed considerably over time, they serve to illustrate the impact of cultural evolution on language use. The *Tu-Vous* usage in French for instance varies as we move from one French speech community to another; from Montreal to certain rural parts of Quebec, from Laval in Maryanne, France to Saint-Pierre et Miguel off the south coast of Newfoundland and Canada (Lambert and Tucker in Wardhaugh 1986:254), and From Cameroon, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire to Morocco, Algeria and France. Therefore, as a cultural and ideological phenomenon, user of language and translators should study the contexts of use singly even within the same language so as convey appropriate LC1 meaning into LC2.

Cultural variation in the use pronouns to indicate respect in languages, and the lack of some of these pronouns in some target languages makes the task of the subtitler difficult. This is because of the constraints of time, space and synchrony which set great limitation in manoeuvring. For instance, it will be difficult for them to establish a *Tu-Vous* pronominal equivalence in a language like contemporary English which lacks these forms. Even plausible non-equivalence parameters such as paraphrasing, adaptations and contextualisation which are an appropriate solution to non-equivalence problems in translation as suggested in Hewson and Martin (1991) and Baker (1992 and 2006) would hardly be a solution to cultural non-equivalence problems because of the constraints imposed on subtitling. This explains to a greater extent why the subtitler of Pièces d'identité/ID failed to establish an appropriate equivalence of the *Tu-Vous* form usage while translating.

Politeness expressed through terms of address

Politeness can also be expressed through terms of address such as names, titles and honorifics (Wardhaugh 1986:258). We may, during communication, refer to our interlocutor either by his/her first name (FN), last name (LN), nickname (NN), title (T) or by a combination of these or by deliberately avoiding the naming or titling procedure (Ø) (Wardhaugh 1986:258-259).

Titles, and titles plus last names (TLN), function as politeness markers to show respect for social ranks or seniority in formal occasions. According to Wardhaugh (1986), they are the least intimate terms of address because they are devoid of

'personal' content in situations where it is assumed that the speaker knows the name of the addressee. In *Pièces d'identité,* Amanda/Mwana in utterance 73, during a conversation with the chief of police whom she has known for at least two years, and conscious of the context of communication, still refers to him as 'Commissaries/Superintendent' .

Mani Kongo is also variously referred to as 'his majesty' in his palace, by his kinsmen as a show of respect which is devoid of familiarity[47] as seen in utterances 2 and 9.

Moreover, there is a degree of intimacy expressed through the different address terms. The use of titles and last name (TLN) as a form of address is relatively more intimate than the use of titles only (Wardhaugh 1986: 259). In *Pièces d'identité,* Mani Kongo is referred to as 'monsieur Kongo/Mr Kongo' in utterances 281, and 289, by acquaintances like, the Caretaker, and Father Musantu respectively, to express sympathy and respect.

However, like with other cultural elements, terms of address, are used by interactants within the same or different communicational situations to express different emotions. In some instances, the context and situation of communication denote respect rather than familiarity. In utterances, 266, Van Loo ex-officio addresses Mani Kongo as 'monsieur Kongo/Mr Kongo. Its use in this situation is aimed at showing sympathy vis à vis Mani Kongo's plight rather than a case of formality or familiarity. This therefore asserts the fact that its use cannot be determined in a generic manner. Therefore, constant reference to the context and situation of usage should be considered before judgement is passed.

Furthermore, cultural impact in languages has also influenced the use of terms of address to differ from Wardhaugh's paradigm. These new meanings can be interpreted based on the context and situation of utterance. In some situations, they connote respect, while in others they either express affection, pride and/or

[47] In most African cultures, Cameroon's Ngemba, Bamileke, Bamoun and the Adamawa cultures for instance the King, who is considered as a representative of their ancestors and their God (s) is always venerated and deference while speak to them is absolutely non-negotiable.

provocation. Consider these utterances in *Pièces d'identité* and what emotion they express.

40-Customer 3

! Alors commissaire Jefke Schengen (.4) tu l'appelles ta police (.)

Well, Jefke Schengen! Haven't you called the cops yet?

Well Superintendent Jefke Schengen, are you calling your police?

This utterance is made by an old friend (friendship dating back to the colonial period) of Jefke, immediately after the Katanga robbery. In this informal context, the use of the above term of address cannot be construed as an expression of formality or respect but provocation. The customer ironically uses this term of address to emphasise the fact that Jefke as chief of police has failed in his duty as public protector to stop the robbery.

In other informal circumstances in the film, utterance 105 by Mwana, the title plus name "Docteur Saffi", is used to show respect and pride. Mwana/Amanda, Saffi's closest friend, in this case uses the term to express pride for her friend's achievement rather than formality and respect.

Similarly, it is not construed as a show of formality and less intimacy when Mayele who is Saffi's lover, addresses her as "**docteur Saffi"** in her bedroom as seen in utterance 412. His aim rather is to show pride for his lover's academic achievement.

In West and Central Africa, in Cameroon, Congo (DRC) and Nigeria in particular, wives of high personalities would at certain instances; including very informal instances, refer to their husbands using their titles and sometimes title plus last name. Their aim is not only to show respect for the latter but also their pride for the latter's social status. It is also used as a flattery to lure the latter to cede to their demands. For Instance, in Nigeria, it is common to hear a woman refer her husband as, *Chief*

Ekeruke, or *His Highness is not in* or *the Honourable Minister will be absent for a month.*

As a result, although it would be right to assert that title, titles plus last names and honorifics are used in formal occasions to denote respect, mostly in the least intimate form, its use has socio-semantically evolved to include other meanings which should be retrieved from the context and situation in which it has been used. This reiterates the assertion that appropriate meaning from such usages should be retrieved based on cultural judgement rather than on generic assumptions and translators should always bare this in mind both in the decoding and encoding process.

Politeness Expressed Through Grammatical Constructions

Politeness expressed through grammatical constructions can be carried out in two ways. Firstly, through the use of language which incorporates negative and other conventional forms such as the use of modal verbs, as in English (Martin 1964:407), and secondly, through the use of longer utterances instead of shorter ones as in French (Vigner 1978:77).

The use of grammatically negative formulations in certain languages like English minimises negative face threat acts. Negative grammatical formulations atones the imperative or coercive nature of a request which put otherwise would be considered as a coercive act by a hearer (Brown and Levinson 1987:70; Martin 1964:407). For instance, it is more polite when requesting someone to do something to say '*I hope you wouldn't mind confessing the truth now'* instead of *'Confess the truth now!'*

The use of accepted modal verbs forms as a means to express politeness is geared towards the preservation of the hearer's negative face in English and other languages. For instance we have constructions such as 'would' in *'would you mind...' 'Could you". 'Do you…' 'May' in may be seated'* followed by the polite word 'please' in English (Brown and Levinson 70-71), while in French, we have the 'conditionnel' accompanied by the polite *'s'il vous plait' and other* forms.

E.g:

-*'Auriez-vous….' In* - ***Auriez-vous*** *l'amabilité de me conduire chez-moi s'il vous plait?* The French adverbial phrase *'**amabilité** /kind enough'*, also strengthens the speaker's desire to minimise negative face as it informs listeners that their act is a voluntary one.

- *'je vous prie' in - je **vous prie** d'accepter mes regrets les plus sincères* as well as others such as *voudriez-vous/Would you mind, '**Bien vouloir**/Kindly'* and *Veuillez-vous/ (meaning varies depending on context of use)* (Vigner 1978:88).

The following examples below illustrate politeness expressed through the use of longer utterances in French as earlier discussed.

><°*Pouvez-vous m'héberger fils – Would you mind lodging me so*n (.) (Mani Kongo in *Pièces d'identité/ID,* see Appendix II, utterance, 292) (very polite)
Than to say:
Hebergez-moi fils! - *lodge me son!* (less polite)
Or
Herberge-moi – *lodge me* (coercive and impolite)

Faudrait faire changer votre photo –You would have to change your picture. (Utterance, 50, in Appendix II)
Than say:
Changer votre photo - Change your picture, which is a coercive act that constitutes an FTA on listener's negative face.

However, the use of longer phrases or sentences as a means of establishing politeness while translating into French can be problematic to the subtitler due to constraints on subtitling. For instance, the use of longer sentences in French where shorter ones have been used in the English original sound dialogue may exceed the prescribed 2-3 lines required for subtitle to appear on screen and as a result may require more than the 5 second reading limit. Synchronisation between the subtitles and the moving images on screen might also be lost should the translator decides to leave the lengthy equivalence to enable film audiences to decipher the information. On the other hand,

Should the subtitler decide to leave the lengthy equivalence on screen for a maximum 5 second period so as to achieve synchrony, then the reader or most of them would not be able to decipher the message on screen. In any case, there will be loss of meaning. It therefore raises the question as to how effective will a relatively short French equivalence express the same degree of politeness shown in the source text. The closest response to this may be found in the subtitler's understanding of the kinesics communication system and conversational implicature. Firstly, s/he should understand that about 93% of meaning retrieved from the text comes from nonverbal acts of communication (Foundations of Nonverbal Communication 2006:7). This includes all paralinguistic features such as image, action, paintings, background sounds, tone of voice, facial expressions, and gestures (Foundations of Nonverbal Communication 2006:7). Secondly, on the understanding of his/her position as a mere guide to the foreign language viewer who, depends greatly on paralinguistic features to retrieve meaning. As a result, the use of a contextually short French utterance to express politeness found in the source text, complemented by paralinguistic features, will in most instances be able to achieve the same polite effect as in English.

Politeness Expressed Through Kinesic Communication System

Kinesic interaction is a form of communication in which interlocutors make use of both verbal communication (intonation, projection and resonance of the voice) and nonverbal (gestures, smiles, sighs, frowns, grooming and body movement), as well as other paralinguistic features to decipher meaning during the communication process. Most paralinguistic features are inseparable parts of speech which serve to emphasise meaning expressed verbally (Thirumalai 1987:4), and they account for 93% of the total meaning transmitted (Foundations of Nonverbal Communication 2006:7).

Gottlieb (2001:1), in discussing the nature of texts in translation (see Chapter one, section A of this study), also asserts that image, sound and subtitles are to be considered as texts. This is because they are essential to the overall understanding of meaning in the film as a whole[48]. The latter explains why subtitlers are required to synchronise the subtitles (linguistic features) with corresponding images and actions (extralinguistic features) on the screen. This therefore means that a translation

[48] Also sustained in Nord's (1991) discussion on context.

(subtitle) as an integral part of communication also has to consider the importance of kinesic communication as a process of meaning retrieval. For instance, in utterance 173, Viva-Wa-Viva suddenly utters the following ***"Hot, aren't they?"***, and without hesitation, Mani Kongo responds in a sarcastic manner, **"Like merchandise..."** (utterance 178). Normally, such a potentially unclear message transmitted by the subtitler would raise questions as to what is 'hot' and or what 'merchandise' is being referred to, but the message is clearly understood both by the actors on screen and viewers, because meaning has been complemented by the actions and images on screen (image of 'beautiful' women and their seductive acts posing in glass pane booths). Linguistic utterances, complemented by nonverbal messages such as actions and images give a vivid picture of what is being described and will increase the extent of FTA. For instance, Viva reference to the beauty of the ladies in transparent booth is complemented by the erotic images and actions of the referred ladies and would sustain their positive FTA, while Mani Kongo's negative view as he describes them as 'merchandises' hence as prostitutes, in the same context would pose a positive and negative FTA on their face.

In most cultures, politeness is expressed jointly, through verbal and nonverbal communication. However, nonverbal acts alone in most cases are enough to either maintain or minimise or pose FTAs. A smile on the face of an interactant even without action will be interpreted as an acknowledgement of an act and vice versa.
This however depends on the culture of the interactants as well as the different connotations assigned to the different paralinguistic phenomena construed as polite or impolite. Translators should always bear this in mind as they translate. Politeness can be conveyed nonverbally through facial expression, gestures and postures as discussed below.

Facial expressions as a mode of conveying meaning are the fastest, easiest and blatant means of expressing politeness. They express different emotions such as happiness, anger, disdain and disappointment, which add meaning to the interlocutors' verbal utterances (Leather 1976:4-7). A frown which indicates anger or disdain (rejection) will constitute an FTA on an interactant's positive face while a smile (acknowledgement) may preserve face. A smile alone without any verbal utterance towards a person is enough to inform that person that his act has been acknowledged

or appreciated. Most meanings, be they polite or impolite in the film are expressed through facial acts.

However the expression of meaning through this medium, though globally accepted as a form of communication, has been questioned by Russel et al (2003:343) who claim that only certain facial acts are used to communicate and that the rest are simply natural reflexive actions. Notwithstanding Russel's claim, if we consider a new born baby's smile which is a reflexive act as a sign of happiness, a sudden or unpremeditated scream of joy, as a message, then I am of the opinion that both reflexive and non reflexive facial acts are important in conveying meaning. Further, because of cultural disparities, such expressions should be deciphered with consideration of the context and situation in which it has been expressed. Hence, not all facial expressions will communicate the same meaning at the same time. The receiver would decipher only the relevant facial expressions which add meaning to the verbally expressed message or which is relevant to that particular situation. For instance, in a discussion between interlocutors at a funeral, an interlocutor in alluding to the deceased's past life, as is always the orthodoxy in funeral ceremonies, may smile. His smile in this case is not interpreted as an expression of happiness but that of regret and/or exacerbated affliction in reminiscence of the good old days that will never come again. Similarly, the message to be retrieved from a student in tears (normally an indication of unbearable sorrow) after graduating cum laude will not be that of extreme sorrow but an eloquent expression of joy which words alone would not express. There is great sadness expressed on Mani Kongo's face when he finally finds his daughter in the film under study but paradoxically, such sadness is an expression of great joy. (see scene 41 from utterance 469 - 472 and that section of the film).

Gestures and postures are also means of expressing meaning. They are perceived through the use of the eye during a "metacomunicative' process a term which is synonymous to kinesic communication as used by Leather (1976: 5). Ekman and Friesen (1969) consider gestures as a communicational act done through body and arms movement while postural expression is the message sent through the speaker's body position. Some gestures and postures are used in certain instances to replace words or to reinforce what is being said. For instance, a thumbs-up as a gesture of

assent to indicate appraisal, the palms placed adjacent to each other to indicate juxtaposition when comparing or describing things in the verbal utterance and finally, waving of the hand to bid farewell. Depending on the culture that uses them, gestures and body postures, can pose FTAs on interactants face if such nonverbal act is interpreted as provocative and vice versa. It will be construed as highly provocative in most African cultures (West and Central African cultures to the best of my knowledge), especially during a heated debate to wave or point a finger in someone's face while addressing such a person. Other gestures depending on the context and situation, such as sticking out a tongue towards an interactant or interactants, even without uttering a word would be considered as impolite and would pose either a positive or negative FTA or both, depending on the context and situation in which such gesture was carried out. Notwithstanding, those gestures can be interpreted otherwise depending on the context and situation and may not pose an FTA.

In utterance 205 (see Appendix II) of *Pièces d'Identité/ID*, Mani Kongo performs a brief West and Central African ritual, which sends-off the dead to the land of their ancestors. In his undertaking, he uses both words and gestures but the gestures (nonverbal) are more explicit than the verbal in the eyes of onlookers or participants who understand his culture. His tone of voice, expresses pain, regret and supplication; his facial expression denotes sadness while the ultimate bilabial /pts pts/[49] act symbolises a release of the deceased's souls from the bondage of a foreign ancestral land, and subsequently ushering them to the land of their ancestors. In this particular circumstance, words alone will basically lack that powerful communicative effect as seen through the metacommunicative process.

However, retrieval of such meaning is always based on the understanding of the speaker's culture, context and situation of communication. I will focus on the spitting (/pst pst/) act performed by Mani Kongo to show how it can pose a threat to certain communicants if done in another context and situation. In a normal situation, spitting before onlookers in many African cultures is a scornful act geared towards provocation. It epitomises filthiness, disdain, rejection, and curse and literarily

[49] Phonetic representation of a bilabial act of spitting in an explosive manner but in this case, almost or no saliva is emitted.

informs the viewer/listener that s/he is as good as thrash. This constitutes an act of positive FTA. However, bearing in mind the circumstance of Mani Kongo's act, the viewers would easily understand that it is a rather spiritually correct act geared towards the purification of the deceased's soul and would not take offence.

Similarly, in the Ngemba and Moghamo[50] cultures of Cameroon, spitting on a person usually a younger person, by an elder (with a motherly or fatherly personality) is considered a blessing but can also be a curse depending on the context and situation in which such an act has been done. Translators and interlocutors should always consider the context and situation as well as the culture to retrieve relevant meaning rather than base meaning retrieval on general assumptions.

Intonation also serves to emphasise meaning in a kinesic communicational process. The Cambridge online dictionary defines it as a change of sound produced through the rise and fall of the voice when speaking. Speakers generally use intonation to emphasise particular points in their discussions. For instance, in *Pièces d'identité/ID*, Mani Kongo refuses to go into the brothel (see Appendix II, utterance 176), but is persuaded to do so by Viva: "*Vous voulez voir votre fille ou non/ You want to see your daughter or not?* » (see utterance 182). The subtitle or the original message alone would not have been very convincing without Viva's use of a rise in pitch which stressed the importance of going into the brothel. Although the auditory message is given in French, the English audience is nonetheless able to understand Viva's intended message from his intonation. Depending on the nature of the message, intonation is used variedly to create different effects. It can be an FTA in a situation where the emphasis is derogatory but can also preserve face in the case of a eulogy. An example of a case where intonation preserves face, can be seen during a boxing match, when the MC[51] in announcing or ushering the boxers into the ring, stresses their achievements in a rising tone. In the case of a dyslogy, intonation can be used to pose serious FTAs on the listener or certain listeners' face as is the case of mock praise songs sung in most Ngemba and Moghamo communities of Cameroon.

[50]Bantu-Sudanese tribe in the North West Province of Cameroon.
[51] Master of ceremony.

Politeness expressed through conversational implicatures

Implicature is a very important aspect in retrieving meaning, in particular politeness in communication. Gazdar (1979:49) defines implicature as meaning retrieved from an utterance during conversation. He however emphasises that such meaning is not 'a condition for the truth' of that particular utterance. In other words, meaning is derived from an utterance based on its connotative or figurative intent rather that on a collective understating of the denotative meaning of the words used in that particular utterance[52]. Implied forms in communication are mostly polysemic in nature and are used to conceal the true meaning of an utterance. Such meaning is understood only by interlocutors who are familiar with that particular context and situation of communication; what Grice (1957:58) refers to as 'the cooperative principle (CP)' in interpersonal communication. Grice describes the embedded or connotative meaning as 'implicatum', derived from the 'conversational implicature' which is the surface meaning of that utterance. Utterance 182 by Viva is an implied utterance which minimizes negative FTA on Mani Kongo's face. '! *'Vous voulez voir votre fille ou non/ You want to see your daughter or not?'* The above utterance, does not directly refer to the fact that Mani Kongo is refusing to see his daughter but may be interpreted in this context as « are you not ready to go anywhere to know the whereabouts of your long lost loved daughter » or "you have come so far why not just for once, set your principles aside, get in and find your daughter" or 'it is important that you go in there because the clue to her whereabouts lies in there.' Viva's implied message in this case is non-coercive as it is a polite suggestion or advice which gives Mani Kongo the onus to act as he wishes. My suggestion of the above three implicatum is based on my understanding of the historical factors which lead to that utterance. It is therefore evident from the above example that implicature is also context-based and linguists especially translators and interpreters should heed to considerations of Context and culture in decoding meaning.

Implicatures have been used in several instances and cultures to preserve and to pose both positive and negative FTAs. This can be noted in most West and Central African cultural groups and languages. The Ngemba and Moghamo tribes of Cameroon and the Ibos of Nigeria are good examples of language communities which widely make

[52] Grice (1957) in his exhaustive discussion on implicature also sustained the above idea.

use of implicatures. It is used mostly when discussing sensitive issues, and almost always, in the courts of the elders by elders especially. An interactant may use implied form to conceal the harshness of a message which may pose an FTA if put directly to the listener. For instance, during a discussion, an interactant, instead of accusing the other for a wrong doing, may simply use a more polite approach. For example, "when an insect gathers wood on its own head must it carry it", an Ibo saying to imply, "you have to accept responsibility for your actions" which if put bluntly will accuse the listener of being irresponsible and dishonest, and as a result, will wound the listener's positive face. It would also be a negative FTA in the sense that in requesting the listener to accept responsibility, the speaker is compelling the listener to act against his will.

Consider this utterance from the Ngemba culture and how it minimizes FTA. In a court of Elders[53], the son of one of the elders apologises after being found guilty of theft. In accepting his apology, one of the elders utters the following: "A dog[54] can never give birth to an Eagle[55]". In plain terms, the speaker implies that the listener is forgiven because he understands that his act is genetic, implying further that the blame is not on the listener but on the father and father's family who historically, are known thieves. In this case, the implied form minimizes positive FTA on his listener's face. Translators and other linguists are advised to consider implicature as a vital component in understanding meaning transferred when dealing with texts.

3.3 Summary

Politeness is an important part of day-to-day communication. Most people intrinsically understand how to deal with people from their culture and speakers of their native language, or culture and language which they understand better during interpersonal communication. This, however, changes as they leave their familiar context of communication and move into less familiar or strange ones. The reason is that ideologies, beliefs and values which define people from particular communities

[53]Only men are allowed to attend most African traditional tribunals, and the few elderly women invited generally do not participate in decision making but work as advisers as regards women and children's affair or as witnesses maids to the men present.
[54] Just like the term " bitch" alludes to a prostitute in many Western and African cultures, a "dog" in the Ngemba culture and many peripheral cultures use the symbol of a dog to allude to theft or a thief.
[55] An eagle represents virtue, warrior-like and power imposing attitudes in many African cultures.

vary as we move from one social context into another, from one profession to another, one age group to another, one gender group to another and from one social position to another (Martin 1964:406). Hence the seriousness of an FTA through the use of terms of address and the expressions of politeness through language depend on the different contexts in which interactions occur. This makes the use of politeness features in language an often complex task. As a result, translators and translation researchers should always be aware that politeness features are context-based and should seek to understand the context of utterance so as to decipher and translate the intended meaning.

However, the notion of contextual judgement in the application of politeness features among reasonable persons during interpersonal communication does not negate the existence of the notion of politeness universals in communication. The latter is validated by Brown and Levinson's (1987) claim that interactants are always aware of the fact that a non-reciprocal use of politeness will lead to FTAs.

The onus therefore is on language users, in particular, translators and interpreters and/or translation researcher to understand and apply politeness features appropriately, should they wish to preserve face or maintain the same politeness expressed in the LC1 text as they translate into LC2. Finally, the translator, particularly screen and novel translators should understand that the dynamics of politeness is a cross-cultural affair and that it can be relayed trans-culturally through contextualisation.

This chapter leads us to the final chapter, Chapter four, in which politeness features are analysed. The analysis takes into consideration the ways in which politeness is expressed across languages and cultures and shows the extent to which politeness features have been sacrificed during the subtitling of *Pièces d'Identité/ID*. Politeness forms discussed above and suggested parameters on meaning retrieval from texts were considered in the retrieval of meaning during the analysis. The analysis consisted of numerous procedures as stated below.

Firstly, meaning retrieved was from on the original sound dialogue, that is, the audio/verbal linguistic texts, in conjunction with other synchronised extralinguistic

features such as actions and images within particular contexts and situations of communication in the film. The culture of interactants, which defines the diverse nature in which language is used by particular interactants, was also taken into consideration so as to clearly decipher the implicatum from the French text's conversational implicature. During this process, I used my understanding of the speakers' cultures, having had the opportunity to learn about these cultures during my stay in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2000.

However, in a case where the meaning expressed was in line with the orthodox theory of meaning transfer, that is, based on its denotative or root significance, it was deciphered as such. Secondly, meaning was decoded from related subtitles under study and compared with meaning decoded from the original sound dialogue to examine the extent of loss, or addition of politeness features which occurred during the subtitling process. Finally, subtitled extracts containing discrepancies in meaning as compared to the French audio text were selected for analysis.

Chapter Four

ANALYSIS

Chapter four is an analysis of politeness in the subtitles of *Pièces d'Identité/ID*. The analysis starts with a brief explanation of the process involved in watching subtitled films and audience design in films. It then proceeds with the analysis of the film to show the extent to which, and why, politeness, both positive and negative has been lost.

4.1 Watching subtitled films

Watching a subtitled film at the cinema, on TV, on the computer or on any modern audiovisual device is a kinesic process which involves looking at the images and irregularly reading the subtitles to retrieve meaning. It is an activity which involves three different simultaneous processes: reading of moving images, reading of texts and listening to the sound track (Hay 1989:133). When we watch motion pictures on screen, our eyes move in an unpredictable manner, engaged in a multiple integration of successive fixations which occur within a time limit of about 1-5 seconds, limiting therefore, information production only to the most essential and informative part of that image. At this pace, our eyes are never at rest.

Texts are read from clearly defined flat rectangles of different sizes which appear either at the top, centre or as is often the case at the bottom of the screen; from left to right for most European languages; right to left for Arabic and some Asian languages and top to bottom for Chinese, Japanese and similar languages. It also involves a non linear and speedy movement of the eyes through a series of information relating to that particular part of the image. The speed at which these texts appear on screen, usually 1-5 second or 250ms, and 20 to 40ms saccades on average, constitute a very strenuous task for the eyes. It is with this understanding in mind (considerations of human discerning speed) that subtitlers deliberately or reluctantly reduce or omit meaning in the oral source language while translating into the target written mode (Hay 1989:133).

With the above in mind, the application of the theory on politeness in this chapter has also taken into account the theory governing subtitling. These are constraints of time, space and synchrony under which the subtitler's task is set. Constraints of this nature have caused subtitlers deliberately to reduce meaning values of the original film dialogue as they translate, with the hope that the audience will make use of their knowledge of kinesic communication to understand the overall meaning in the text.

4.2 Audience design and nature of film dialogue

According to Bell's (1984) taxonomy of categories of the text receivers, the script-writer in films is the *text producer 1*. Like novelists he is the original text producer and he constructs discourse in a particular style in order to achieve a particular effect on his target receivers who are the cinema audience, and are considered as text *receiver 2*. His message is transmitted to the film audience through characters (speakers) in the film as they communicate with another character (s) in the film. They are considered as *text producers 2* and are the mouths of the scriptwriter and communicate to the audience what the script-writer in his position cannot directly do. The process involves *text producer 2* transmitting text *producer 1's* message indirectly to the audiences who is receiver *2,* by communicating with his addressee who is a character on screen and considered as *receiver 1*. Therefore, the script-writer's message and intended effect is expressed by characters on screen who, address each other as if in a real situation. This process gives dialogue in films an authentic feel and it is through this same process which dialogues in films are constructed and conveyed, (Hatim and Mason 2000:433-434; Bell 1984).

4.3 Analysis

This section is an analysis of politeness lost, minimized and exaggerated by the subtitler in the translation process of Pièces *d'identité/ID*. The analysis was carried out as follows.

The first section looks at cases where positive politeness was lost, minimised or exaggerated and why. The second looks at negative politeness in the same way, while the third looks at cases where both positive and negative politeness were lost, minimised or exaggerated in the same utterance.

The first (French) utterance in normal Times New Roman is a transcription of the original sound dialogue of the film. The second, in bold and italic, is the subtitle as done by the subtitler while the last utterance in bolded, Times New Roman format is the literal translation of the original sound dialogue done by the researcher. All references to appendix II during the analysis process were done in cases where excerpts extracted for analysis could not give full meaning of what is being discussed. Please read Notes on Transcription in Appendix II for more information on the transcription procedure.

Positive Politeness Lost

Positive politeness loss through omission

Excerpt: 1

218-Amanda

Je vous laisse travailler commissaire (.)

I'll leave you to your work.

I leave you to work superintendent.

Context: Formal

Situation of communication: At the police station. There is an interpersonal communication between Jefke, the head of the police and Amanda, a jail bird just released on probation. There is an imbalance in power relations between the two interactants. The head of police in this case calls the shots and his authority has been duly acknowledged by Amanda in the sound dialogue as she constantly refers to Jefke in her speech act as ***Commissaire/ superintendent***[56]**.** The use of titles in this situation is a sign of acknowledgement of the listener's status, and omission of the title will be indicative of disrespect of the listener's status. The subtitler breaches this convention when he omits the title ***Commissaire/ superintendent*** in the subtitle and causes a loss of positive politeness. Positive politeness has therefore been breached in the subtitling of this utterance through omission of a term of address.

Excerpt: 2

465-Mani Kongo

Une tournée générale Marienke (.)

This round is for me!

A round for all Marienke

Context: Informal

Situation of communication: At Marienke's Inn. A friendly dialogue between Mani Kongo, Marienke, Jeanneke and others. Mani Kongo who, initially, has been referring to Marienke as ***madame Marienke*** (title plus first name TFN) a conventionally accepted form of respect in interpersonal communication between strangers in French, later moved from TFN to first name (FN) ***Marienke,*** in the above utterance. An act which indicates a shift from a business and formal relationship to that of friendship and informality, reminiscent of a mutual approval of each other's face and an acknowledgement of Mani Kongo as belonging to the same community (positive

[56] A culture which is current in most military and police corps worldwide as confirmed by Constable Odayar from the South African Police Service (SAPS) Johannesburg South Africa.

face) (see Appendix II, scene 34). However, the subtitler omits the first name in the subtitle which leads to a loss of positive politeness through omission.

Positive politeness loss through omissions and choice of words

Excerpt: 3

283-Caretaker

◦ Vous nous causez trop de soucis monsieur Kongo! (.) **&** vos papiers on les a retrouvé à la gare du nord (.4) **&** et vous êtes encore rentré très tard la nuit! (.4) **&** après tout ce que j'ai fait pour vous! (.4) ◦j'espérais dans votre cas un peu plus (.4) du sérieux (.)

You have caused us a lot of trouble. Your papers were found at the train station. You came late again last night. After all I have done for you, I hoped for a little more respect

You are causing us a lot of worries Mr. Kongo, your papers were found at La Gare du nord and again you came back very late last night, after everything that I've done for you, I was hoping for a little seriousness from you.

Context: Formal

Situation: Dialogue between Mani Kongo, the Caretaker and Father Musantu in Mani Kongo's room at the African Home. The caretaker, in expressing her concern regarding Mani Kongo's behaviour, tactfully chooses a non provocative word **soucis/worries** in her utterance, **Vous nous causez trop de soucis monsieur Kongo!/ You are causing us a lot of worries Mr Kongo** (see Appendix, utterance 283). The use of ***soucis/worries*** instead of ***problème/trouble*** is intended to minimise positive FTA on Mani Kongo's Face and such tact is sustained by the inclusion of TFN, **monsieur Kongo / Mr Kongo.** The use of the title also indicates that his positive face is acknowledged by the Caretaker. This minimises positive FTA on Mani Kongo's positive face as he feels he is being treated with respect. However, the tact used by the Caretaker in the original sound dialogue is replaced by a provocative word, **trouble.** Although the latter seems to be a close synonym of **Soucis/worries**, it

is contextually and situationally inappropriate in this circumstance of use as compared to **worries.** It directly tags Mani Kongo as a troublemaker hence an intrinsic attack to his positive face.

Moreover, such impoliteness is exacerbated by the subtitler's omission of the use of the usually atoning title and naming, **monsieur Kongo/Mr Kongo** which acknowledges face and minimises positive FTA. It is therefore obvious, from the above analysis that Mani Kongo's positive face has been the object of loss of positive politeness in the subtitle through the use of a different choice of word and an omission of polite terms by the subtitler in his translation process.

Excerpt: 4

512-Marieke

//! Mon cher monsieur au revoir et bon voyage hein (.4) je vous aime bien hein (.)

Goodbye and bon voyage you are not too bad.

My dear sir, goodbye and safe journey, I like you well enough hein.

Context: Semi-formal.

Situation: Mani Kongo, who has been living in a Brussels inn, had formed a close relationship with tenants and clients of the bar. He is about to return to his homeland in Africa and his new found friends bid him farewell (see Appendix II, scene 46).

Marienke in bidding farewell to Mani Kongo, refers to Mani Kongo as ***Mon cher monsieur/my dear sir*** which is indicative of the importance of her addressee to her. She acknowledges him as a person of high standing, and dear to her heart seen through the use of the possessive pronoun, ***mon/my,*** and title, ***monsieur/sir.*** The choice of words used by Marienke in addressing Mani Kongo express respect and affection, a speech act which raises the listener's positive face to a higher degree. Nevertheless, this noun phrase, ***mon cher monsieur/my dear sir,*** has been omitted in

the subtitle causing meaning expressed in the original audio text to lose some degree of positive face value.

Furthermore, in the same utterance, Marienke expresses her affection for Mani Kongo, in the following way, ***je vous aime bien/I like you well,*** a conventionally accepted phrase which acknowledges face and expresses positive politeness. However, the contrary is expressed in the target text through the subtitler's use of different choices of words in establishing equivalence, ***Je vous aime bien/ You are not too bad.*** Analysing meaning implied from the subtitler's ***You are not too bad,*** the first impression decoded is that of 'you are bad but not as bad as I expected' or I thought you were bad, but you are not too bad'. However, it is human nature that one's face should be approved of, but meaning from this sentence indicates that Mani Kongo has been judged before or thought as a bad person, (prejudice, which is a sign of disapproval) and is now thought not to be as bad as thought of. The latter is an implied act of rejection which wounds the listener's positive face.

Positive politeness loss through omission and wrong use of conventionally accepted grammatical formulations

Excerpt: 5

259-Jefke

Hé excusez-le papa Jos croyait simplement qu'au pays vous pouvez en fabriquer d'autres (.)

You'll have to excuse him. He thought that back home you could make more.

Hey excuse him papa, Jos simply thought that in the country you could make others.

Context: Semi-formal

Situation of communication: Dialogue between Jefke and Mani Kongo. Mani Kongo has just taken offence at Jos who referred to his apparel as fetishes (see utterance 258). To calm him down, Jefke intervenes with cajoling words, ***Hé excusez-le papa/Hey excuse him papa*****,** subtitled as ***You'll have to excuse him***. Comparing both text, one would realise that there are polite features expressed in the audio text that have been omitted in the subtitle, leading to loss of positive politeness as illustrated in the analysis below.

The title ***papa***[57] is a term of address which culturally shows respect towards elderly males in interpersonal relations, irrespective of the speaker's relationship with such male listener, in Congo, Cameroon and other West and Central African countries. This title has been used in the audio text by Jefke to lessen Mani Kongo's anger and restore his lost positive face value. However, the subtitler omitted the title ***papa*** in the subtitle. Therefore its absence in the subtitle is suggestive of a loss in positive politeness (respect) expressed in the audio text.

Furthermore, Jefke uses the phrase ***Hé excusez-le/ Hey excuse him*** in the sound track text. The use of the French second person plural ***excusez*** in this situation is indicative of Jefke's respect for his listener's face. However, the above French verbal phrase has been established in English in a more neutral ***excuse him*** which lacks the same respect as the French audio text.

In addition, the expression, ***Hé*** used in this context in Congo and other Central and West African countries, expresses apology. In this context, it replaces the English, oops!, *oh no! Sorry, excuse me, it is a mistake*. Such a use, therefore in this context, further saves face as it seeks to redress Mani Kongo's affected positive face. Here, the subtitler failed to consider the cultural significance of such a linguistic phenomenon in that context of communication and omits it, and as a result, gives room for positive FTA on Mani Kongo's face.

Overall, as can be depicted from Jefke's tone of voice in conjunction with the above discussed polite aspects, his request (***Hé excusez-le papa)*** in French is done in the

[57] Also used today among friends as a show of respect.

form of a plea which suggests a non-coercive act. The English text ***(You'll have to excuse him***.) without any accompanying polite form such as "please' and/or term of address, gives the subtitle a rather commanding/coercive tone (see Appendix II, scene 22, utterance 259). There is therefore a loss of positive politeness in the subtitling of this utterance effected through omission of polite terms of address and wrong use of conventionally accepted grammatical formulations which denote politeness respectively.

Positive impoliteness loss through exaggeration

Excerpt: 6

193-Bibiche-ninja

!&Vieux con

Stupid old bastard. Idiot.

Old Idiot

Context: Formal
Situation: At a brothel, a business and formal environment. Dialogue between Bibiche and her client, Mani Kongo. There is a degree of respect and formality between the two before the incident in utterance 193 where Bibiche exhibits impoliteness (see Appendix, scene 19). She portrays Mani Kongo as ***Vieux con/Old Idiot*** in the original sound track dialogue which is a deliberate disapproval of Mani Kongo's act. However, this attack is exacerbated in the subtitle when the subtitler establishes its equivalence as ***Stupid old bastard,*** which increases the degree of attack to Mani Kongo's positive face. There is therefore a loss in degree of impoliteness[58] in English through the subtitler's exaggeration, achieved through subtitler's choice of words, which are different from that in the original sound track.

[58] Considered as an aspect of politeness and used as such (impoliteness) in this study.

Positive politeness minimised through choice of words

Excerpt: 7

258-Mani Kongo

Mais monsieur Jos vous m'insultez (.4) vous savez ce que vous appelez fétiches et les signes héritiers de notre dynastie (.4) si vous n'étiez pas l'ami de monsieur Joseph j'aurai été impoli avec vous (.)

But Mr. Jos you insult me. What you call my fetishes are symbols of my dynasty. If you were not Mr. Jefke's friend, I would have to take offence.

But Mr Jos you insult me, do you know what you call fetishes are inherited symbols of our dynasty, if you were not the friend of Mr Joseph I would have been impolite with you.

Context: formal

Situation: In Jos's bar where Mani Kongo is guest to Jefke. In a communicational act between Mani Kongo and Jos, two strangers, Mani Kong in referring to Jefke, uses a semi-formal approach and addresses him as, ***monsieur Joseph*** (TFN), which shows respect to Jefke's face in that particular situation (old acquaintance). However, the subtitler translates this speech act as, ***Mr. Jefke,*** (title plus nickname), (see Appendix II, utterance 258). In using a nickname in place of a first name as used in the original sound dialogue, the author of the translation minimises the degree of respect through contempt, towards ***Monsieur Joseph*****'s** positive face. This leads to the subtitled text losing some positive politeness.

Positive politeness minimised through omission

Excerpt: 8

436-Jeanneke

Majesté venez rigoler avec nous (.)

Come with us, Majesty.

Your Majesty, come and have fun with us

Context: Semi-formal

Situation: Jeanneke, and other clients are drinking in Marienke's bar and Jeanneke invites Mani Kongo to join them. She is aware of Mani Kongo's kingly status and in speaking to him uses the second person plural verb agreement ***venez*** to show respect towards Mani Kongo's face value; Majesté ***venez rigoler avec nous/ Your Majesty, come and have fun with us.*** In so doing, she approves of Mani Kongo's kingly status (see Appendix II, scene 43). However the subtitler establishes equivalence in a rather neutral third person singular and its verb agreement ***come*** which neutralises the degree of positive politeness expressed in the French original sound dialogue. Although it can be rightly argued that majesty is a show of politeness in this situation, it can also be asserted that the use of the second person plural ***venez*** in the sound dialogue gives more colour to respect expressed in the soundtrack. Therefore, politeness expressed in this situation in the audio text has been minimised by the subtitler because of a problem of non-equivalence as the English language and culture has lost that particular usage. Although only this particular case of non-equivalence has been chosen, there are several cases of positive politeness lost in the subtitle in general because of a lack of the *Tu-vous* pronouns in English.

Excerpt: 9

176- Mani Kongo

! A l'école primaire (.4) ah bon (.4) si vous savez où est ma fille je vous suis fils (.)

In grade school? If you know where she is, I will follow you.

In primary school? Sure? If you know where my daughter is I will follow you son.

Context: Formal.

Situation: At the University of Brussels's canteen, dialogue between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva who are two strangers (see Appendix, scene 19, Utterance 176). Mani Kongo while speaking to Viva acknowledges the latter's positive face by referring to him using the title ***Fils[59]/son,*** which can be implicatively understood as: ***"You are worthy enough to be trusted as a son, so, I will come with you son"*** an act which uplifts Viva's positive FTA. However, the omission of title ***Fils/son*** in the subtitle minimises the degree of positive politeness expressed in the sound track of the film.

Negative Politeness

Negative politeness loss through omission

Excerpt: 10

347-Sgt Van Loo

!<> Du calme du calme (.4) police vos papiers (.4) bon cartes d'identité s'il vous plait (.4) et votre copain il n'ira pas loin hein (.)

Calm down please. Your Id, please. Your boyfriend wouldn't get far.

[59] Like with the case of ' papa', 'fils' is generally used by elderly people irrespective of sex, when referring to males, who are young enough to be their children, or generally by Kings towards every one (except his kinsmen) as he is generally considered as the father of the nation. (Understanding based on my Ngemba culture, the Badundu and Kasai cultures of Cameroun and Congo respectively).

Calm down calm down, police your papers, fine Id please, and your friend he will not get that far hmm.

Context: formal.

Situation: Police sergeant Van Loo in civilian attire intercepts a brawl between Mayele and Viva-Wa-Viva. Viva escapes, while a constable goes after him. Meanwhile Van Loo engages in a dialogue with Mayele and Saffi (see Appendix II, utterance 347). In the course of the conversation, Van Loo becomes coercive, orders his interactants to calm down and ask for their identification documents. However, before doing so, he uses tact to reduce FTA on Mayele and Saffi's faces by introducing himself as a police officer; '***police'***, an act which culturally gives him the authority to intrude without posing any FTA to his interactants face value. By implication, the word ***police*** in this situation make his interactants understand that he has been invested with powers by the law to act as such. However, in transferring the same message in the target language, the subtitler fails to include that vital face saving element, '***police'*** and proceeds with his coercive act. His action in the subtitle which lacks the peremptory introduction (police) would be considered as, intrusive and coercive as it compels his interactants' to divulge information to an unknown person. The latter therefore constitutes an FTA on Mayele and Saffi's negative face values. The normal question in their mind will be '*who is he to know about our private life, why doesn't he mind his own business?* or *who is he to order us around?*' The subtitler has therefore created a negative FTA in the subtitle through omission.

Positive and Negative Politeness Loss

Positive and negative politeness loss through choice of word

Excerpt: 11

115-Unknown Man

!j'sais pas moi (.4) un féticheur ou un sorcier (.4) histoire du village quoi (.)

***Don't ask me. A marabou, a sorcerer, the village historian* //**

I don't know, a traditional doctor, a sorcerer, something like a village historian.

Context: Formal
Situation: At the Congolese Embassy in Belgium, dialogue between the embassy secretary and an unknown African character. The secretary humbles herself by allowing her interlocutor, the Unknown Man to understand that she is ignorant about what a Mani Kongo is. However, the subtitler's rendition of the Unknown Man's response to the secretary's concern in the subtitle is done in a rather impolite manner as compared to that in the original source audio utterance in which a reciprocal demonstration of ignorance on the subject which saves face is done. The choice of words in the subtitle is responsible for loss of politeness in this situation as analysed below (see Appendix, utterance 115).

J'sais pas/I don't know as used in the original sound dialogue, is suggestive of a polite and cooperative response which indicates to the listener that she is being listened to (positive FTA saved here), but cannot receive a satisfactory response because her interlocutors does not have sufficient knowledge on the subject matter (mutual acknowledgement of face by sharing similar thought – they are both ignorant). Nonetheless, in the subtitle, she receives a rather arrogant and uncooperative; ***don't ask me*** in response, which suggests rejection and lack of concern about the listener's preoccupation. The subtitle response suggests a rather uncooperative response (rejection) from the Unknown man which is perceived as an FTA to the listener's positive face (choice of words by subtittler). The above subtitle will give the secretary the feeling that she is being ignored or her action disapproved of.

Moreover, the fact that he rejects the secretary's attempt at communication through the ***Don't ask me*** phrase is also interpreted as an act of impeding her from communicating which constitutes a breach of her negative face.

As illustrated above, the subtitler has therefore in his translation process lost both positive and negative politeness expressed in the sound dialogue through his choice of words.

Excerpt: 12

273-Mwana

Laisses tomber je t'ai reconnu hier soir au cabaret (.)

Get a life. I recognised you last night at the club.

Let it go I recognised you yesterday at the cabaret

Context: Semi formal

Situation: At Amanda's neighbourhood, dialogue between Amanda and Chaka-Jo who are mere acquaintances. Chaka-Jo meets Amanda and informs her that he had been waiting for her the whole day and night, at the same spot. In response to that, Amanda in requesting Chaka to stop telling lies, uses a rather emotionally neutral phrase ***Laisse tomber/let it go***. This utterance is however expressed in a rather provocative tone, ***Get a life*** which by implication, disapproves of Chaka's behaviour (positive FTA) (see Appendix II, scene 24). Contrary to the audio text, the written text is offensive and contemptuous. She would be considered as being judgemental in requesting that Chaka-Jo gets a life. Amanda's act implicatively paints Chaka-Jo's character as bad and advises him to desist from such attitudes. In this situation, such an act will be an FTA on the listener's positive face. Similarly, in requesting him to ***get a, life***, the speaker, by implication requests him to desist from a particular lifestyle hence compelling him to act against his will, which is a constituent characteristic of a negative FTA.

There is therefore a loss of both positive and negative politeness features in this utterance through choices of words used by the subtitler in establishing equivalence of the French original dialogue in written English.

Excerpt: 13

244-Jefke

Parlez un peu moins fort-là hmm xxx Mani Kongo que je vous présente ici c'est le roi des BaKongos (.)

Lay-off me…goddammit! May I present you Mani Kongo, King of the BaKongo.

Not so loud hum, Mani Kongo that I introduce to you here is the king of the BaKongo people.

Context: Informal

Situation: At le Katanga Bar, Jefke's guest, Mani Kongo is laughed at by hilarious customers who are Jefke's long-time friends (since the colonial period in Congo). Jefke in requesting them to stop laughing taunting Mani Kongo adopts a friendlier and comical tone as is the custom with friends, **parlez *un peu moins fort-là hmm/* Not so Loud hum,** a rather informal language which contextually and situationally implies "hey guys take it easy on him" However, the subtitler in establishing equivalence uses a rather authoritative, unfriendly and provocative choice of words; ***Lay-off me…goddammit,*** to express meaning in the original sound text (see Appendix II, scene 22, utterance 244). Based on the understanding of the collocation, **Lay-off** from the online Thesaurus dictionary, which means, *'to bring (as an action or operation) to an immediate end',* it can be concluded that the subtitle enacted in this particular context and situation of communication, is a coercive act which impedes interactants from acting as they would wish to (FTA on the interactants negative face).

More so, the choice of the word ***goddammit!***, a widely and variedly used collocation, is a colloquialism which expresses disgust or rejection, hence an FTA on the interactants, positive face as can be understood from this particular context and situation of communication. More so, the whole utterance ***Lay-off me…goddammit*** can also be construed as a positive FTA in the case where Jefke disapproves of his listeners' actions. As a result, the subtitler has in the course of translating, introduced negative and positive impoliteness absent in the original sound dialogue. There is

therefore a loss of negative and positive politeness in the subtitle expressed through the choice of words.

Positive and negative loss through the choice of words and conventionally accepted polite grammatical constructions

Excerpt: 14

181-Mani Kongo
Excusez-moi fils j'n' peux pas entrer dans cette maison (.)

I will not enter that house.

I'm sorry son I can't go into this house.

Context: Formal
Situation: At la Gare du Nord. Dialogue between two acquaintances Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva, (see Appendix, scene 19, utterance 181). Viva in an attempt to ensnare Mani Kongo into the brothel, and swindle him, pretends he is helping him find his daughter. His proposal to help is tactfully rejected by Mani Kongo through the use of a conventionally accepted apologetic phrase and title**, *Excusez-moi fils j'n' peux pas entrer dans cette maison* / I'm sorry son I can't go into this house.** The use of this phrase by Mani Kongo in the sound track tactfully minimises FTA both on the listener's positive and negative face. In addition, the use of the title ***Fils/Son*** gives Viva a sense of belonging which makes him feel that although his suggestion is rejected, he is treated with respect. Mani Kongo's approach in the sound dialogue therefore minimises positive FTA on Viva's face. His negative face is also preserved through apology, ***Excusez-moi/I'm sorry*** which by implication, informs Viva that it is not his intention to stop him from helping him.

Nonetheless, the use of certain conventionally accepted phrases as politeness features in the sound track dialogue are subtitled differently. This creates both positive and negative FTAs on Viva's face. There is a semantic difference between, ***j'n' peux pas***

entrer/ I cannot enter (audio text) and, ***I will not enter*** (subtitle). In ***j'n' peux pas entrer/I cannot enter,*** the speaker, by implication, brings forth a scenario which suggests his inability to act for certain reasons. This is an act which preserves FTA, whereas the subtitled, ***I will not enter***, informs the listener that he can act but has chosen not to. The latter, compared to the French polite utterance, constitutes a threat to Viva's positive face value as it contextually implies a direct disapproval of Viva's habit of visiting brothels. In both circumstances as illustrated above the subtitler failed to adopt the same approach as in the French sound dialogue to preserve Viva's positive and negative face.

Positive and negative politeness loss through omission

Excerpt: 15

286-Père Musantu

◦Vous avez un avion ce soir (.4) madame la directrice s'est gentiment occupée de votre réservation (.)

You can fly tonight. The director has made the reservation for you.

Your have a plane tonight, madam the director has kindly taken care of your reservation.

Context: Formal.

Situation: Communication between Rev. Father Musantu, and Mani Kongo. Father Musantu and the Caretaker, who consider Mani Kongo as troublesome, had decided to compel him to a premature return to Congo (see Appendix II, scene 25, utterance 286). During communication between Mani Kongo and Father Musantu, Musantu in insisting that Mani Kongo leaves that night, informs him that his flight has already been reserved without his knowledge. An FTA on his negative face as it breaches his right to act freely. Nevertheless, in communicating that particular information to Mani Kongo, Musantu uses tact to avoid FTA on Mani Kongo's positive and negative face. He achieves this through the use of selected words such as, ***Gentiment/Kindly*****,** which make Mani Kongo feel that the Caretaker's act is rather benevolent than coercive.

However, the subtitler omits the appeasing ***Gentiment/Kindly*** making the subtitled information a rather peremptory act as compared to that in the French audio text (negative FTA). It can as well be implied that, by adopting an imperative approach in his request, Father Musantu sends a message of rejection and disdain as he assumes that Mani Kongo is unfit to make logical decisions, (positive FTA). The omission of a major face saving word ***gentiment/Kindly*** in the subtitle leads to a loss of negative and positive politeness respectively.

Excerpt: 16

401-Jeanneke

Marienke une gueuse pour sa majesté sur mon compte (.)

A beer for His Majesty, on me.

Marienke a beer for His Majesty on me.

Context: Informal

Situation: In Marienke's bar, Jeanneke, an old customer and friend to Marienke, the bar owner and manageress, request Marienke to give a beer to Mani Kongo on her (Jeanneke) account. In her utterance, she refers to Marienke using her first name ***Marienke,*** (see Appendix II, scene 33). The use of the first name ***Marienke,*** instead of title plus name, or title alone as is the case in such (informal) situations, is suggestive of Jeanneke's approval of a friendly relation with Marienke and such an approval, minimises the commanding or coercive tone from Jeanneke's request. The above therefore preserves Marienke's positive face and minimises FTA on her negative face value in the sense that, Jeanneke's non coercive act does not impede on Marienke's freedom to act as wished. Nonetheless, positive and negative politeness expressed in the sound dialogue is omitted in the subtitle. This omission implicatively gives Jeanneke's utterance a rather commanding and unfriendly tone. It can therefore be ascertained that positive and negative politeness has been lost in the subtitle through omission of FN.

Positive and negative impoliteness loss through omission

Excerpt: 17

185-Bibiche-ninja

Ok viens (.4) viens voir Bibiche-Ninja & viens viens viens viens viens viens assieds-toi hmmm vous m'offrez un verre (.)

Ok, come on. Come see Bibiche-Ninja sit down. I am thirsty. Buy me a drink.

Okay, come, come see Bibiche-Ninja come come come come come come come sit down hummm do you offer me a glass ?

Context: Formal.

Situation: At the Brothel. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Bibiche –Ninja; an African prostitute in Brussels. Mani Kongo reluctantly goes into the Brothel in the hope of finding his daughter. He addresses Bibiche with respect but Bibiche uses a rather patronizing, ***viens viens viens viens viens viens*** (see Appendix II, scene 19, utterance 185). Such repetitions in most Central and West African cultures are used when communicating with children and especially with pets. Hence, through such an approach, Bibiche in her utterance (***viens viens viens viens viens viens***) is rather dismissive of Mani Kongo's kingly and above all, human status. In so doing, she implicatively, disapproves of, or rejects his personality, hence discredits his positive face. Moreover, the above repetition can be interpreted in this context and situation as a coercive act which compels Mani Kongo to act against his will and this poses a negative FTA on his negative face. Therefore, the French original audio text does not only constitute an FTA on his positive face but on his negative face as well. However, the speech act is not the same in the subtitle which reduces the repetition, ***viens viens viens viens viens viens,*** to a simple and neutral ***come.*** This leads to a loss of both positive and negative impoliteness found in the French sound track in the subtitle.

4.4 Summary

The above-analysed excerpts were chosen among many other excerpts with similar loss of meaning from Appendix II and constituted our data for analysis. They are comprised of transcribed original sound dialogues, copied subtitles and back translations done by the researcher, with the aim of investigating politeness either lost, minimised or exaggerated by the subtitler in *Pièces d'identité/ID*.

During the analysis, a comparative socio-cultural and semantic study of both positive and negative politeness was done between the original soundtrack and their equivalent subtitles. The analysis shows that politeness implied or not in the sound dialogue had been either fully or partially encoded differently in some of the subtitles, leading to loss of some or all of text producer1's intended meaning and effect.

In the case of politeness lost through omission, the analysis shows that most omissions in the subtitles were that of key politeness words such as the tu-vous forms, honorific, naming, and conventionally accepted grammatical formulations which express politeness in the French culture. Without criticising the subtitler's task, as this is not the prime intention of this research, it can be asserted that the reason for the omissions can be ascribed to cultural and technical factors.

Culturally, some features considered as respect in French had either lost their value in English (tu-vous forms for instance) or are taken lightly by users in communicational situations in English and their omissions may be of no serious effect on politeness (naming or titles in certain instances).

In cases were politeness was lost through omission of conventionally accepted grammatical formulations which express politeness, omissions were the result of the lengthiness of the polite formulations in French. This made the subtitler whose task is limited by the constraints of time, space and synchrony to sacrifice meaning. The reason therefore for sacrificing politeness features which would have had an impact on the listener's face value can be attributed to the constraints of time, space and synchrony imposed on the translator as has been discussed above.

Loss of certain politeness features through omission was therefore the most viable solution adopted by the translator to give the subtitle viewers the gist of what is said by characters on screen. This was done with the knowledge that the reduced texts would be easily and quickly read by the viewers. The subtitler's knowledge of kinesic communication also enabled him to understand that although certain meaning in the subtitles are lost, matching the subtitles with moving images on screen would help the viewer complement meaning loss by inferring from the actions on screen. It can therefore be asserted that the subtitler of *Pièces d'Identité/ID,* in most cases used omission as a solution to constraints imposed on his task.

The non-negligible loss of politeness through choices of words was done through wrong use of honorifics, titles, naming, addition or exaggeration as well as wrong use of conventionally accepted grammatical formulations which express politeness.

In a case where it is assumed the subtitler knew the LC1 equivalence in LC2 and that such an equivalence was not correctly encoded in the subtitle, the plausible reason for this would be technical. From this premise, we can assert that the English equivalence would have been too long to appear on screen within the limited time and space frame (due to constraints of space and time), and would not have matched the moving images on screen (constraint of synchrony). In this regard, the subtitler chose to omit them.

In the case of non-equivalence, due to socio-cultural factors, loss can be attributed to the translator's deliberate refusal to opt for suggested solution to non-equivalence such as paraphrasing, and adaptations as suggested by Baker (1992). Considering constraints imposed on subtitler's tasks, it is an irrefutable fact that an attempt to establish an LC2 equivalence using paraphrasing and/or adaptation as solutions to non-equivalence in a cultural situation, which, in most cases would require longer utterances will be impossible in subtitling. This leaves the subtitlers with one solution, which is sacrificing meaning either through omissions and/or choice of words as has been the case in *Pieces d'Identité/ID*.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the extent to which constraints in subtitling lead to loss of politeness features during the subtitling process of the film *Pièces d'identité/ID* and to what effect.

A comparative study on subtitling and other multimedia types of translation was done and it was established that subtitling is a unique genre of multimedia translation. The study then focused on subtitling to understand the process involved with the aim of understanding what causes loss of meaning in subtitling. It was established that constraints of time, space and synchrony limits the scope of transferring a complete LC1 message, in particular politeness expressed in subtitling in the LC2.

Since this study focuses on loss of politeness as a cultural feature which is expressed differently through language and across different cultures, a study on culture, language and translation was done to understand strategies involved in the intercultural translational process as well as elucidate the approach adopted by the subtitler in the subtitling of *Pièces d'Identité/ID*. It was established that language is a tool for cultural expressions and that different cultures/ideologies affect the way in which different users including subtitlers/translators use language. Contextualisation was suggested as the best approach to deal with intercultural translation. However, in the case of translation and subtitling in particular, this research concluded that the onus is on the subtitler as an intercultural mediator to ensure that a balanced translation is done.

A second study was done to elucidate what politeness entails and how it is expressed differently across languages and cultures and why, with particular focus on French and English. It was concluded that although politeness is a universal notion, cultural/ideological differences between users of even the same language is the reason why politeness is expressed differently. Hence a suggestion that cultural translators should adopt contextualisation as the best approach to transcend cultural hegemony

and establish balanced translations which would give voice to other cultures [cultures other than those from the West] in the process.

Having asserted that subtitling is a unique process in translation and seen how constraints involved in this discipline limits the scope of the subtitler as regards meaning transfer in Chapter One, and having understood politeness as a culturally determined process, a comparative socio-cultural and semantic analysis of the dialogue in *Pièces d'identité/ID* was done to assess the extent of loss of politeness features and why.

To achieve this, the French sound dialogue was transcribed while the subtitles were copied and posted below the transcriptions. A back translation of the transcribed sound dialogues was done and placed below the copied subtitles (see Appendix II). This constituted our data for analysis. A socio-semantic[60] study was done on the data with the aim of finding discrepancies in the expression of politeness features between corresponding SL and TL utterances.

The analysis indicated that the majority of politeness features which were lost in the film through omission as a whole could be ascribed to the tu and vous pronouns, a very important feature in the expression of politeness in interpersonal interactions which exist in French, but no longer in English as discussed in Chapter Three. Their use during interpersonal interaction automatically informs users if listeners are being respected or not. Unlike the French language and culture which has maintained the use of the tu-vous pronouns as a show of respect, contemporary English has lost the use of the thou/you and indiscriminately uses the neutral "you" in both informal and formal occasions. Such loss through omission as a result of non-equivalence in the subtitles of *Pièces d'identité/ID* is the result of cultural/linguistic disparities between French and English. Furthermore, a lack of the tu-vous pronouns in English poses a problem of equivalence transfer in subtitling[61] unlike with other types of translation[62]

[60] Meaning understood based on the context of use. This involves consideration of culture, and the different levels of context. (Cognitive, social or interactive, dynamic and power relations as suggested by Baker 2006:322:332).

[61] Linguistically, the inclusion of a title (sir/madam), Honorific (Doctor, Professor, His/her Majesty) or a polite grammatical formulation which reflect politeness in English during the translation process can also serve as a compensatory measure for the lack of the tu-vous in English. However, considering constraints of time, space and synchrony in subtitling, this solution would only be limited to situation where the subtitler has enough space and time on his side.

[62] Literal translation.

due to constraints of time space and synchrony which does not give the subtitler enough space to adopt other translational strategies such as paraphrasing and or at times contextualisation. It can therefore be asserted that omission as suggested by Toury's (1985: 27) in his discussion on the translation of "Metaphor into Ø[63]" was applied by the subtitler in relation to the tu-vous pronouns in the subtitles as the most viable strategy with the understanding that other paralinguistic parameters such as facial expression, gestures, tone of voice and language register, expressed by a speaker would compensate for the linguistic loss.

However, loss of politeness occurs not only as a result of non-equivalence or constraints but for other reasons. Words and expressions with relatively lesser amount of alphabetical letters which denote politeness such as titles (sir/madam), honorifics (superintendent, his/your majesty, son, daughter /child) and naming (Marienke, Jeanneke) as analysed in Chapter Four could have been translated without necessarily affecting time and speed involved in the reading process or distort the synchronization process. More so, considering the fact that these polite features have been translated in other utterances[64] in *Pièces d'identité/ID* without distorting the reading and synchronization process, such loss through omissions can be ascribed to the subtitler's bilingual and bicultural knowledge. In this regard, it can be ascertained that influence of the source text culture might have had an impact on the subtitler to the extent of him failing to understand and/or made him ignore the cultural implication of such address terms in the target language and culture. This impact is the result of certain omissions in the film.

Another aspect which lead to loss of politeness features which was neither as a result of constraints in subtitling nor non-equivalence issues, but can be attributed to the subtitler's linguistic and cultural abilities is the case of politeness loss through exaggeration[65]. The translator adds meaning in the subtitle which is not found in the sound dialogue and this leads to loss of politeness which is neither related to

[63] Ø means "complete omission Toury (1985:27).
[64] Out of the 13 occurrences of the address term "Fils" in the film only 7 or 54% (utterances: 66, 87, 92, 101,173, 292, and 314) were maintained in the subtitle. The term "fille (s)" was used 7 times and was maintained 4 times or 57%. Overall, a significant 9/20 or 45% of both terms were not maintained.

[65] In utterance 244, scene 22.

constraints of the profession nor to non-equivalent problems, but rather to the subtitler's perception of the world. Given the importance of politeness in the interaction between characters because it reflects significant aspects of culture, African culture in particular as per our study, the translator should have paid more attention to it. His task could therefore be seen to be flawed on certain levels as a result of his linguistic and cultural/ideological ability. In this case, it can also be said that the subtitler failed to follow the contextualisation process and Kinesic communication system in deciphering meaning which led to assumptions based on his own knowledge of the world rather than the interactants intended meaning.

Notwithstanding the above, there are many instances in the film where the subtitler established equivalent polite features in the subtitles. Politeness expressed through the use of conventionally accepted grammatical expressions was maintained in the subtitle through the use of an equivalent apologetic expression such as "excusez-moi"/ "excuse me…" in utterance 4 scene 1 and in many other instances. The use of first name as a means of establishing politeness which, by implication acknowledges the fact that the speaker knows and consider the listener as a friend rather than a stranger was correctly done in most instances.

Although the subtitler is responsible at times for a certain degree of loss, most of the loss in *Pièces d'identité/ID* was as a result of either non-equivalence and/or constraint on the profession as discussed above. Considering therefore the above, it can be asserted that in most cases, constraints of time, space and synchrony, and linguistic and cultural/ideological disparities rather than the subtitler's ability to perform are the main factors which lead to loss of meaning in subtitling as in *Pièces d'Identité/ID*.

This however raises the question as to why amidst such loss of meaning, subtitle audiences still continue to watch, understand and enjoy subtitled films like the film's originally intended language viewers?

The response is evident from the earlier discussion on contextualisation as a means of retrieving meaning from a text, the kinesic system of communication and implicature. They sustain the fact that we do not understand utterances only on the bases of their

textual features, that is, words or stretches of language which appear on screen because of the polysemic nature of words used variedly across different language cultures. Meaning is derived from the implied or embedded meaning which can be retrieved only from the context and situation of utterance. The context and situation in this case are the extratextual features which synchronically accompany the text and are considered to be important in the understanding of meaning from a text. Extratextual features constitute about 93% of meaning transmitted, and not only serve as the context and situation of communication, but also compensate for meaning absent in the textual features. It is therefore, through these two referential processes that the subtitle audience understands text producer 1's (who is, in this case the character on screen) intended message conveyed via text producer 2 (the subtitler).

The very important semantic role played by contextualisation as a means of retrieving meaning from a text, and the kinesic communicational system in subtitling has reduced the subtitler's task to that of a linguistic guide for audiences who otherwise will not understand the film. The subtitler works with the various levels of the film and understands that meaning lost on the purely linguistic level is conveyed by their corresponding extralinguistic features. The subtitling task is done therefore with this knowledge in mind and gives the subtitler the liberty to sacrifice meaning on the textual level. This highlights the salient nature of contextualisation and the kinesic system of communication as approaches to intercultural translation and in particular in subtitling. Contextualisation serves both as a means of interpreting meaning from a text by both subtitlers and viewers, and as a means of encoding interpreted meaning in the target text by subtitlers while kinesic communication serves as a means of compensating for loss of linguistic meaning in the subtitles.

Subtitling as a multimedia form of translation, is therefore a distinct multimedia form of translation in the sense that although meaning in the LC1 is sacrificed in the translation process, subtitled films and documentaries can still be enjoyed and understood by foreign viewers as the source language viewers would. However, like other translations, its process does not stand above culture and ideology but walks through them.

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Appendices

Appendix I



Cliché Exposure

John Kaverman (2004-04-14)

"Cliché making in the fast lane" in www.screenweb.com

Appendix II

1. Note on transcription method used

Transcribing is a very complicated and time consuming process, especially when the transcriber pays attention to minute details in the oral text as has been the case in the transcription of the sound dialogue of the film *Pièces d'identité*/ID.

Transcribing oral discourse does not only involve listening to what is said and putting it down in writing, but also involves the transcriber's/researcher's approach to transcription. This is because the latter's manner of approach can influence the reader's interpretation of the transcribed text as well as the subsequent analysis of the transcription, as suggested in Wood and Kroger (2000) and Greer (2003).

Transcribers must decide whether to render the speech to text by conforming to written conventions or to retain links to the original oral discourse, such as accent or dialectic idiosyncrasies as requested by Bucholtz (1999). In my transcription, I retain links to the original oral discourse, and my data analysis is done taking into consideration the conversational analytic (CA) method.

CA is a qualitative but so far empirical discipline which aims to document participants' interactions through a detailed examination of their turn-by-turn organisational and sequential interaction. My choice of a CA approach is based on the fact that it places emphasis on transcription, both as a means of orthographically representing spoken words, that is linguistic elements, and nonverbal elements such as turn overlaps, gaps and pauses, breathiness, laughter and intonation as discussed in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and in Greer (2003).

I have adopted both Gafaranga and Torras (2002) methods, which I model to differentiate between the two languages, but using italics and bold fonts as they do, I have used Times New Roman in the French sound dialogue, bolded italics to establish the subtitled English text while the back translation has been done in bolded Times New Roman. The Original sound dialogue appears at the top, that is, immediately after the character's name, followed by the subtitle and finally, the back translation..

This sequence of appearance has been maintained through out the whole transcription process. In addition, in my transcription, I have used both Gafaranga and Torras (2002) and Greer 2003, conventionalised symbols in transcription as seen in figure 3 below.

Moreover, unlike Greer, (2003) suggestion of the use of letters (A, B, C etc) to differentiate between characters in the transcription process, I chose to resolve issues of identity such as name or gender distinction through the use of characters' names as in the film My decision is sustained by the following.

- It would be confusing using letters in such an extensive transcription in which dialogue involves varied and numerous characters. In addition, the fact that some characters such as Amanda/Mwana and Jefke/Commissaire are a representation of two characters rather than four respectively will make turn taking and meaning retrieval a rather difficult task
- Names in this film are culturally expressive and suggest the context and situation in which such has been used. This enables the reader to understand characters' choice of particular words at that particular context and situation of communication which otherwise may be perceived as impolite or provocative. For instance, in the case of Amanda versus Mwana, it is easy to understand that those who refer to that particular character with the name Amanda are strangers and vice versa.

Finally, to enable easy referencing of the transcribed text during analysis, I took the liberty to number my utterances and divide them into scenes. My scenes may not be reflective of the original scenes, but represent the different contexts and situations of communication in which characters interact.

Figure 3**:** Transcription conventions used in this research as adapted from Gafaranga and Torras (2002) and Greer (2003)

Symbols	**Interpretation of symbols**
(.4)	marks silence, in tenths of a second
Italics	italics indicate talk is in English or Target language.
hh, hee, hah, heh	indicate laughter or breathiness
!	denotes emotion
&	indicates a rise in pitch
M	indicates a drop in pitch
°	marks talk which is softer
><	Indents mark talk which is compressed, faster
//	overlapping talk
Xxx	unintelligible talk
(...)	omitted fragment
(.)	final pause

2. Pièces d'identité Transcribed

Scene 1: In Congo at Mani Kongo's palace. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and his Kinsmen.

1-Mani Kongo

Vous savez que je connais très bien la Belgique (.4) c'est un pays que j'ai visité en 58 et que j'admire (.)

I know Belgium very well I was there in 1958. An admirable country.

You know that I know Belgium very well, It is a country I visited in '58 and that I admire.

2-Kinsman 1

°Mais Majesté en 58 vous étiez en groupe et puis vous étiez jeune (.4) & vous vous imaginez tout seul en Europe (.)

But your Majesty, you were with a group. You were young. Imagine yourself alone in Europe.

But Majesty, in '58 you were in a group and you were young do you imagine yourself alone in Europe?

3-Mani Kongo

& ! La douleur que je ressens en ce moment est celui d'un père qui a perdu sa fille (.4) je n'avais pas un seul cheveux blanc quand ma petite Mwana est partie (.4) tant d'années sans nouvelles c'est trop (.)

My sadness is that of a father who has lost his daughter I had no grey hair when my little Mwana Left. So many years with no news. It's too much.

The pain that I feel at this moment is that of a father who has lost his daughter. I did not have even a single grey hair when my daughter left. So many years without news is unbearable.

4-Kinsman 1

Excusez-moi d'insister encore (.4) mais je pense que l'un de nous devrait y aller à votre place.

Excuse my insistence but I believe that one of us should go in your place.

Excuse me if I insist again but I think one of us should go in your place.

5-Mani Kongo

&Nous en avons déjà discutés avec le Conseil des Sages (.4) je vous remercie mais c'est à moi de partir (.)

We have discussed this with the elders. I thank you I must go.

We have discussed this with the Council of Elders, I thank you but it is my place to go.

6-Kinsman 2

Prenons quelques jours pour réfléchir hmmm (.)

Think it over first.

Let's take some days to think over it, Hmmm?

7-Kinsmen (All)

Hmmmmm (.)

Ø

Hmmmmm

8-Kinsman 2

! Majesté (.)

Your Majesty.

Your Majesty

Scene 2: At the travel agency and the airport.

Mani Kongo and his Kinsmen wait in front of the Flight agency while Mayele buys the plane tickets for King Mani Kongo. Dialogue between a young lady and a kinsman, then Mani Kongo and kinsmen and finally Mayele and Mani Kongo

9-young lady

// Wow (.4) griffe dernière crie (.4) en directe du village (.4) Je peux toucher papa (.)

The latest thing from the village. Let me have a look.

Waoo, latest brand, directly from the village, can I touch papa?

10-kinsman 1)

// & attention ce sont des attributs royaux (.4) aucune femme n'a le droit de les toucher (.4) allez (.)

Careful those are royal fetishes. No woman can touch them. Go on.

Be careful, those are royal emblems, no woman has the right to touch them go away !

11-Mayele

>< J'ai failli être en retard ils m'ont fait traîner aux Affaires Etrangères (.)

I was almost late. The foreign affairs office is very slow

I almost arrived late; they waste my time at Foreign Affairs.

12-Mani Kongo

// >< Sais ce jeune Mayele (.4) il est pire qu'un blanc (.4) je l'ai connu tout petit (.) toujours à l'heure (.4) haha hah (.)

Young Mayele, worse than a white man. Even as a boy he was always on time.

Know what, this young Mayele, he is worse than a whiteman. I have known him as a child, always on time hahahah.

13-Mayele

J'ai une grande nouvelle à vous annoncer (.4) la Bralima m'envoie en Hollande pour deux semaines (.4) mon premier voyage en Europe haha hah (.4) dans exactement trois jours (.)

I have good news. The Bralima is sending me to Holland for 2 weeks. My first trip to Europe. In exactly three days.

I have great news for you. Bralima is sending me to Holland for two weeks. My first trip to Europe hahahah, in exactly three days.

14-Mani Kongo

La Hollande c'est prêt de la Belgique viens me rendre visite (.)

Holland is very close to Belgium come and see me.

Holland is close to Belgium, come and visit me.

15-Mayele

Le passeport de Mwana mon oncle (.4) il n' manque plus que sa signature // (.4) c'est l'adresse donc je vous ai parlé (.4) c'est au foyer d'Afrique (.4) il parait que c'est un endroit très bien (.4) j'ai bien calculé je viendrai vous voir vendredi en 08 (.4) je t'ai obtenu des Francs Belges (.)

Mwana's passport, Uncle. She just needs to sign. And the address. The African Home. They say it is a good place. I have planned to come visit next Friday. I have taken some Belgian Francs.

Mwana's passport my uncle, She just needs to sign. It is the address I told you about, it is at the African Home, it seems that it is a very nice place, According to

my calculations, I will come see you on Friday the 8th, I obtained some Belgian francs for you.

16- kinsman 2

Nous sommes tous ici les chefs de familles et nous partageons votre douleur (.4) mais n'oubliez pas en partant au pays des blancs que parmi eux certains sont plus ou moins noirs et d'autres plus ou moins blancs (.)

Each of us here is head of his family and we share your pain. Do not forget in the white man's land some are more black and others are more white.

We are all heads of families and we share your pain, but don't forget in going to the Whiteman's country that among them, some are more or less black and others more or less white.

Scene 3 : In the plane. The hostess is distributing newspapers,. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and a Catholic Rev. Sister.

17-Mani Kongo

Oui pour moi je veux un belges si possible (.4) depuis '58 beaucoup de choses on dû changées (.4) // vi-ve la-Bel-gi-que (.4) vi-ve-la Bel-gi-que et-sont-roi-bien aimé-la for-ce-pub-li-que et tous-nos-alliés (.4) Hmm (.)

A Belgian Paper, if possible. Many things must have changed since '58. Long live Belgium and his beloved king, the public order and all our allies.

Yes I need a Belgian [Newspaper] if possible, since ’58 so many things must have changed, (singing) Long live Belgium, long live Belgium and his beloved King, the Public order, and all our allies. Hmmm

Scene 4 : At Le Katanga (Drinking spot and an African antique shop). Dialogue between Jefke Schengen and other ex-colonials who lived in the Belgian Congo (Today’s DRC) during the colonial periods and later, with Le Sauveur de l’humanité.

18-Jos

Je sais que c’est à cause d’elle que tu a refusé d’êtres rapatrié au moment de l’indépendance (.)

You stayed after independence was declared because of her.

I know that it is because of her that you refused to be repatriated at the time of independence.

19-Jefke

! Euheuuuuh elle était sacrément belle cette négresse hein (.4) d’ailleurs c’est à elle que j’ai donné les bijoux de ma grand-mère (.)

She was some black beauty. I even gave her my grandmother’s jewellery.

Euheuuuh she was very beautiful that Negro woman, after all it is to her that I gave my mother’s jewellery.

20-Customer 2

Euheuh (.)

Ø

Euheuh (.)

21-Customer 3

& >< Ça (.4) je me souviens de l'indépendance (.4) ce jour la (.4) ils étaient comme ivre hmmm je les aurai tous descendu pas toi commissaire (.)

I remember the independence. It was like they were drunk. I'd have mowed them all down. How 'bout you Chief?

I remember the independence, that day, they were like drunk, hmmm I could have shot all of them down not you commissioner ?

22-Commissaire

Beuuh (.)

I did

Well

23-Customer 4

&Moi je l'ai fait hmm hmm Stanislas (.4) mon boy (.4) m'a sifflé tout mon whisky juste devant mon nez (.)

Stanislas, my boy drank all my whisky right in front of me.

Me I did it hmm hmm Stanislas my [house] boy drank all my whisky just before my nose.

24-Customer 5

Hahahah (.)

Ø

Hahahah

25-Customer 4

& xxx rire c'est rire mais ça je n'ai pas supporté (.)

A joke is a joke, but I couldn't take that.

Laugh is laugh but this I could not bare

26-Customer 3

>< ° Regarde ce vantard je te connais (.)

Listen to him boast.

See this proud fellow I know you.

27-Le Sauveur de L'humanité

& >< A genou tout le monde les mains en l'air et les bwana les flèches du pygmée Batwa vachement mortelles (.4) toi aussi commissaire Jefke Schengen (.4) vous avez entendu parler du sauveur de l'humanité (.)

Everybody on their knees, hands up. You too, Bwana! Bartwa pygmy darts, very deadly ! You too, Chief Jefke. Ever heard of the savior of Humanity?

On your knees everybody, hands in the air and the bwana, the darts of a Bartwa pigmy, very deadly, you too Superintendent Jefke Schengen, have you heard of the Saviour of humanity?

28-Customer 1

° !qu'est-ce que c'est ce matata (.)

Who is this guy ?

What is this matata?

29-Customer 2

°Ce potopot (.)

A real weirdo.

A real weird person.

30-Jefke

° !pottes ne déconnez pas le gars ce un métier dangereux (.)

Cut it out. He means business!

Don't joke guys it's a dangerous business.

31-Le sauveur de l'humanité

La caisse s'il te plait (.4) c'est tout ce que vous demande le sauveur de l'humanité (.4) C'est pour les petits noirs du colonie & emballez-moi tout ça (.)

The money, please! The savior of humanity just wants the money. It's for the little blacks from the colonies. Hand it over!

The money please that is all that the Saviour of Humanity is asking, it is for the little blacks of the colony wrap-up everything!

32-Unknown 1

//&° Ne le laisse pas filer Jefke (.)

Don't let him get away, Jefke!

Don't let him get away Jefke!

33-Jos

Ah il a coupé le courant // ! >< Ah nom de dieu nom de dieu xxx (.)

He cut the power Jesus what a job

Ah he has cut the power ah Jesus Christ!

34-Unknown 1

Sacré putain (.)

Sonuvabitch!

Son of a bitch!

35-Unknown 2

Ça je n'avais jamais vu

I never saw anything like that before.

This I have never seen

36-Commissaire

°// ! Oooohmmmm ah bien sur il est partir (.)

Of course he is gone

Oooohmmm ah of course he is gone

37-Customer 4

&// ! Ah tu crois qu'il allait nous attendre (.)

What, you want him to wait around for?

Ah you think he is going to wait for us?

38-Commissaire

& ! Téléphone (.4) ! Téléphone (.)

Telephone.

Telephone, telephone !

39-Jos

Tiens voilà le téléphone putain (.)

Hold the phone. Goddamit.

Take, this is the phone damn it !

40-Customer 3

! Alors commissaire Jefke Schengen (.4) tu l'appelles ta police (.)

Well, Jefke Schengen! Haven't you called the cops yet?

Well Superintendent Jefke Schengen, are you calling your police?

41-Commissaire

& ! C'est (.4) c'est déjà le troisième bar en un mois et sous mon nez cette fois-ci c'est quand même un peu fort (.)

That is the third bar this month. And right under my nose. That's over doing it.

It is it is the third bar in one month and under my nose this time it is too much!

42-Jos

! Mon téléphone (.)

***My telephon*e.**

My telephone!

43-Unknown

//! Hmm (.)

Ø

Hmm!

44-Jos

//& ! Il est coupé mon téléphone (.)

He cut the line

He cut my line

45-Customer 4

Il est coupé (.)

He cut it?

He cut it?

46-Customer 1

Hmm ouais c'est coupé (.)

It's dead.

Hmm yes it is cut.

47-Jos

! Eh merde (.)

Ø

Oh Shit!

Scene 5: At the Airport. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and other passengers queuing at the immigration check points.

48-Immigration officer

C'est bon vous pouvez passer (.4) monsieur (.4) bonjour monsieur (.)

Alright you can go. Sir? Good afternoon sir.

It is good, you can pass, sir, good day sir.

49-Passenger 1

Bonjour (.)

Good afternoon.

Good day.

50-Immigration officer

Faudrait faire changer votre photo

You need a new photo.

Need to have your picture changed.

51-Passenger 2

//Heureusement que nous (.4) nous avons notre passeport européen (.)

Good thing we have our European passports.

Luckily that we have our European passports.

52-Mani Kongo

Rien que pour le visa il m'a fallut six mois de démarche en 58 j'ai voyagé sans passeport ni visa (.)

It took 6 months just to get the visa. In '58 I had no passport no visa.

It took me six months just to get a Visa. In 58 I travelled without a passport and a Visa.

53-Passenger 2

Pour les passeports avec visa prenez plutôt l'autre fil (.)

Go to the other line if you have your visa.

For passports with Visa join the other queue.

54-Mani Kongo

// ><Sais quoi je me suis jamais tenu en rang depuis que j'ai quitter l'école (.)

I haven't queued since my school days.

Know what, I have not queued since I left school.

55-Passenger 3

// & sorry I'm American I only speak English (.)

56-Immigration officer 1

Ces trois objets sont à déclarer (.4) importation d'œuvres d'arts &il y a un taxe à payer et veillez remplir ce formulaire-ci s'il vous plaît (.)

You must declare these articles. There is a tax for importing works of art. Please fill out this form, sir.

These three objects are to be declared, importation of works of arts, there is a fee to pay, please feel in this form.

57-Mani Kongo

!°Hmm mais vous ne comprenez rien (.4) depuis mon arrière arrière grand-père tout les rois portent ça (.4) ce sont des *Pièces d'identité* à moi (.4) je suis Mani Kongo roi des BaKongos (.)

You don't understand. Every king since my great great grandfather has worn this. It is my Id. I am Mani Kongo King of the BaKongo.

Hmm you don't understand anything, since my great great grandfather, all kings wear these. They are my id, I am Mani Kongo, King of the BaKongo people.

58-Immigration officer 1

° Je fais simplement mon travail monsieur (.4) & vous comptez rester longtemps en Royaume de Belgique (.)

Just doing my job, sir. Will you be staying long in Belgium?

I am just doing my job sir do you intend to stay for long in Belgium?

59-Mani Kongo

& ! Deux semaines (.)

2 weeks.

Two weeks.

60-Immigration officer 1

Alors ça ne vous coûtera pas grande chose (.4) les laisser ici à consigner vous les reprenez quand vous rentrez chez-vous (.)

That wouldn't cost too much. You can leave them here and pick them up when you go.

Then it will not cost you anything, leave them here and collect them when you are leaving for home.

61-Mani Kongo

& ! Arrêtez ne touchez pas s'il vous plait (.4) je vais payer les taxes (.4)

Please don't touch them. I'll pay the tax.

Stop! Don't touch please, I will pay the duties.

62-Immigration officer 1

Ma collègue va vous conduire à la caisse (.)

My colleague will take you to the register.

My colleague will take you to the cashier.

63-Immigration officer 2

& Suivez-moi (.)

Ø

Follow me.

64-Immigration officer 1

& C'est par-là (.)

Over there.

It is there

Scene 6 : At the Airport. Dialogue between Chaka-Jo and Mani Kongo.

65-Chaka-Jo

Mam'selle taxi rapide et bon marché (.4) mam'selle monsieur taxi rapide et bon marché (.)

How about a taxi, sir ? Fast and cheap.

Miss fast and cheap taxi, miss, sir, fast and cheap taxi.

66-Mani Kongo

! Allons-y (.4) sans vous mon fils je me serai encore retrouvé en rang (.)

Let's go. Without you my son, I would still be standing on the line.

Let's go, without you my son, I could have found myself in the queue again.

Scene 7: At the police station, Jefke Schengen and Van Loo.

67-Van Loo

! Eeh regarde xxx mais je voulais t'aider c'est tout (.)

Just trying to help, that's all

Eeh! I just wanted to help you.

67-Jefke

! Alors Van Loo t'est au courant (.4) pour le Katanga hier soir (.)

You heard about the Katanga last night?

Van Loo, you know about le Katanga, yesterday evening.

68-Van Loo

Oui chef on n' parle plus que de ça dans les couloirs

It's the talk of the station, Chief.

Yes chief, it is the main subject of gossip.

69-Jefke

! Hmm mais ils se foutent de ma gueule (.4) ce type était dangereux euh (.4) il avait des flèches comme dans la brousse (.) hmmm inspecteur je veux la liste des bars et cabarets interdits aux négros et aux blonsés (.4) ouais xxx

Let them laugh. That guy was dangerous. Shot poisonous darts, like in the jungle. I want a list of bars and nightclubs for whites only. Get on it.

As if they care, this person was dangerous, he had darts like in the bush. Hmmm inspector, I want the list of bars and cabarets forbidden to blacks and people of colour.

(Still at the Police station in the police superintendent's office. Dialogue between Jefke and Amanda)

70-Jefke

Bah maïe! (.4) on dirait qu'ici la prison te réussi à toi hein (.4) & t'es encore plus belle qu'avant (.4) ◦ je veux t'aider (.4) je t'ai obtenu un boulot comme danseuse au *Privé* (.)

Prison seems to agree with you. You are more beautiful than ever. I want to help you. I got you a job dancing at Le Privé.

Oh yeah! One may say that our jail suits you hmm! You are more beautiful than before. I want to help you, I found you a job as a dancer at *Le Privé.*

71-Amanda

◦ Je n'veux pas (.4) & ça ne se fait pas dans ma famille se donner en spectacle (.)

I don't want it. It's unacceptable in my family.

I don't want, it is not correct in my family to dance in public.

72-Jefke

◦ Et d'aller en prison (.4) ◦tu sera très bien payé (.)

And prison is ? The pay is good.

And to go to jail ? You will be very well paid.

73-Amanda

&! j' n' le ferai pas commissaire (.)

I won't do it.

I will not do it superintendent.

74-Jefke

& mais tu préfères retourner en prison! ◦écoutes-moi bien (.4) je veux savoir tout ce qui se passe au *Privé* (.)

So you'd rather go back to jail? Hear me out. I want to know everything that goes on at Le Privé.

So you prefer to go back to jail? Listen to me carefully, I want to know everything that happens at *Le Privé*

75-Amanda

◦Les affaires des autres ça n' me regarde pas! (.)

Other people's business doesn't concern me.

Other people's business is none of my concern.

76-Jefke

◦ Mais je t'parle de tes affaires (.4) & tu préfères retourner chez-toi au Cameroun (.4) & je peux te faire expulser si tu tiens (.4) & tu n'auras jamais de problème de carte de séjour ni de permis de travail (.4) ◦je veux connaître les habitudes de tous les clients et du personnel (.)

I'm talking about your business. Maybe you'd like to go back to Cameroon. I can arrange it, if that's what you want. You won't have to worry about your Green Card any more or your work visa. I want the low-down on all customers and personnel.

But I am talking about your business, do you wish to return to your home in Cameroon? I can deport you if that's what you want, you will never have problems with your residence permit or work permit. I want to know the in and outs of all the clients and the staff.

77-Jefke

& ! Où va tu dormir Amanda (.4) ◦hé viens (.4) je vais te trouver une chambre (.)

Have you got some place to sleep? Come on, I'll find you a room.

Where will you sleep Amanda? C'mon I'll find you a room.

78-Amanda

◦Non merci (.)

No thank you.

No thanks.

79-Jefke

◦ ! Toujours aussi fière hein la petite Amanda (.4) ◦t'as pas l'aire de croire que je veux t'aider à t'en sortir (.)

As proud as ever. You don't seem to take me seriously

Still very proud hmm, the little Amanda, you don't seem to believe that I wish to help you succeed.

Scene 8: In the Taxi, Dialogue between Chaka-Jo and Mani Kongo

80-Chaka-Jo

&Où va-t-on exactement (.)

Where to?

Where precisely are we going?

81-Mani Kongo

◦ Au Foyer d'Afrique (.)

The African home.

To the African Home.

82-Chaka-Jo

&Je m'en doutais! (.)

Figured!

I thought so!

83-Mani Kongo

&Vous êtes de quel pays (.)

What country are you from?

From which country do you come from?

84-Chaka-Jo

◦J' suis zaïrois (.4) & 'fin Congolais (.)

Zaire, I mean the Congo

I am Zairian I mean Congolese

85-Mani Kongo

&Congolais! Hein moi aussi (.4) je suis Mani Kongo roi des BaKongos (.4) & et vous de quel côté du Congo exactement (.)

I too I am from the Congo. I am Mani Kongo, king of the BaKongo. And where in the Congo exactly?

Congolese! Me too I am Mani Kongo king of the BaKongo people and precisely you from which part of Congo?

86-Chaka-Jo

! Eh bien là j'n'sais pas (.)

I can't really say.

Well in this case I don't know.

87-Mani Kongo

◦Aujourd'hui vous êtes d'ici fils (.4) &vous connaissez peut-être ma fille (.4) la petite Mwana-Mwata (.4) elle est étudiante en médecine (.4) & peut-être même qu'elle est déjà médecin (.)

Today you are from Belgium my son. Perhaps you know my daughter. Mwana-Mwata, she is studying to be a doctor. Maybe she already is a doctor.

Today you are from here son, maybe you know my daughter, the little Mwana Mwata, she is a medical student, maybe she already is a medical doctor

88-Chaka-Jo

&Je ne crois pas (.)

Can't say I do!

I don't think so!

89-Mani Kongo

&C'est normal que vous ne la connaissiez pas (.4) & vous n'êtes pas tout à fait du même milieu ! (.)

It is to be expected. You're not of the same background.

It is normal that you don't know her, you are not at all from the same background.

90-Chaka-Jo

// Excusez-moi mais vous avec votre toque et cette canne c'est de quel milieu (.4) haha c'est très folklore (.)

Considering the headdress and cane, what would that be? It's too « tribal »

And you with your headdress and staff from which background do you come? It's too local.

91-Chaka-Jo

Non non (.4) pour le Roi des BaKongos je fais gratuit (.)

No, for the king of the BaKongo, it's on the house.

No no for the king of the BaKongo, it is free.

92-Mani Kongo

Merci! je n'oublierai pas votre geste (.4) fils (.4) & je ne connais pas votre nom (.)

Thank you, your tribute will not be forgotten. What is your name son?

Thank you, I will not forget your gesture, son, I don't know your name.

93-Chaka-Jo

° Chaka-Jo (.4) mais appelez-moi Chaka (.)

Chaka-Jo. Just call me Chaka.

Chaka-Jo, but call me Chaka!

94-Mani Kongo

◦ ! Aah Chakaa ◦heh heh heh (.)

Ø

Aaah Chaakaa! Heh heh heh!

Scene 9: At the African Home. Dialogue between the Caretaker, Mani Kongo and father Musantu

95-Caretaker

& Toute est en ordre (.4) pour le problème de votre fille je vais vous présenter à notre aumônier (.4) le père Musantu suivez moi (.4) // le père Musantu Jean Bergman est de la congrégation des Pères Blancs (.4) c'est le responsable de notre service social (.)

Everything is set. You'll need to see our chaplain, Father Musantu, about your daughter follow me. Father Musantu belongs to the order of the White Fathers. He is the head of our social services.

Everything is in order, for the problem of your daughter I will introduce you to our chaplain, Father Musantu. Follow me, Father Musantu Jean Bergman is from the Order of the White Fathers. He is in charge of our social service.

96 Père Musantu

-! Roi des BaKongos (.4) intéressant (.) je me souviens avoir étudié l'histoire de la dynastie Kongo je suis ethnologue de formation (.4) commençons par le commencement vous dites qu'elle est arrivée en Europe a l'age de huit ans dans un couvent de religieuses à Louvain (.)

King of the BaKongo. How interesting I remember studying the history of the Kongo dynasty. My degree is in ethnology. Your daughter was 8 when she arrived in Europe at a convent in Louvain.

King of the BaKongo people, interesting, I remember having studied the history of the Kongo Dynasty, I am a trained ethnologist, lets start from the beginning you said she arrived in Europe at the age of eight in a religious convent at Louvain.

97-Mani Kongo

C'était les soeurs de la congrégation Sainte Famille (.4) elles dirigeaient l'hôpital de mon village (.4) elles sont parties après la guerre des mercenaires (.)

The sisters of the Holy Family. They ran the hospital in my village, but they left after the mercenary wars.

It was the Sisters of the Holy Family they managed the hospital of my village they left after the war of the Mercenaries.

98-Père Musantu

Vous vous rappelez d'un nom (.)

Can you give me a name?

Do you remember a name?

99-Mani Kongo

Sœur Aldegonde la directrice (.4) c'est elle qui a facilité les démarches pour le départ de Mwana (.)

Sister Aldegonde was the director. She helped with the paperwork.

Sister Aldegonde, the director, she is the one who facilitated the process for Mwana's departure.

100-Père Musantu

Dans ce cas il faudra aller à Louvain (.)

In that case we'll have to go to Louvain.

In this case we have to go to Louvain

101-Mani Kongo

Merci mon fils! oh pardon (.4) mon père (.)

Thank you, my son. I beg your pardon, Father.

Thank you my son! Oh sorry, Father.

102-Père Musantu

Je suis surtout le fils de Dieu qui est notre Père à tous (.)

Above all I am God's son, the Father of us all.

I am above all the son of God who is our Father

Scene 10: At Saffi's home. Dialogue between Mwana and Saffi

103-Mwana

Toujours en train de tremper les pieds dans l'eau froide pour ne pas dormir (.)

Still deeping your feet in cold water to stay awake?

Still deeping your legs in cold water not to sleep?

104-Saffi

Là à propos d'eau froide il n'y a pas de choix pour le moment le chauffage est en panne depuis trois jours (.4) & Ils ne devaient pas te libérer ce matin (.)

Talking about cold water, we don't have any choice. The water heater broke down 3 days ago. Weren't you supposed to get out this morning?

Regarding cold water, there is no choice for the moment the heater is down since three days, were they not suppose to let you out this morning?

105-Mwana

Si mais Jefke Schengen m'a gardé toute la matinée (.4) alors Docteur Saffi c'est pour bientôt le diplôme (.)

Yes, but Jefke Schengen kept me half the day. So Doctor Saffi, when do you graduate?

Yes but Jefke Schengen kept me the whole morning; Doctor Saffi is it for soon the degree.

106-Saffi

&xxx Attend d'abord la fin des examens (.4) pour le moment je t'annonce que je t'ai trouvé du travail oh pas grande chose deux heures par jour toutes les deux dans un home (.)

Easier said than done. We'll see how the finals go first. I found you a job. Nothing much, 2 hours a day for both of us in a home.

Wait first for the end of the exams, for the moment I can inform you that I have found you a job oh nothing big two hours daily every two days in a home for the two of us.

107-Mwana

Le Commissaire Jefke m'a fait engager dans un cabaret (.)

Chief Jefke got me a Job in a cabaret.

Superintendent Jefke hired me in a Cabaret.

108-Saffi

! Danseuse de cabaret (.4) c'est pas un métier pour toi Mwana (.)

Dancing in a cabaret. That's not a job for you, Mwana

Dancer of a cabaret? It is not a job for you Mwana!

109-Mwana.

!&Je n' pouvais pas refuser je veux pas retourner en prison (.4) & et puis les cours de danse africaines serviront au moins à quelque chose (.)

I couldn't refuse. I don't want to go back to jail. Anyway all those classes of African dances won't go to waste.

I did not want to refuse, I don't want to return in prison, and then the African dance lessons will at least be put to use.

110-Saffi

J'suis contente de te voir (.)

I'm glad you are back.

I am glad to see you.

111- Mwana

J'suis épuisée Saffi (.)

I'm dead

I am tired Saffi.

112-Saffi

Mais reposes-toi (.)

Get some rest.

Get some rest then.

Scene 11 : At the Congolese Embassy in Belgium. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and the Secretary, then between the Secretary and an unknown man

113-Secretary

Hmm hmm ok d'accord (.4) Monsieur Mani Kongo pour votre demande d'audience c'est n'est pas possible son excellence l'ambassadeur n'est pas disponible (.)

Mr. Mani Kongo, your request is impossible. His Excellency, the ambassador is not available.

Hmm hmm ok ok, Mr. Mani Kongo, as regards your request for an appointment it is not possible His Excellency is not available.

114-Secretary

(.) C'est quoi un Mani Kongo (.)

What is a Mani Kongo?

What is a Mani Kongo?

115-Unknown Man

!j'sais pas moi (.4) un féticheur ou un sorcier (.4) histoire du village quoi (.)

***Don't ask me. A marabou, a sorcerer, the village historian* //**

I don't know, a traditional doctor, a sorcerer, something like a village historian.

Scene 12: In the street Chaka-Jo and other foreigners

//

116-Woman

// Hé Chaka-Jo (.)

Ø

Hey Chaka-Jo.

117-Man

Oui Chaka-Jo ça va (.)//

How's it going?

Yes Chaka-Jo how are you?

118-Chaka-Jo

Ca va, ça va (.)

It's going.

It's ok it's ok.

119-Man

! Merde les flics

Shit the cops.

Shit the cops!

120-Police

Tu va te calmer toi (.)

Calm Down

Would you calm down.

121-Lady-Street Vendor

//!C'est quoi ça encore (.4) nous payons les taxes comme tout le monde et pourtant vous êtes là pour déranger notre commerce (.4) ne venez pas dans ma boutique (.4) ça je vous dis la vérité (.4) ne venez pas dans ma boutique (.)

What now? We pay our taxes like every body else…but you are bad for business. I don't want you in my store. Don't come in my store.

What is this again? We pay taxes like everyone and you are here to disturb our business, don't come to my shop, I mean it don't come to my shop.

Scene 13: At Le Privé. Dialogue between Chaka-Jo and a staff of Le Privé.

122-Chaka-Jo

C'est un nouveau spectacle (.)

Got a new show?

Is it a new show?

123-Cabaret staff

Ouais! (.4) perle de fille hein (.4) elle termine sa répétition-là

Some chick Huh? She is just finishing.

Yes! A beauty hum? She is just out of rehearsals

124-Mwana

A demain soir.

Ø

Tomorrow evening.

125-Cabaret Staff

Ho blanc-becs (.4) j'ai ton document (.4) ah Chaka-Jo mon frère présentement tu deviens citoyen congolais véritable (.4) le visa belge valable d'un an & c'est plus vrai que vrai (.)

White boy…I got your papers. Brother you are a real Congolese citizen. The Belgian Visa is good for one year. Better than the real thing.

Ho white boy, I have your document, ah Chaka-Jo my brother now you are a true Congolese citizen, the Belgian Visa is valid for one year it is truer that true.

126-Chaka-Jo

Merci (.)

Thanks.

Thank you!

Scene 14: In the street. Between Chaka-Jo and Mwana

127-Chaka-Jo

Taxi (.4) je peux vous aider sur l'affiche on dit que vous venez des îles (.4) de quel côté on m'a dit que vous venez des îles xxx je vous emmène boire un verre (.)

Taxi. Can I give you a ride? The sign says you are from the Islands… whereabouts?

Taxi, can I help you? On the poster they say you come from the islands, from which part of the islands do you come from? Can I take you from a drink?

128-Mwana

Excusez-moi je suis pressée (.)

Excuse me, I'm in a hurry.

Excuse me I am in a hurry.

129-Chaka-Jo

Mais justement j'ai l' temps de vous déposer montez alors (.4) je vous emmène boire un verre (.)

Perfect, I'll drop you. Get in. How 'bout a drink?

Of course I have time to drop you, get in, I'll take you for a drink.

130-Mwana

Non j'connais trop bien les garçons (.)

You men are all the same

No I know guys very well.

131-Chaka-Jo

! Moi j'n'suis pas comme les autres garçons (.)

I'm not all men.

I am not like all guys.

132-Mwana

//T'as pas l'aire d'un méchant & et entre nous j'ai beaucoup dansé & et j'ai très soif (.)

You don't look dangerous. After all that dancing I am thirsty.

You don't look like a wicked one and between us, I have danced a lot and I am very thirsty.

133-Chaka-Jo

M'moiselle des îles (.4) en route pour l'Afrique (.)

Island Miss, direction Africa.

Lady from the islands, on the way to Africa.

134-Viva-Wa-Viva

! Hé & saloppe (.)

Bitch.

Hey bitch!

Scene 15: In an African Night club. Dialogue between Mwana, Chaka-Jo and Viva-Wa-Viva

135-Viva-Wa-Viva

Ma petite fiancée est de retour (.4) deux ans ça fait long (.4) & enfin ils t'ont libéré (.)

My baby's back. Two years is a long time. They finally let you out.

My little fiancé is back, two years is long at last they let you out.

136-Mwana

! Ça suffit Viva fou-l'-camp (.)

Leave me alone, Viva.

It enough Viva go away.

137-Viva-Wa-Viva

& ! Aller débout viens on s'en va //

We're leaving.

C'mon get up let's go.

138-Mwana

& ! Si tu m'adresse encore la parole ça va très mal se terminer pour toi (.4)

You'll regret it.

If you talk to me again it will turn ugly for you.

139-Chaka-Jo

// & ! Du calme maintenant

Hands off!

Calm down now

140-Viva-Wa-Viva

! & >< T'es complètement nul (.4) à part tes chaussures (.4) t'est nul car c'est la griffe qui fait l'homme (.4) si tu veux que ça marche avec cette fille-là (.4) il va falloir que tu apprennes à t'habiller // tu n' sais pas qui j'suis &Viva-Wa-Viva le pape de la sape (.)

You ain't Shit. Except maybe for your shoes. The Brand makes the man. If you want to roll with that chick, you better learn to dress. You know who I am? Viva-Wa-viva, the king of style!

You are completely nobody, aside you shoes, you are nothing because it is the brand that makes a man, if you want it to work with this girl, you will need to learn how to dress yourself up. You don't know who I am; I am Viva-Wa-Viva the pope of Style.

Scene 16: At Mwana's neighbourhood. Dialogue between Mwana and Chaka-Jo

141-Mwana

° Dépose-moi en xxx c'est bon (.4) salut (.)

You can drop me here. Bye-bye.

Drop me here… it fine, bye.

142-Chaka-Jo

°Tu sors de prison (.)

You just got out of prison?

You'r from prison.

143-Mwana

°C'est à cause de lui que j'suis allée en prison (.4) ne m'en demande pas plus (.)

It's his fault. I'd rather not talk about it

It is because of him that I went to prison, don't ask me more.

144-Chaka-Jo

& Ne t'en fait pas (.4) j' n' dirai rien à personne (.)

Don't worry. I wouldn't say anything.

Don't worry, I will tell nobody.

145-Mwana

°Ne cherche pas à me revoir promis (.)

Don't try to see me again. Promise?

Don't try to see me again promise?

146-Chaka-Jo

& ! Amanda dis-moi au moins où tu habites (.)

Give me your address at least.

Amanda at least tell me where you live.

Scene 17: At Louvain. Dialogue between Father Musantu, Mani Kongo and a Rev. Sister at a Louvain Convent.

147-Père Musantu

(Speaks in Dutch)

148-Mani Kongo

!& mais je suis le papa de la petite Mwana (.)

But I am Mwana's father.

But I am the father of the little Mwana

149-Mère Supérieure

J'ai effectivement connu votre petite Mwana (.4) On l'a baptisé Marie-Rose une enfante charmante n'est-ce pas (.4) elle a mal tourné depuis le moment où un jeune homme qu'elle présentait comme son cousin a commencé a l'emmené passer des week-ends à Bruxelles (.)

I knew your little girl. She was baptized Marie-Rose. A delightful child. She strayed. From the time a young man, pretending to be her cousin, began to take her to Brussels on the week-ends.

I knew your little Mwana, we baptised her Marie-Rose a beautiful child isn't it, she turned bad since the time a young man whom she introduced as her cousin started to take her to Brussels for week-ends.

150-Mani Kongo

& ! Mais elle n'a jamais eu de cousin par ici (.)

She never had any cousin here.

But she never had any cousin here.

151-Mère Supérieure

Notre mère Aldegonde venait juste de mourir (.4) j'ai supporté trois trimestres de retards pour le payement de son minerval (.4) pourtant notre règle est trop stricte là-dessus (.4) un jour n'est-ce pas je me suis permis de lui demander de vous écrire et le lendemain elle a disparu (.)

Sister Aldegonde had just died. She was three quarters late in her payments. Yet our rules are very strict. One day I suggested she write to you and she disappeared the next.

Our Mother Aldegonde had just died, I had three terms of unpaid fees, whereas our rules are very strict on that, one day I decided to ask her to write to you and the next day she disappeared.

152-Mani Kongo

C'était la crise au pays (.4) je n'avais plus d'argent combien ça coûte trois trimestres de minerval (.)

Our economy had crashed. I had no funds. How much does three quarters cost?

There was economic in the country, I did not have money how much is the cost of three terms of fees?

153-Mère Supérieure

Un instant (.4) je vais vous le dire (.4) exactement 15, 072 francs (.)

One moment, I'll tell you. Exactly 15,072 Belgian francs.

A moment I will tell you, exactly 15,072 francs.

154-Père Musantu

Qui paye ses dettes s'enrichit (.)

He who pays his debt is rich.

He who pays his debts becomes rich.

155-Mère Supérieure

Je vous remercie pour votre honnêteté elle doit être adulte votre petite fille maintenant (.)

Thank you for your honesty. She must be grown now, your little girl.

I thank you for your honesty she should be an adult now, your little Mwana.

156-Mani Kongo

! Les lettres que je lui écrivais (.4) & elle ne les a jamais lues °! Merci au revoir mes filles (.)

The letters I wrote her. She never read them. Thank you Goodbye my children.

The Letters that I wrote to her she never read them, thank you goodbye my children

157-Père Musantu

Ne désespérez pas (.4) j'irai me renseigner à l'université (.4) Votre petite fille on va la retrouver (.)

Do not give up hope. I'll check with the university. We'll find her.

Don't despair, I will go and enquire at the university, your little girl we will find her.

Scene 18: Dialogue between Mwana and Saffi

158-Saffi

//Tu a écrit à ton père ?

Did you write to your father?

Have you written to your father?

159-Mwana

J'ai essayé (.4) mais je n'arrive pas (.4) je n'ose pas lui dire la vérité (.4) j'ai croisée Viva hier (.)

I couldn't. I don't dare tell him the truth. I saw Viva yesterday.

I tried but I couldn't I wouldn't dare tell him the truth, I met Viva yesterday.

160-Saffi

! Oh noon tu ne vas pas le revoir Mwana (.)

Not him again!

Oh no you will not see him again Mwana!

161-Mwana

! Jamais plus j'te le jure (.)

Never. I swear.

Never again I swear.

Scene 19: At the University of Brussels's canteen between Père Musantu, Mani Kongo later between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva

162-Comedian on TV

J’suis africain

I’m African

I am African

163-Studio audience

// Hahahahah (.)

Ø

Hahahahah.

164-Père Musantu

L'Université de Bruxelles m'a faire parvenir la liste des étudiants d'origine congolaise qui ont fréquenté la Faculté de Médecine depuis sept ans aucune trace de votre fille // j'ai contacté l'Université de Louvain-La-Neuve pour // xxx (.)

The University of Brussels sent me a list of Congolese students who have studied to be doctors in the last 7 years. There is no sign of your daughter. I spoke with the university of Louvain-La-Neuve.

The University of Brussels sent me a list of students of Congolese origin who have studied at the Faculty of Medicine since seven years no trace of your daughter I contacted the University of Louvain-La-Neuve

(Still at the canteen. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Viva-Wa-Viva)

//

165-Mani Kongo

Dis-moi fils les blancs aiment toujours ces genres d'histoires (.)

Do the whites still find this funny? It still makes them laugh?

Tell me son do Whites still like these kind of things?

166-Viva-Wa-Viva

// Ça nous laisse aussi l'occasion de rigoler des blancs (.4) & je comprends d'après ce qu'on m'a dit que vous cherchez votre fille (.)

Us too, it lets us laugh at them. I hear you are looking for your daughter.

It gives us the opportunity to laugh at whites, I understand from what they told me that you are looking for your daughter.

167-Mani Kongo

C'est la dernière photo que j'ai gardé d'elle juste avant son départ c'était il y a très longtemps (.)

This is the last photo taken of her. Just before she left. A long time ago.

It is the last photo I kept of her just before her departure it is a long time ago.

168-Viva-Wa-Viva

Peut-être que bien votre fille je la connais (.)

I might know her.

May be I know your daughter.

169-Mani Kongo

! Quoi (.)

What?

What!

170-Viva-Wa-Viva

&Peut-être bien que votre fille je la connais (.)

It could be that I know her

Maybe I know your daughter!

171-Mani Kongo

!&Vous connaissez ma fille vous si mal habillé (.)

You know my daughter? You so poorly dressed?

You know my daughter you poorly dressed?

172-Viva-Wa-Viva

!&Hé papa ça ce sont les griffes des plus grands couturiers & (.4) seule la griffe fait l'homme (.)

Hey, dady, I only wear the best names. The brand makes the man.

Hey papa this are the brands of the greatest designers, only the brands makes a man.

173-Mani Kongo

! Hmm non mon fils ce qui fait l'homme c'est sa parole ! >< et je ne vous crois pas vous n'avez jamais vu ma p'tite Mwana (.)

No, my son, his word makes a man. I do not believe it. You have never seen my little Mwana.

Hmm no my son a man is judged from by his words and I don't believe you. You have never seen my little Mwana.

173-Viva-Wa-Viva

! Votre petite Mwana a bien une cicatrice à l'épaule (.)

Your little Mwana, She has a scar on her shoulder?

Your little Mwana has a scar on her shoulder.

174-Mani Kongo

& ! Comment le savez-vous (.)

How do you know?

How do you know that?

175-Viva-Wa-Viva

C'est-à-dire heu à l'école primaire quand xxx des professeurs étaient absents on mélangeait les garçons et les filles (.4) pour le cours de gym (.4) & c'était à l'école primaire (.)

What I mean is…in grade school, when a teacher was absent, the boys and the girls had gym together. In grade school.

That is emm in primary school when teachers were absent, they will mix boys and girls for gym lessons, it was in primary school.

176- Mani Kongo

! A l'école primaire (.4) ah bon (.4) si vous savez où est ma fille je vous suis fils (.)

In grade school? If you know where she is, I will follow you.

In primary school? Sure? If you know where my daughter is I will follow you son.

177-Viva-Wa-Viva

Ne soyez pas si pressé (.)

There is no rush.

Don't be in a hurry.

178-Viva-Wa-Viva

// Elle sont vraiment mignonnes hein (.)

Hot, aren't they?

They are very beautiful isn't it?

179-Mani Kongo

Xxx on dirais des marchandises (.4) si je raconte ce que j'ai vu personne ne me croira (.4)

Like merchandise. When I tell them this, no one will believe me.

On may say goods, if I tell what I have seen no one will believe me

180-Viva-Wa-Viva

Je reviens (.4) c'est ici (.)

I'll be right back. This is it.

I'll be right back, it's here.

181-Mani Kongo

Excusez-moi fils j'n' peux pas entrer dans cette maison (.)

I will not enter that house.

I'm sorry son I can't go into this house.

182-Viva-Wa-Viva

! Vous voulez voir votre fille ou non je vous la ramène c'est promis mais il faut que vous m'attendiez ici (.4) // confiance papa (.4) confiance il n'y a que moi qui peux trouver votre fille (.4) ma petite Bibiche-Ninja chérie de mon cœur n'oublie pas ma commission il faut que je me paye des vraies chaussures No Name (.)

You want to see your daughter or not? I'll bring her out. I promise, just wait here. Trust me, pops. I'm the only one who can find your daughter. Bibiche-Ninja, light of my life. Don't forget my commission. I got to buy me some real No Name shoes.

Do you want to see your daughter or not, I will bring her to you I promise but you have to wait for me here, confidence papa, confidence it's only me who can find your daughter, my little Bibiche-Ninja sweetness of my heart don't forget my commission I need to buy myself some real No Name shoes.

183-Bibiche-Ninja

Alors monsieur Bruxelles mets-toi à l'aise (.)

Relax sweety-pie.

So Mr. Brussels feel at home.

184-Mani Kongo

! Surtout ne touchez pas à ça (.4) aucune femme n'as jamais touché les ornements de Mani Kongo (.)

Don't touch, No woman has ever touched the ornaments of Mani Kongo.

Don't touch this no woman has ever touched the ornaments of Mani Kongo.

185-Bibiche-ninja

Ok viens (.4) viens voir Bibiche-Ninja & viens viens viens viens viens viens assieds-toi hmmm vous m'offrez un verre (.)

Ok, come on. Come see Bibiche-Ninja sit down. I am thirsty. Buy me a drink.

Okay, come, come see Bibiche-Ninja come come come come come come come sit down hummm do you offer me a glass ?

186-Mani Kongo

A condition que vous me respectiez (.)

If you will respect me.

On the condition that you respect me.

187-Bibiche-Ninja

D'accord mais toi tu n'es pas obligé de me respecter pour sa majesté tout est permis

You don't have to respect me. His Majesty has free reigns.

Okay but you you are not obliged to respect me for His Majesty everything is allowed.

188-Mani Kongo

Comme ça vous connaissez ma fille (.)

So you know my daughter.

So you know my daughter

189-Bibiche-Ninja

Oui!

Ø

Yes

190-Mani Kongo

Etonnant elle a votre âge mais vous n'êtes pas du tout comme elle (.)

Amazing. You are the same age, but you are nothing like her.

Surprisingly she has you age but you are not all like her.

191-Bibiche-ninja

Ne pensez pas à ça pour l'instant (.4) tient goutte un peu ton champagne c'est trop bête de payer pour rien hmm (.4) bois

Let's talk about something else. Try your champagne. You don't want to waste your money. Go on.

Don't think about that for the moment, take try your champagne it is very stupid to pay for nothing hum, drink.

192-Mani Kongo

!& aaaaha (.)

193-Bibiche-ninja

!&Vieux con

Stupid old bastard. Idiot.

Old Idiot

194-Mani Kongo

&>< je viens chercher ma fille un peu de respect (.)

I will have respect

I come to look for my daughter a bit of respect.

195-Pimp

&Sachez qu'on n'accepte que la clientèle distinguée ici (.4) vieux brol (.4) c'est pas un carnaval ici (.4) casse-toi et vite (.)

We only accept distinguished guest here. This aint no circus, old man, get out!

Know that we accept only distinguish clientele here, old man, this is no circus go away and quick!

196-Mani Kongo

°Mani Kongo (.4) fils de Mani Kongo et arrière petit fils de Mani Kongo (.4) tous descendants du grand et invincible Kongomani (.4) ton clan n'a jamais fait du mal à personne et celui qui t'insulte moura sans héritier et son grenier sera broyé par la foudre j'ai dis (.4) tout le monde est salaud tout le monde est blanc tout le monde est noir le roi Mani Kongo vois des blancs plus noirs que les plus blancs des noirs (.4)

(// Music)

Mani Kongo, son of Mani Kongo and great grandson of Mani Kongo. All descendants of the great and invincible Kongomani. Your clan has never harmed anyone. But the one who insults you will die without descendants. His barns will be stroke by lightening. I have spoken. All are evil, all are white. All are black. King Mani Kongo sees whites blacker than the blackest black.

Mani Kongo, son of Mani Kongo and great grandson of Mani Kongo. All descendants of the great and invincible Kongomani, your clan has never harmed anyone and the one who insults you will die without successors, his barns will be stroke by lightening. I have spoken all are swine, all are white all are black King Mani Kongo sees whites blacker than the blackest black.

Scene 20: Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Noubia.

197-Mani Kongo

Devant ce palais royal en '58 le roi des belges salua le roi Mani Kongo tu n'étais pas née ma petite Mwana le roi des belges aurait pu entendu parler de toi (.)

At this royal palace in 1958, the Belgian King welcomed Mani Kongo. You were not yet born, my little Mwana. Would the Belgian King Know of you ?

Before this royal palace in 1958, the Belgian King welcomed Mani Kongo. You were not yet born, my little Mwana. The Belgian King would have heard of you?

198-Noubia

(*Rapping*) Grand grand messager signe de mon retour (.4) terre mère de l'humanité fait résonner ses tambours moi qui suis solitaire le sourire en envers qui rêve de & mama Africa j' demande j' quémande j' réclame et clame le retour des vrais rêves je veux des vrais racines des vraies vibrations (.4) j'ai vu vos rêves (.)

Oh, great grand messenger, sign of my return. Earth, mother of humanity beat the mother drum. I who am alone, a frown on my face dream of mother Africa. I ask, I demand, I claim and reclaim and I return to my real dreams. I would have true roots, true vibrations. I saw your dreams.

Great great messenger, sign of my return earth mother of humanity sounds its tambourines I who is solitary upside down smile which dreams of mama Africa, I ask I request, I reclaim and demand the return of true dreams I want true roots true vibrations, I have seen your dreams.

199-Mani Kongo

! Mais qui êtes-vous (.)

Who are you?

But who are you?

200-Noubia

° Noubia c'est mon nom (.4) Noubia prophète de la renaissance noire (.4) mon corps physique est né ici mais je suis originaire de l'Afrique noire la plus profonde (.)

My name is Noubia prophet of black renaissance. My body was born here…but my soul is from the black Africa.

Noubia is my name, Noubia prophet of the Black renaissance, my physical body is born here but I come from the deepest part of black Africa.

201-Mani Kongo

! Et vos parents (.)

And your parents?

And your parents?

202-Noubia

° Ma famille ne comprend pas le sens de ma mission ici sur terre (.)

My family does not understand my mission on earth.

My family doesn't understand my mission here on earth.

203-Mani Kongo

Parler avec vos parents ma fille ça vous soulagera (.4) vous m'avez l'aire de souffrir beaucoup (.)

Speak with your parents, my child, it will soothe you. You seem to suffer greatly.

Speak to your parents it will soothe you, you seem to be in deep suffering a great deal.

204-Noubia

° Grand messager (.4) vous entendez comme moi l'appel de nos ancêtre (.4) je vais vous conduire à eux (.4) Libangué (.4) Zambu (.4) Zao (.4) Beya (.4) Ekia (.4) Mbemba (.4) Kitukwa ils étaient venus du Kongo-belges pour êtres exhibés il ne sont jamais rentrés (.4) pour satisfaire les caprices d'un roi barbu ont avaient oublier de leur vêtir ils sont morts de froid c'était en 1897 je viens souvent ici pour les voir et les parler (.4) c'est eux mes parents(.)

Great messenger, you hear as I do, the call of our ancestors. I will take you to them. They came from Congo to be exhibited. They never returned. To satisfy the whims of a bearded king, they were left unclothed. They died of cold in 1897. I come here often to see them and talk to them. They are my real parents

Great messenger, you hear like me the call of our ancestors, I will take you to them Libangué, Zambu, Zao, Beya, Ekia, Mbemba, Kitukwa they came from the

Belgian Kongo to be exhibited they never returned, to satisfy the whims of a bearded king they forgot to dress them up they died of cold it was in 1897 I come here always to see them and talk to them, they are my parents.

205-Mani Kongo,

° ! Vous êtes mort loin de vos ancêtres ! & et vos enfants n'ont pas porté votre deuil ptse ptse ptse (.4) que les ancêtres libèrent vos esprits et vous acceptent parmi eux (.)

You died far from your ancestors and your children did not mourn. May your ancestors free your spirit and receive you among them.

You died far away from your ancestors and your children did not mourn you ptse ptse ptse, may the ancestors liberate you spirits and accept you among them.

206-Noubia

° ! Mani Kongo vous rêvez encore de '58 (.)

Mani Kongo, are you still dreaming of '58?

Mani Kongo are you dreaming again of '58?

207-Mani Kongo

° ! Non ma fille Mani Kongo ne rêve plus je suis bien-là (.)

No. My child, I am not dreaming. I am here.

No my daughter Mani Kongo does not dream again I am very well there.

208-Noubia

° ! Merci à vous Mani Kongo vous avez libéré mon esprit et soulagé mes souffrances (.)

Thank you, Mani Kongo. You have freed my spirit and eased my suffering.

Thanks to you Mani Kongo you have liberated my spirit and soothed my sufferings

Scene 21 : At the police station. Dialogue between Amanda and Jefke.

209-Jefke

&Un client a remarqué qu'il portait ce genre de chaussures (.)

One customer remembers his shoes.

A customer noticed that he was wearing this type of shoes.

210-Amanda

Moi j'ai pas remarqué (.4) j'avais fermé les yeux tellement j'avais peur (.)

I didn't dare open my eyes.

Me I did not notice, I closed my eyes so much I was afraid.

211-Jefke

Xxx (.4) tu fais exactement le contraire de ce que j'attend de toi (.4) je pourrai pas prolonger ton permis de séjour indéfiniment tu sais (.)

That wouldn't do at all. It's the opposite of what I want. I can't renew you visa indefinitely.

You are doing exactly what I was expecting of you, I may not extend you resident permit indefinitely you know

212-Van Loo

Chef (.)

Chief

Chief

213-Jefke

& quoi (.)

Ø

What?

214-Van Loo

° Dans mon bureau il y un vieux noir déguisé qui insiste pour voir le responsable de la police (.)

An old black guy all dressed up insists on seeing the chief of police.

In my office there is an old black disguised who insists to see the responsible of the police.

215-Jefke

Xxx tu vois quand même que je suis occupé (.)

Can't you take care of it? I'm busy.

You see at least that I am busy.

216-Van Loo

Mais il est têtu chef et je pensais que ça vous intéresseriez on lui as volé tous ses papiers (.)

He is stubborn Chief. I thought you might be interested. His papers were stolen.

But he is stubborn chief and I thought it will be of interest to you they stole all his papers.

217-Jefke

T'est vraiment un con hein Van Loo & >< t' vois t'as raté l'occasion de te faire passer pour le chef aller va me chercher ton vieux (.4) ce soir je suis libre je t'invite à souper (.)

You are stupid, Van Loo. You blew your chance to become chief. Go get your old man. I'm free tonight. How 'bout dinner?

You are really stupid hum Van Loo you see you have missed the opportunity to be the chief com'on go bring me your oldman, this evening I am free I am inviting you for super.

218-Amanda

Je vous laisse travailler commissaire (.)

I'll leave you to your work.

I leave you to work superintendent.

219-Van Loo

Dis on peut deviner que Jefke ne te lâche pas vous en êtes où tu va voir ce vieux noir comme il est déguisé aller vient suis-moi (.)

Looks like Jefke has a thing for you? How is it going? You should see how he is dressed.

Seems as if Jefke is on your case, how far have you gone, will you come see how the old man is disguised c'mon follow me.

220-Amanda

& ! Mais qu'est-ce que vous avez à me tourner autour aujourd'hui (.)

Why can't you people leave me alone?

But what do you have to turn around me today?

221-Jefke

&Alors Van Loo t'emmène ton client (.)

Hey, Van Loo. Bring your customer.

So Van Loo will you send in your client!

222-Van Loo

Ouais Chef (.)

Ok, boss

Yes chief!

223-Jefke

! Malukai (.)

Ø

223-Mani Kongo?

Malubimmbi (.)

224-Jefke

Je pari que vous êtes originaire de la région de Bantandu (.4) j'y étais le dernier administrateur colonial (.)

I bet you are from the Bantandu region. I was the last colonial administrator.

I bet that you are from the Bantandu region, I was the last colonial administrator there.

225-Mani Kongo

Monsieur Joseph (.)

Mr. Joseph.

Mr Joseph.

226-Jefke

C'est moi heuheu (.)

That's me.

It is me heuheu.

227-Mani Kongo

Vous habitiez à côté de la plantation de monsieur de la Catulle (.)

You lived by the Catulle plantation.

You lived near Mr Catulle's plantation.

228-Jefke

&Et oui (.4) ! et de mon temps c'était le roi qui portait ce chapeau et ce collier (.)

Ø. In my time, the king wore that headdress and collar.

And yes, and in my time it was the king who wore this hat and this necklaces.

229-Mani Kongo

C'était mon père (.4) °il est décédé il y a bien longtemps je règne maintenant sur le nom de Mani Kongo comme lui (.)

My father, he died long ago! Now I reign as Mani Kongo, like him

It was my father, he died a long time ago I now rule as Mani Kongo like him.

230-Jefke

Ton père m'envoyait chaque semaine du personnel pour l'entretient de la villa du jardin et pour me porter au petit poye (.4) oohh et la ménagère Anastasia qui vivait avec moi (.)

He always sent people to look after the villa, the grounds, to chauffeur me .The housekeeper, who lived with me, Anastasia.

Your father will send me staff every week to take care of the villa the garden and to carry me around, oh and the house maid Anastasia who was living with me.

231-Mani Kongo

Ah oui on l'avait surnommé Sukariya Muzungu le sucre du blanc (.)

She was nicknamed Sukariya Muzungu, white sugar.

Ah yes she was nicknamed Sukariya Muzungu the sugar of the Whiteman

232-Jefke

! Oooh mais je crois qu'elle m'aimait sincèrement hein tu as de ses nouvelles (.)

I think she really loved me. How is she?

Oooh but I think that she loved me sincerely hum do you have news of her?

233-Mani Kongo

Pas tellement je sais qu'elle vit toujours à Kinshasa et qu'elle ne s'est pas remarier depuis ton départ (.)

It's hard to say. She still lives in Kinshasa. And she has never remarried.

Not that much I know that she still lives in Kinshasa and that she has never remarried since your departure.

234-Jefke

! Ouais

No?

Oui

235-Mani Kongo

Et son frère Luther est un grand commerçant chez-nous il va souvent à Kinshasa (.)

Her brother, an important business man, goes there often.

And her brother Luther is a great businessman in our place he always goes to Kinshasa.

236-Jefke

Allons passons aux choses sérieuses hmmm alors qu'est-ce qui vous emmène chez nous Mani Kongo (.)

Let's get down to business. What can I do for you.

Let's get to serious things hum so what brings you to our place Mani Kongo?

237-Mani Kongo

Je viens chercher ma fille elle est venue étudier en Belgique il y a bien longtemps et depuis quelques années nous sommes sans nouvelles (.)

I'm looking for my daughter. She came to Belgium a long time ago. But for years, I have no news of her.

I come to look for my daughter she came to study in Belgium a long time ago and for some years now we are without news.

238-Commissaire

T'as une photo (.)

Do you have a picture?

Do you have a photo?

239-Mani Kongo

La seul photo que j'avais d'elle ne quitte jamais mon portefeuille on m'a volé mon porte- feuille commissaire (.)

My only picture I kept preciously. But my wallet was stolen, Chief.

The only photo that I had of her never leaves my wallet they stole my wallet superintendent.

240-Jefke

C' n'est pas drôle (.)

That's too bad.

It is not funny.

Scene 22: At Le Katanga Bar. Dialogue between Jefke, Mani Kongo, Jefke and friends.

241-Jefke

Salut Jos deux gueuses (.)

Hey, Jos! Two beers!

Greetings Jos two beers.

242-Customer 1

Ça roule houlà (.) dis Jefke à quoi tu joues aujourd'hui c'est pour faire couler le local // hahahahaha (.)

You got it. What's with the get-up? Trying to blend in?

It's happening, tell me Jefke what are scheming today, is it to blend with the local hahahahaha

243-Customer 2

>< xxx

If that's blending in, he is blended?

Ø

244-Jefke

Parlez un peu moins fort-là hmm xxx Mani Kongo que je vous présente ici c'est le roi des BaKongos (.)

Lay-off me…goddammit! May I present you Mani Kongo, King of the BaKongo.

Not so Loud hum, Mani Kongo that I introduce to you here is the king of the BaKongo people.

245-All

Hmmmm enchanté son altesse (.)

Delighted, Your Majesty.

Hmmmm pleasure meeting his Majesty.

246-Customer 2

& Et moi c'est Ian Premier pape des Bamboulas (.)

I am Ian, Pope of the Bamboula.

And I am Ian the first pope of the Bamboulas.

247-All

//Hahahahahaha

248-Jefke

T'es un vieux comique toi (.)

Real funny.

That's funny!

249-Jos

Laisses tomber Jefke (.04) ils sont complètement ensevelis ces lascars c'est le soleil d'Afrique qui a cogné un peu fort (.4) monsieur j'espère que vous n'êtes pas susceptible (.4) aller à votre santé là (.4) et voici (.)

Forget it, Jefke. They are out of it. The African sun beat too hard on their heads. Sir, I hope you are not offended. Here's to you.

Forge it, Jefke these lascars have gone completely mad, it is the African sun that has hit them a little bit hard. Sir, I hope you are not offended, c'mon to your health.

250-Customer 2

Alors Jos dis-nous toi qui est spécialiste c'est les vrais fétiches ou c'est du torque (.4) avec le Père Doms de la mission Catholique mon père avait imposé la règle (.4) il n'engageait que des indigènes baptisés ils leurs disaient (.4) ce fétiche ts-ts-ts-ts-ts-kawa (.4) et Jean-Baptiste le boy faisait du feux avec ça faisait du bon makala (.)

Tell us, Jos. Your's the specialist are they real thing or not. Father Doms from the Catholic mission and my father had a rule. They only hired baptized natives. Fetishes were not allowed. And my boy built a fire with them.

So Jos tell us you who is the specialist, is it authentic fetishes or are they fake, with Father Doms of the catholic mission my father imposed the rules, they only hired baptized indigenes they told them these fetishes ts-ts-ts-ts kawa, and Jean-Baptiste the boy made fire with and it made delicious makala[66]

251-Jefke

[66] Kind of a local cake consumed across West and Central Africa.

Jos lui ne les brûlait pas eh Jos et voilà il est devenu antiquaire (.4) & t'est quand même un sacré putain toi (.4) t'avait compris avant tout le monde (.)

Jos didn't burn them. And today he is an antique dealer! Clever Sonuvabitch.

Jos never burnt them hmm Jos and now he has become an antique dealer, you are at least a clever bitch

252-All

//hahahahahahahahahah (.)

253-Customer 2

C'est quand même incroyables quand on pense à la valeur que tout ce xxx à pris (.)

You figured it out. And the price people will pay for such junk.

It is at least unbelievable when one thinks of the value that all these… has accumulated

254-Customers

Salut (.)

Goodnight chief

Goodbye.

255-Jefke

Au revoir (.)

Ø

Goodbye.

256-Mani Kongo

Je vous rembourse dans une semaine (.4) mon neveu arrive dans quelques jours (.)

I will reimburse you in one week. My nephew is coming.

I will pay you back in one week's time, my nephew arrives in some day's time.

257-Jos

° Quand mon ami Jefke vous a présenté j'ai toute suite compris que vous êtes un vrai roi les fétiches que vous portez sont superbes et mon vrai métier ces les antiquités je ne voudrais pas y aller par quatre chemin mais combien en demandez-vous (.)

When Jefke introduced us I saw right away you were a true King. Your fetishes are superb. I am an antique dealer. I won't beat around the bush: how much do you want?

When my friend Jefke introduced you I immediately understood that you are a true king the fetishes that you are wearing are super and my true trade is in antique dealing I will not beat around the bush but how much would you want?

258-Mani Kongo

Mais monsieur Jos vous m'insultez (.4) vous savez ce que vous appelez fétiches et les signes héritiers de notre dynastie (.4) si vous n'étiez pas l'ami de monsieur Josèphe j'aurai été impoli avec vous (.)

But Mr. Jos you insult me. What you call my fetishes are symbols of my dynasty. If you were not Mr. Jefke's friend, I would have to take offence.

But Mr Jos you insult me, do you know what you call fetishes are inherited symbols of our dynasty, if you were not the friend of Mr Joseph I would have been impolite with you.

259-Jefke

Hé excusez-le papa Jos croyait simplement qu'au pays vous pouvez en fabriquer d'autres (.)

You'll have to excuse him. He thought that back home you could make more.

Hey excuse him papa, Jos simply thought that in the country you could make others.

260-Jos

Je peux vous prêter de l'argent si vous en avez besoin (.4) venez dans mon bureau on va arranger ça (.)

I can loan you some money. Come on, we'll work something out.

I can lend you money if you need it, come to my office we work something out.

261-Mani Kongo

Monsieur Josephe connais mon village et ma famille (.4) il peut vous garantir que je vous rembourserais (.)

***Mr. Jefke knows me well. He can guarantee I* will reimburse you.**

Mr. Joseph knows my village and my family, he can guarantee you that I will reimburse you.

262-Jos

Toi tu signes ici et Jefke signe là comme témoin (.)

You sign here, Jefke here, as witness.

You sign here and Jefke signs there as witness.

263-Mani Kongo

A vrai dire tout ceci n'est pas nécessaire (.4) vous avez ma parole non (.4) mon neveu sera- là dans quelques jours. (.)

What's the point of all these? You have my word. My nephew will soon be arriving.

Honestly speaking all this is not necessary, you have my word my nephew will be there in some days.

264-Jos

Alors c'est bien claire (.4) si dans cinq jours je n'ai pas les dix milles francs je les gardes (.)

So if I don't have the money in five days, I keep them.

So it is very clear, if in five days I don't have the ten thousand francs I keep them.

265-Mani Kongo

Ayez confiance (.4) j'y tiens plus que ma propre vie (.4) comment pourrai-je supporter la perte de mes *Pièces d'identité* (.4) un autre roi a failli perdre son épée (.4) c'était le 30 juin 1960 le roi Boudouin venait proclamer l'indépendance du Congo (.4) ce jour-là un homme lui a volé son épée cette image m'obsède ***(// noises from. flash back, then music)***

Have no fear. They mean more to me than life. How could I stand the lost of my identity? Another king almost lost his sword. June 30th 1960. King Boudouin announced the independence of the Congo. A man tried to steal his sword. I cannot forget the scene.

Have confidence, I value them more than my own life, how can I bare the loss of my identity, another king almost lost his sword, It was the 30th of June 1960, King Boudouin came to proclaim the independence of Congo, on that day a man stole his sword that image troubles me.

Scene 23: At the African Home in Mani Kongo's Room. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Van Loo.

266-Van Loo

Monsieur Kongo (.4) Monsieur Kongo sergent Van Loo (.4) j'ai une bonne nouvelle pour vous (.4) tenez (.4) on la trouvé ce matin sous une poubelle pas dans une poubelle hein sous une poubelle aller savoir pourquoi ils mettent ça là ces xxx (.4) dites hmmm vous vous souvenez toujours pas du nom du type qui vous a emmené chez la pute (.)

Mr. Kongo. Mr. Kongo. Sgt. Van Loo. I have some good news for you. We found it under a trash can. Not in the trash can but under it. I don't know why they put it there. You still don't remember who took you to the whore house?

Mr. Kongo, Mr Kongo Sgt Van Loo, I have good news for you, take, it was found this mourning under a thrash can not in a thrash can hmm, under a thrash can the question is why they put it there … tell me, do you remember the name of the person who took you to the bitch ?

267-Mani Kongo

Il était très mal habillé c'est tous c' dont je me souvient mais j'ai déjà dis tout cela à monsieur Josèphe (.4) et ma petite fille (.)

He was very poorly dressed that's all I remember. But I told all this to Mr. Joseph. And my little girl?

He was very poorly dressed that's all I remember. But I told all this to Mr. Joseph. And my little girl?

268-Van Loo

Ben justement Jefke aimerait bien que vous passiez le voir au commissariat (.4) en fin de journée et j'y serai aussi moi et faites-moi confiance on la retrouvera votre gamine (.4) aller bonne journée (.)

Jefke would like you to come to the station. I'll be there, too. Trust me, w'll find your kid. Have a nice day.

Well, Jefke will like you to pass by the police station to see him, at the end of the day and I will be there and trust me they will find your daughter, ok good day.

269-Mani Kongo

Hmm (.)

270-Van Loo

Au revoir (.)

Ø

Goodbye.

271-Mani Kongo

! heuheuheuheu Mwana hahaha hihihi

Ø

Heuheuheuheu Mwana hahaha hihihi

Scene 24 : At Mwana's neighbourhood. Dialogue between Mwana and Chaka-Jo.

272-Chaka-Jo

! Amanda (.4) !>< t'sais j'ai eu tellement peur de ne pas te revoir je n'ai pas quitté cette place depuis que je t'ai déposé (.4) tient il n'y plus de Amanda la blonde (.)

I was afraid I'd never see you again. I haven't budged since I dropped you off. What happened to Blondie?

Amanda, you know I was very afraid of not seeing you again that I have not left this place since I dropped you off, no more Amanda the blondie

273-Mwana

Laisses tomber je t'ai reconnu hier soir au cabaret (.)

Get a life. I recognised you last night at the club.

Let it go I recognised you yesterday at the cabaret

274-Chaka-Jo

Je comprend pas de quoi tu parles (.)

I don't get it.

I don't understand what you are talking about

275-Mwana

Peut-être (.4) de toute façon je n'ai rien dis Chaka-Jo (.4) je t'aime bien mais pourquoi m' court tu après (.4)

Maybe not. Anyway, I didn't say anything. Chaka-Jo, I like you a lot but why do you keep running after me?

Maybe, in any case I said nothing. Chaka-Jo, I like you a lot but why do you run after me?

276-Chaka-Jo

Je t'aime beaucoup (.4) je crois qu'on se ressemble (.)

I like you too, I think we go together.

I like you a lot, I think we look alike.

277-Mwana

Tu es vraiment bizarre (.)

You are really weird.

You are really weird.

278-Chaka-Jo

Je t'avais dis j'n suis pas comme les autres garçons (.4) Aller viens je t'emmène où tu veux (.)

I told you, I'm not like other guys. You name the place.

I told you I am not like other boys, come I will take you wherever you want

Scene 25: In Mani Kongo's Room at the African Home. Dialogue between Mani Kongo, the Caretaker and Father Musantu

279- Caretaker

On vous réveille peut-être (.4) majesté

Did we wake His Majesty?

Did we wake His Majesty up?

280-Mani Kongo

Non ma fille je suis déjà bien réveillé

No, my child, I'm long since awake.

No my Child I am already wide awake

281-Caretaker.

& monsieur Kongo (.) >< Nous avons pensé le père aumônier et moi-même (.4) ◦que pour votre bien vous deviez retourner chez-vous (.) ◦j'ai parlé avec le policier (.4) **&** et votre fille (.4) **&** on peut la retrouver dans deux semaines comme dans deux ans (.)

Mr. Kongo, the chaplain and I think that it might be best for you to go back home…I spoke with the police…they may find your daughter in 2 weeks or in 2 years.

Mr. Kongo, we thought, the chaplain and myself that for your sake you should return to your home. I spoke with the policeman, as for your daughter she can be found in two weeks like in two years.

282-Père Musantu

◦ Vous reverrez votre enfant bientôt j'en suis sur (.4) mais il est plus sage que vous l'attendiez en compagnie de votre famille et d'vos proches (.)

You will soon see your child again. But it would be wiser to wait at home with your family and friends.

You will see you daughter soon I am sure but it is wiser that you wait for her at home in the company of your family and close relatives.

283-Caretaker.

◦ Vous nous causez trop de soucis monsieur Kongo! (.) **&** vos papiers on les a retrouvé à la gare du nord (.4) **&** et vous êtes encore rentré très tard la nuit! (.4) **&** après tout ce que j'ai fait pour vous! (.4) ◦j'espérais dans votre cas un peu plus (.4) du sérieux (.)

You have caused us a lot of trouble. Your papers were found at the train station. You came late again last night. After all I have done for you, I hoped for a little more respect

You are causing us a lot of worries Mr. Kongo, your papers were found at La Gare du nord and again you came back very late last night, after everything that I've done for you, I was hoping for a little some seriousness from you.

284-Père Musantu

◦ Ne vous offensé pas (.4) notre devoir (.4) c'est de vous aider (.4) vous (.4) comme les autres (.)

Please, don't be offended…it's our duty to help you. You and the others.

Don't be offended, our duty, is to help you, you like all the others

285-Caretaker

& et ils sont nombreux (.)

And there are plenty of them.

And there a lot of them.

286-Père Musantu

◦Vous avez un avion ce soir (.4) madame la directrice s'est gentiment occupée de votre réservation (.)

You can fly tonight. The director has made the reservation for you.

You have a plane tonight, the director has kindly taken care of your reservation

287-Caretaker.

& et je suis sur monsieur Kongo (.4) que vous nous remercieriez un jour d'avoir pris cette décision pour vous (.)

I am sure Mr. Kongo, that one day you will appreciate this advice.

And I am sure Mr Kongo, that you will thank us one day for taking this decision on your behalf.

288-Mani Kongo

◦ Il faut absolument que je récupère mes affaires ! (.4) >< Et mon neveux l'ingénieur Mayele arrive bientôt (.4) **&** je dois rester ! (.)

I must get back my things. And my nephew is coming soon. I must stay.

It's absolutely necessary that I recover my things, and my nephew Mayele the engineer arrives soon I have to stay.

289-Père Musantu

◦

Il faudrait pas rater l'avion (.4) faites nous confiance (.4) ◦nous nous occuperons de vos affaires mieux que vous-même (.4) ◦nous avons votre adresse au Congo (.4) ◦venez (.4) ne vous en faites pas monsieur Kongo (.4) ◦pour les quelques jours de loyer à payer (.4) ◦notre service social s'en charge (.)

You mustn't miss tonight's plane. Trust us. We will take care of your things better than you. We have your address in the Congo, Come. Don't worry Mr Kongo. Our social services will take care of the back rent.

You should not miss the plane, have confidence in us, we will take care of your business better than yourself, we have your address in Congo, come, don't worry Mr. Kongo, our social service will take care of your few days of due rent.

(Still in the African Home Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Chaka-Jo)

//

290-Mani Kongo

Cela tombe bien (.)

I'm glad to see you.

Nice coincidence.

291-Chaka-Jo

J'avais envie de vous voir (.)

Glad to see you

I would like to see you.

292-Mani Kongo

><°Pouvez-vous m'héberger fils (.)

May I lodge with you... my son?

Can you lodge me son?

293-Chaka-Jo

><Je n'ai que ma voiture comme maison (.4) mais on trouvera bien une solution (.)

My car is my home, but I'll figure something out.

I only have my car as house, but we will find a solution to that.

294-Caretaker

>< C'est le taxi (.4) Vous avez été rapide j'appelle l'aumônier (.)

Taxi. That was fast. I'll call the chaplain.

It is the taxi? That was fast I'll call the chaplain.

Scene 26: In the Taxi. In the taxi somewhere in Brussels. Dialogue between Chaka and Mani Kongo, then in the Marienke's Inn between Chaka-Jo, Mani Kongo

Marienke and other customers.

295-Chaka-Jo

Attendez-moi j'arrive (.)

Wait here.

Wait for me here I'll be back

(In the inn, dialogue between Mrs Marienke the Caretaker and Chaka-Jo)

296-Chaka-Jo

Ce n'est que pour deux ou trois jours (.4) >< c'est un client honnête Me Marienke ayez confiance (.)

It's just for a couple of days. Trust me, he is a decent customer.

It is only for two or three days, it is an honest client Mrs Marienke have confidence.

297-Marienke

! Ça va (.)

Okay.

It is fine.

298-Chaka-Jo

// (***Music***) C'est bon papa ça s'arrange (.)

Alright, pops. You are all set.

It is fine papa it's being fixed.

(In the inn at the Bar)

299-Client

>< & Aller Marienke xxx (.)

Where is my beer?

C'mon Marienke…

300-Marienke

Hah xxx (.)

Hold your horses

Ha….

301-Clients

C'est déjà un quart d'heure hmm (.)

It's been 15 minutes.

It's already a quarter of an hour.

302-Ludo

T'es mon ami (.)

Are you my friend?

You are my friend?

303-Mani Kongo

Mais bien sur (.)

Of course.

Yes of course.

304-Ludo

C'est quoi ton nom (.)

What's your name?

What's your name?

305-Mani Kongo

Mani Kongo (.)

Ø

Mani Kongo.

306-Ludo

Je n'ai jamais entendu un nom comme ça (.)

I have never heard a name like that.

I have never heard a name like that.

307-Marienke

>< xxx tu dérange le client (.)

Ludo, you are bothering our guest.

…you are disturbing the client.

308-Mani Kongo

Il n' dérange personne madame il est gentil votre petit-fils (.)

Such a nice boy is no bother.

He is disturbing no one madam your grandson is a nice person.

Scene 27: In the inn. Dialogue between Mani Kongo, Chaka-Jo and Marienke

309-Marienke

On change les essuies mains et les draps chaque semaine xxx et bien les toilettes et les leviers sont en fond commun (.4) °ça va (.)

We change the hand towels and the sheets once a week. No shower for this price. The toilettes are in the hall.

They change the hand cloth and the sheets every week… and the toilettes and bath tubs are communal, Is it ok?

310-Mani Kongo

° ! Ouais (.)

Ø

Yeah!

311-Marienke

Hmm (.)

Ø

Hmm.

312-Mani Kongo

La serrure ne fonctionne pas (.4) mais c'est n'est pas grave (.4) fils je m'en rend compte que vous connaissiez bien la ville je peut vous montrer la photo de ma fille (.4) °elle est médecin (.)

The lock doesn't work. It doesn't matter. I see that you know this city well. I will show you my daughter's picture. She is a doctor.

The lock does not work, but it is not serious son I realise that you know the town well can I show you the picture of my daughter ? She is a doctor.

313-Chaka-Jo

Je m'en vais papa je fais ma lessive demain j'ai rendez-vous avec une jeune fille (.)

I'm out of here, pops. I've got to do laundry. I've got a date tomorrow.

I am leaving papa I am doing my laundry tomorrow I have an appointment with a young lady.

314-Mani Kongo

Allez s'y fils ne ratez pas votre rendez-vous (.4) >< revenez me voir (.)

Go, my son. Don't miss your date. Come back to see me.

Go on son don't miss your appointment, come back and see me.

315-Chaka-Jo

Je reviendrai (.4) c'est pas tous les jours que j'ai l'impression d'avoir un papa (.)

I'll be back. It's not everyday I find a father.

I will come, it is not everyday that I feel like I have a father.

Scene 28: In a public garden. Dialogue between Mwana and Saffi

316-Saffi

! Mw-a-na c'est maintenant que tu arrive (.)

Do you know what time it is?

Mw-a-na is it now that you coming?

317-Mwana

J'ai rencontré un garçon (.)

I met a boy.

I met a guy.

318-Saffi

! Ha Viva ne t'a pas suffit (.4) tu vas encore te compliquer la vie (.)

Viva was not enough. You needed more trouble.

Ha as if Viva was not enough trouble? You will further complicate your life again?

319-Mwana

! Non bien sur mais avec lui c'est un peu spécial (.)

No, of course not. But he is different.

No of course but with him it is kind of special.

320-Saffi

! Oh tu fais ce que tu veux ma chérie (.)

Its your life honey.

Ok! Do what you want my dear.

321-Mwana

Je sais ce que tu penses des garçons (.)

I know what you think of men.

I know what you think of guys

322-Saffi

& pas grand-chose (.)

Not much.

Not much

323-Mwana

Et aucun garçon ne te fera changer d'avis (.)

And no man could change your mind.

And no guy can make you change your mind?

Scene 29 : In the Inn. (Soliloquy) Mani Kongo

324-Mani Kongo

° ! La seule image de ma petite Mwana (.4) envolée perdue (.4) j'ai vendu mes *Pièces d'identité* (.4) j'ai perdu ma petite Mwana (.4) je ne suis plus digne d'être père (.4) j'suis plus qu'un nomade (.4) un nomade (.)

My only picture of Mwana. Gone, lost. I sold my Id. I lost my little Mwana. I'm not worthy to be a father. I'm no more than a nomad. A nomad.

The only picture of my little Mwana, gone, lost, I sold my Id. I lost my little Mwana, I'm no more worthy to be a father, I'm more than a nomad, a nomad.

Scene 30 : In the African home. Dialogue between the Caretaker and Mayele, an Unknown person in the hallway of the African Home, then in the streets. Dialogue between Mayele and Viva-Wa-Viva, Van Loo and Saffi.

325- Caretaker

Effectivement il nous a parlé d'un neveu qui devait lui apporter de l'argent (.4)! votre oncle nous en a fait voir de toutes les couleurs puis il a fuit honteusement on n' sais

pas où il est au Congo ou encore en ville signer ici (.4) pour votre hébergement apportez-moi une photocopie de votre visa et de votre carte de service vous occuperez la chambre 17 (.)

He told us his nephew will bring him some money. Your uncle really took us for a ride. Then he shamefully ran away. We don't know where he is: in Congo or in Belgium. Sign here. For your stay I will need a photocopy of your visa and your working papers. You have room 17

Of course he spoke to us about a cousin who was suppose to bring money, your uncle took us for a ride then shamefully ran away we don't know if he is in Congo or still in town sign here, for your lodging bring me a photocopy of your Visa and of your service card you will occupy room 17.

(In the hallway of the African Home)

326-Unknown person

Hé Viva comment-là (.)

How is it going, Viva?

Hey Viva how there

327-Viva-Wa-Viva

Bien (.)

Alright.

Fine.

328-Unknown

Et tes affaires (.)

How's business?

And your business?

329-Viva-Wa-Viva

Bien (.)

Ø

Fine.

330-Unknown

Ça marche (.)

Ø

Is everything alright?

331-Viva-Wa-Viva

Ça va bien (.)

Ø

It's fine.

332-Unknown

Tu en gardes pour moi hein (.)

Keep some for me.

You keep my share?

333-Viva-Wa-Viva

Et oui //

You got it.

Yes.

(In the street)

334-Viva-Wa-Viva

Ça va mon frère et en Afrique quelles nouvelles (.4) j'ai entendu dire que tu est le neveu du vieux celui qui porte une grosse torque et une canne (.)

How's it going, brother? What's news in Africa? I heard you are the old man's nephew. The guy with the headdress and cane.

How are things my brother and what news from Africa? I heard that you are the nephew of the old man the one who wears a big torque and a cane.

335-Mayele

Oui exactement tu le connais (.)

Precisely. You know him?

Yes of course do you know him?

336-Viva-Wa-Viva

Je le connais bien oui je l'ai rendu de fiers services & >< comment tu t'appelle encore (.)

You bet. I know him. I did him a favor. What's your name?

I know him very well I rendered him a happy service what's your name again?

337-Mayele

Mayele (.)

Mayele.

Mayele.

338-Viva-Wa-Viva

Ma-ye-le oui il m'a dit que je devais te conduire chez-lui (.)

He wants me to take you to him

Mayele he told me that I had to take you to him.

339-Mayele

Où ça (.)

Where?

Where?

340-Viva-Wa-Viva

A Paris (.)

Paris.

To Paris.

341-Mayele

A Paris (.)

Paris?

To Paris

342-Viva-Wa-Viva

Je t'assure qu'il est parti pour Paris puisque c'est grâce à moi qu'il a traversé la frontière (.4) pour 5000 milles Francs tout rond je te rend le même service (.4) finir les problèmes de douane et de visa (.)

He's gone to Paris. I know 'cause I got him across the border. For 5000 francs, no customs, no visas, no problem.

I assure you that he has gone to Paris since it is thanks to me that he crossed the boarder. For a round 5000 francs I render you the same service, No custom and Visa problems.

343-Mayele

Je n'ai pas de problème de visa tout ce que je veux c'est retrouver mon oncle (.)

My Visa is fine. I want to find my uncle.

I don't have visa problems all I want is meet my uncle.

344-Viva-Wa-Viva

Tient tient voilà l'étudiante comment va ma petite Saffi (.)

Here comes the scholar. How's it going, Saffi baby?

Well well here comes the student how is my little Saffi?

345-Saffi

>< ! Toujours à traîner partout (.4) je n'ai rien à avoir avec toi moi tu est vraiment une sale ordure (.4) n'écoutez pas ce type quoiqu'il vous dit c'est un sale escroc vous n'auriez jamais que des ennuies avec lui (.)

Get a life and leave mine alone, scum! Ignore him. That crook will only bring you trouble.

Always crawling everywhere I don't want to have anything to do with you you are a real scum, don't listen to this man whatever he says to you he is a stinking con man you will receive nothing but troubles from him.

346-Mayele

N' vous inquiétez pas mademoiselle je m'en étais aperçu (.)

Don't worry, miss. I could see that.

Don't worry miss I realised that.

347-Sgt Van Loo

!<> Du calme du calme police vos papiers (.4) bon cartes d'identité s'il vous plait (.4) et votre copain il n'ira pas loin hein (.)

Calm down please. Your Id, please. Your boyfriend wouldn't get far.

Calm down calm down police your papers, fine Id please, and your friend he will not get that far hmm.

348-Saffi

C'est pas mon copain c'est la première fois que je le vois (.)

He is not my boyfriend. I have never seen him before.

He is not my boyfriend it is the first time that I meet him.

349-Sgt Van Loo

Qu'est-ce que vous faisiez ensemble alors (.4) Et toi qu'est-c' qu'il t'voulait t'as quand même composé quelque chose (.)

So what were you doing together? What did he want, There must be something.

What were you doing together then? And you what did he want from you, you at least spoke about something.

350-Mayele

Noon rien (.4) je lui conseillais de foutre le camp quand vous êtes arrivés (.4) avant on a simplement parlé du pays on est du Congo (.)

No nothing. I suggested he run when you arrived. Before, we're talking about home. We are from the Congo.

No nothing I was advising him to go away when you arrived, before that we simply spoke about the country we are from Congo.

351-Sgt Van Loo

Et vous vous connaissez tous les deux (.)

And you two know each other?

And do you know each other?

352-Saffi

Hmm oui depuis qu'on est tout petit (.4) on avait rendez-vous pour faire des photocopies (.)

Since we were kids. We were going to make photocopies.

Hmm yes since we were very small, we had an appointment to make photocopies

353-Sgt Van Loo

Hmm aller c'est bon circulez (.)

Alright, you can go.

Hmmm ok it's fine you can go.

354-Mayele

On se connaît depuis qu'on est tout petit heuheuheu (.)

We've known each other since we were kids.

We've known each other since childhood heuheuheu.

355-Saffi

Mais oui on avait rendez-vous pour faire des photocopies (.)

And we're going to make photocopies.

Yes of course we had an appointment to make photocopies.

Scene 31: In the park. Dialogue between Chaka-Jo and Mwana.

356-Chaka-Jo

! C'était au moment de la rébellion moulleliste (.4) ils ont rapatrié les européens et tout les enfants métisses (.4) je me suis trouvé a l'âge de quatre ans dans un orphelinat (.)

During the moulleliste rebellion, they brought back all the European and mullato children. At 4 I was in an orphanage.

It was during the mouleliste rebellion, they repatriated the European and mentis children, I found myself at the age of four in an orphanage.

357-Mwana

Et tes parents (.)

What about your parents?

And your parents?

358-Chaka-Jo

Mon père est belge je ne l'ai jamais connu (.4) ! Et ma mère (.4) ! >< ma mère on n' l'a pas rapatrié parce qu'elle était congolaise (.4) voici tout ce qui me reste d'elle (.4) et toi ce garçon que j'ai vu l'autre soir ce Viva-Wa-Viva c'est ton (.)

My father is Belgian, but I never knew him. As for my mother…they didn't bring her because she was Congolese. That's all I have left of her. And you, that guy the other night.

My father is Belgian I have never known him and my mother, my mother they did not repatriate her because she was Congolese, this is all that I have left of her and you that guy that I saw the other evening that Viva – Wa-Viva is your.

359-Mwana

! Non je l'ai connu quand j'avais quinze ans il venait me voir à l'internat son père était politicien (.4) il était pendu et Viva a laissé tomber ses études et quand j'ai eu des problèmes d'argent il m'a aidé (.)

No. I met him when I was 15. He came to visit me at the convent. His father was a politician. He was hung and Viva dropped out of School. He helped me out when I needed money.

No I knew him when I was 15 he came to see me in the dormitory his father was a politician he was hanged and Viva drop his studies and when I had money problems he helped me.

360-Chaka-Jo

>< Et pourquoi tu ne veux plus le voir (.)

Why won't you see him anymore?

And why don't you want to see him again?

361-Mwana

Un jour j'ai passé un colis à la frontière française avec un faux passeport camerounais pour lui rendre service (.4) et dans ce colis il y avait du chanvre (.)

I took something to France for him with a fake passport. A package full of dope.

One day I sent a parcel through the French boarder with a fake Cameroonian passport to render him a service, and in that parcel there was Marijuana.

362-Chaka-Jo

! Très belle la photo (.4) la fille aussi hein (.)

A beautiful picture. And a Pretty girl.

Very beautiful picture, the girl too hmm.

363-Mwana

C'est tout ce qui me reste de mon enfance avec les quelques mots de ma langue dont je me souviens (.)

That and a few native words are my childhood.

It is all that is left of my childhood with a few words of my native language that I remember.

364-Chaka-Jo

Tu aimerais vivre en Afrique toi (.)

Would you go back to Africa?

Would you like to live in Africa you?

365-Mwana

Tu vas peut-être penser que je rêve mais je fais des économies pour installer un grand dispensaire dans mon village (.4) tu le gardes pour toi s'il te plait (.)

You will think I am crazy. I am saving to open a clinic in my Village. It's our secret, okay?

You maybe thinking that I am dreaming but I am saving to build a dispensary in my village, you keep it for yourself please.

366-Chaka-Jo

Je t'ai déjà dit (.4) j'ai pas d'autres amis qu' toi 'part ce vieux papa (.4) tu veux que je te dépose chez-toi ou je t'offre un verre à Matongué (.)

Like I told you. You are my only friend. Excerpt for this old man. You want me to take you home? Or can I buy you a drink?

I have already told, I don't have other friends but you Excerpt that old papa, do you want me to drop you at your place or offer you a glass at Matongue

367-Mwana

C'est moi qui t'offre un verre à Matongué et puis tu me dépose à mon cours de danse (.)

I'll buy you a drink then you can drop me.

I am the one to offers you a drink at Matongué and then you can drop me at my dance class.

368-Chaka-Jo

T’est vraiment spéciale (.4) tu viens à la fête africaine ce week-end (.)

You are something else. Coming to the African night?

You are really special, are you coming to the African night this week-end?

369-Mwana

Peut-être (.4) aller c’est d’accord (.4) fait bien attention à toi (.)

Maybe. Okay. You be careful.

Maybe, ok yes, take very good care of yourself.

370-Chaka-Jo

Pourquoi tu me dis ça (.)

What do you mean?

Why do you say that?

371-Mwana

Ils voudront tes chaussures (.)

They’ll want your shoes.

They are looking for your shoes.

Scene 32: At the dance school. Dialogue between Mwana, Viva-Wa-Viva, then Mwana and Saffi

372-Mwana

Mais qui t'a dis que j'étais ici (.)

How did you find me?

But who told you that I was here?

373-Viva-Wa-Viva

J'ai suivi ton amie Saffi c'est aussi simple (.4) alors ma Mwana est amoureuse (.)

Easy, I just followed your friend Saffi. So my little Mwana is in love.

I followed your friend Saffi as easy as that, so my Mwana is in love.

374-Mwana

Je n'suis pas ta Mwana va t'en (.)

I'm not your Mwana. Go away!

I am not your Mwana go away!

375-Viva-Wa-Viva

J'ai une grande nouvelle à t'annoncer mais avant jure-moi que tu ne reverra plus ce métisse (.)

Promise me you won't see the mullato

I have a great news to announce but before swear to me that you will not see that mentis again.

376-Mwana

! Va t'en tu n'as pas le droit d'être ici (.)

Go away! You shouldn't be here.

Go away you don't have the right to be here.

377-Viva-Wa-Viva

J'ai besoin de toi j'ai des emmerdes Saffi te racontera (.4) laisse-moi m'installer chez-toi (.)

I need you. I got a problem. Let me stay with you.

I need you I'm in shit Saffi will tell you, allow me to live at your place.

378-Mwana

! Non (.)

Ø

No!

379-Viva-Wa-Viva

Juste pour quelques jours (.)

Just for a few days.

Just for a few days.

380-Mwana

! Va t'en sinon (.)

If you don't go…

Go away else.

381-Viva-Wa-Viva

Sinon (.)

Ø

Or…?

382-Mwana

Je les dis tout je raconte tout tout ce que tu m'as fais perdre je les dis tout et puis tant pis (.)

I'll tell them everything. Everything you made me loose!

I tell them all all that you made me loose I tell them and then to hell!

383-Viva-Wa-Viva

Mptsssst (.4) toi et ton père je vous envoi en enfer (.)

Fuck you and your old man!

Mptsssst, you and your father can go to hell!

384-Mwana

! Mais qu'est-ce qui lui prend d'insulter mon père (.)

What is he talking about?

But why does he have to insult my parents?

385-Saffi

Mwana à propos j'ai oublié de te dire ce soir je reçois quelqu'un (.4) ° c'est un garçon (.)

I invited someone to dinner. A man.

Mwana talking of which I forgot to tell you this evening I am receiving someone, it is a guy.

386-Mwana

Et il est comment ton étudiant (.)

What's he studying?

And how is your student?

387-Saffi

Il est (.4) Il est très différent c'est pas un étudiant heuu c'est un peu compliqué il est de passage en Belgique c'est un ingénieur mécanicien (.4) et toi c'est ton chauffeur de taxi que j'ai aperçu par la fenêtre dans la voiture (.4) celui qui t'a emmené c'est lui ton chauffeur de taxi (.)

He is not studying. He is different. It's hard to explain. He is visiting. He is a mechanical engineer. And you? Is it your taxi driver I saw in the car?

He is, he is very different he is not a student hmm it is a bit complicated he is on a visit to Belgium. He is a mechanical engineer and you is it your taxi driver I saw through the window in the car, the one who brought you is he your taxi driver.

388-Mwana

C'est juste un ami (.)

He is just a friend.

He is just a friend

389-Saffi

Comment il s’appelle (.)

What’s his name?

What’s his name?

390-Mwana

Jo (.)

Jo.

Jo.

391-Saffi

Xxx

392-Mwana

Grand beau (.)

Tall, handsome…

Tall, handsome…

Scene 33: In Marienke's inn. Clients chatting, and sometimes in a fast and inaudible way.

393-Mani Kongo

Bonjour Madame Marienke (.)

Good morning Madame.

Good morning Mrs

394-Marienke

Ah bonjour (.)

Ø

Ah good morning

395-Mani Kongo

Bonjour tout le monde (.)

Good morning all.

Good morning to every body.

396-All

Bonjour (.)

Ø

Good morning.

397-Client

Bonjour tout seul (.)

Good morning, yourself.

Good morning lonely.

398-Marienke

Aller aller arrête hein c'est un monsieur bien (.)

Quit that. He is a gentleman.

Stop that. He is a kind gentleman.

399-Jeanneke

Sa majesté a bien dormi oui (.)

Did your majesty sleep well?

Did His Majesty sleep well?

400-Mani Kongo

Très bien merci (.)

Very well, Thank you.

Very well, Thank you.

401-Jeanneke

Marienke une gueuse pour sa majesté sur mon compte (.)

A beer for His Majesty, on me.

Marienke a beer for His Majesty on me.

402-Marienke

J'arrive Jeanneke (.)

Coming, Jeanneke.

Coming Jeanneke.

403-Jeanneke

Aïe on peut pas dire non hein ça n'arrive qu'une fois par mois (.4) le jour de la paye et c'est aujourd'hui je n'suis qu'une pauvre petite retraitée majesté aaaha hahahah (.)

You can't say no. Pay day comes once a month. Today! I'm just an old retiree, Majesty.

Sorry you can't say no it happens just once a month on pay day and it's today I am just a poor retiree.

404-Mani Kongo

Hahahahahah je vais le ramener dans mon village ton petit Ludo (.)

I will take your little Ludo back to my village!

Hahahahahah I'll take your little Ludo back to my village.

405-Marienke

Ah voilà c'est votre ami (.)

There's your friend.

Ah there's your friend.

406-Client

Il travail ton locataire hahahah (.)

Your renter works?

He works your tenant?

407-Marienke

Qu'est-ce que moi j'en sais il paraît xxx que c'est un roi quoi (.)

What do I know they say… that he's a king.

What do I know it appears …he is a king or something like that.

408-All

Hahahahahahahahahahahahahahahah

Scene 34: In front of Le Katanga. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Chaka-Jo.

409-Mani Kongo

Je vais rendre la moitié de son argent à monsieur Jos il verra que je suis de bonne volonté (.4) !& yéééé il les a déjà exposé mais il n'a pas le droit il sont encore à moi jusqu'à demain minuit mon neveu devait arriver en Belgique hier nous avions convenu d'un rendez-vous au foyer d'Afrique (.4) mais j'ai honte d'y retourner (.)

I've got half of the money. Mr. Jos will see that I'm honest. He doesn't have the right ! They belong to me until tomorrow midnight! My nephew arrived yesterday. We should have met at the African House, but I am ashamed to go back.

I will return half of the money to Mr Jos he will see that I am honest, yéééé he has already displayed them but he has no right they still belong to me till tomorrow midnight my nephew was supposed to arrive Belgium yesterday we agreed on an appointment at the African Home but I am ashamed to return there.

410-Chaka-Jo

>< ! Demain soir c'est la grande fête africaine tous les africains y seront et c'est là papa que vous allez rencontrer votre fille ça ne m'étonnerait pas que votre neveu y vienne ° mais venez papa (.)

Tomorrow is the African night. All the Africans will be there and you will find your daughter. Probably your nephew too. Come on, pops ! papa

Tomorrow evening is the grand African Night all Africans will be there and it's there papa that you will meet your daughter I will not be surprised that your nephew comes there too let's go papa.

411-Mani Kongo

Mais quel dieu fils pourrait me rendre maintenant tout ce qu'on m'a volé (.)

What god could give me back all that was stolen?

But what god son can give me back what has been stolen from me?

Scene 35: At Saffi's home. Dialogue between Saffi and Mayele.

412-Mayele

Ça y est (.4) y'avait plus assez de pression (.4) le tuyau était empêtrer maintenant c'est dégagé ça va aller Docteur Saffi (.)

There. There wasn't enough pressure. The pipe was blocked. Now that I freed it, It will work, Dr. Saffi!

There we go, wasn't enough pressure, the pipe was blocked now it is cleared it will be fine Doctor Saffi.

413-Saffi

! Quelle coïncidence (.4) tu te rends compte on se rencontre justement au moment où j'obtient mon diplôme (.)

Talk about coincidence. To meet just when I finish my degree.

What a coincidence! Do you realise we meet just at the time I get my degree.

414-Mayele

J'ai cru comprendre qu'ils veulent engager un médecin à temps plein à la Bralima (.)

I think they'll like to hire a full time Doctor at the Bralima.

It appears that they want to recruit a doctor at Bralima on a full time basis.

415-Saffi

Ce serai dommage si ont travaillaient ensemble (.)

It could be nice to work together.

It would be nice if we work together.

416-Mayele

Alors je t'offre le voyage et tu pars en même temps que moi (.)

I'll buy your ticket and you can come with me.

Then I'll pay your trip and we will travel at the same time.

417-Saffi

! Haa t'es fou Mayele voyager comme ça je ne peut pas accepter (.)

Just like that? You are crazy. I can't accept.

Haa you are crazy Mayele just travel like that I cannot accept.

418-Mayele

Cadeaux de fin d'étude (.)

A graduation present.

Graduation gift.

419-Saffi

! J'sais pas (.4)! J' n'sais plus (.)

I don't know. I just don't know.

I don't know, I don't know anymore.

Scene 36: Before the inn. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Chaka-Jo

420-Mani Kongo

! Ha je n'ai pas reconnu votre voiture (.)

I didn't recognise your car.

Ha! I didn't recognize your car.

421-Chaka-Jo

C'est un grand jour pour moi chaque mois le jour de la fête africaine je décore ma voiture (.)

Every month I decorate my car for the African Night.

It is a great day for me every month I decorate my car on the day of the African Night.

422-Mani Kongo

Ça me gène d'aller au foyer d'Afrique mais j'ai hâte de voir mon neveu Mayele on y va quand vous êtes prêt n'oubliez pas que nous devons êtres chez monsieur Jos avant minuit (.4) !mais ma petite Mwana (.4) ça fait longtemps que je cherche la photo de ma fille (.)

I can't go back to the African House, but I have to see my nephew. I'm ready when you are. Don't we have to see Mr. Jos before midnight. My little Mwana. I've been looking for this picture!

I am worried about going to the African Home but I am eager to see my nephew, Mayele. We will go there when you are ready don't forget that we have to be at

Mr Jos before midnight, But! My little Mwana, it's a long time that I have been looking for the picture of my daughter.

423-Chaka-Jo

! C'est votre fille comment vous l'appelez (.)

That's your daughter? What's her name?

She is your daughter how do you call her?

424-Mani Kongo

!& Mwana (.)

Mwana!

Mwana!

425-Chaka-Jo

!°Je la connais actuellement elle est à la fête africaine (.)

I know her. She is at the party!

I know her presently she is at the African Night.

426-Mani Kongo

° Si c'est vraiment ma petite Mwana que vous connaissez emmenez-moi là ici et ensemble nous irons voir Mayele allez y fils je vous attend ici (.)

If it's really Mwana that you know, bring her here and together we'll see Mayele. I'll wait here.

If it is really my little Mwana that you know bring her here to me and together we will go see Mayele go son I am waiting for you here.

Scene 37: In Mani Kongo's room at the inn. Dialogue between Mani Kongo,

427-Mani Kongo

° ! Mwana (.)

Ø

Mwana!

Scene 38: At Matongué. Intermittent dialogue between Mwana and Van Loo then Mwana and Chaka-Jo and finally between Mwana and Viva-Wa-Viva.

428-Van Loo

// T'as l'air d'être seul ce soir je vais un peu rester avec toi ce soir xxx (.)

You look lonely, I'll keep you company. Since Jefke is not here.

You seem to be alone this evening I will keep you company this evening…

429-Amanda

// Fais gaffes ton chef ne sera pas heureux d'entendre ça (.)

Watch it! You wouldn't want your boss to hear that.

Be careful your boss will not be happy to hear this.

430-Van Loo

// ! Amanda je n'ai jamais embrassé une noire ! <> en fin je veut dire une fille aussi belle que toi (.)

I've never kissed a black, I mean such a beautiful girl.

Amanda! I have never kissed a black girl, I mean such a beautiful girl like you.

(Still at Matongué. Dialogue between Mwana and Chaka-Jo)

431-Chaka-Jo

//J'ai quelque chose à te dire (.)

I've got to tell you something.

I have something to tell you.

432-Mwana

// Moi aussi viens (.)

Me too, come on.

I too come.

433-Chaka-Jo

T'est la fille de Mani Kongo Mwana j'ai parlé avec ton père (.)

You're Mani Kongo's daughter. I saw your father.

You are the daughter of Mani Kongo Mwana I spoke to your father.

434-Mwana

! Mon père (.4) en Belgique comment connais-tu mon vrai nom (.4) mon pauvre Chaka-Jo j'aime pas quand tu m'inventes des histoires ta montre tes chaussures la police les connais (.)

My Father? In Belgium? How do you know my real name? Poor Chaka-Jo don't lie to me. Your watch, your shoes. The police are looking for you.

My father! In Belgium how do you know my real name? My poor Chaka-Jo I don't like when you make-up stories your watch your shoes the police knows about them.

415-Chaka-Jo

! Faut que tu me crois Mwana (.4) faut que tu me crois ton père c'est mon meilleur ami (.)

You've got to believe me, Mwana. Your father is my best friend.

You should believe me Mwana, You should believe me your father is my best friend.

436-Mwana

! Je t'adore (.)

I love you.

I love you.

Scene 39: In front of The African Home. Dialogue between Saffi and Mayele.

// Noises

437-Saffi

! Alors une nouvelle de ton oncle (.)

Heard anything from your uncle?

Any news of your uncle?

438-Mayele

Aucune c'est inquiétant je me suis permis de donner ton adresse si jamais il arrivait en mon absence (.)

Nothing. I'm worried. I left your address, if ever he comes when I'm gone.

None it is worrying I took the permission to give your address just in case he came in my absence.

439-Saffi

Hmm t'as bien fait on y va à la fête africaine peut-être que ton oncle y sera (.)

Good. Let's go to African night. Your uncle will be there.

Hmm you did well let's go to the African Night maybe your uncle will be there.

440-Mayele

C'est pas son genre je pense m'installer chez-toi (.)

That's not his thing. I'd prefer your place.

It is not his kind of thing I am thinking of staying at your place.

441-Saffi and Mayele

Hahahaha (.)

442-Mayele

Et puis c'est pas une blague j'ai vraiment l'impression qu'on se connais depuis qu'on est tout petit (.)

I feel like we really have known each other since we were kids.

And this is not a joke I have the impression that we've known each other since childhood.

443-Saffi

Mais ton oncle qu'est-ce qu'il fait ici (.)

But what is your uncle doing here?

But your uncle what is he doing here?

444-Mayele

Aah c'est le roi des BaKongos il est venu chercher sa fille ma cousine Mwana elle est étudiante comme toi mais je ne la connais pas (.)

He is the king of the BaKongos. He came to find his daughter. My cousin, Mwana. She is a student like you. But I don't know her.

Ah he is the king of the BaKongo people he has come to look for his daughter my cousin Mwana she is a student like you I don't know her though.

445-Saffi

! Aah attends une seconde (.4)! ma meilleur ami c'est ma cousine non non c'est la tienne Mwana // c'est aussi une fille >< d'un roi ton oncle (.)

Wait a second. My best friend is my cousin. No…is your cousin. Mwana… She is a king's daughter… your uncle!

Ah! Hold on my best friend is my cousin no no is your's Mwana is the daughter of a King your uncle.

446-Saffi and Mayele

Hahahahah (.)

447-Mayele

Tu avais raison on était fait pour se rencontrer hahah où est Mwana xxx tout suite (.)

You're right. Fate brought us together. Where's Mwana right now?

You were right we were made to meet haha where is Mwana…right away

448-Saffi

Et bien elle est à la fête africaine et vient // on y va vite Papa Wemba (.)

At African Night. Let's go, there is Papa Wemba.

Well she is at the African Night come let's hurry Papa Wemba.

Scene 40: At Matongué. Dialogue between Mwana and Viva-Wa-Viva.

449-Viva-Wa-Viva

J'ai quelque chose d'intéressante à t'apprendre à propos de ton père (.)

I've got to tell you something about your father.

I have something interesting to tell you about your father.

450-Mwana

Je sais il est en Belgique (.)

I know, he is in Belgium.

I know he is in Belgium.

451-Chaka-Jo

Hahahaha (.)

452-Mwana

//J'ai un cadeau pour toi un cadeau d'adieu souvenir souvenir adieu Viva (.)

I've got a present for you. A going away present. Goodbye, Viva.

I have a gift for you, a going away gift, souvenir souvenir adieu Viva.

453-Bibiche-Ninja

! Mptsst tu ne fais même pas le poids (.)

You don't measure-up.

Mptsst! You don't even measure-up.

454-Mwana

//Maintenant c'est elle qui va trouver le planc tu n'as plus de problème Viva (.)

She is going to look after you now. Your problems are over.

Now it is she who will find a hiding place for you your problems are solved.

455-Bibiche-Ninja

// Pourquoi tu la regarde comme ça (.)

What are you looking at?

Why are you looking at her like that?

Scene 41: In the inn. Dialogue between Jeanneke, Mani Kongo, Marienke and other customers.

456-Jeanneke

Majesté venez rigoler avec nous (.)

Come with us, Majesty.

Your Majesty, come and have fun with us.

457-Mani Kongo

Il est minuit (.)

It's midnight.

It's midnight.

458-Jeanneke

Il y a des dizaines de milliers de minuits dans une vie aller venez majesté (.4) il y'a une place tout près de moi et vous pouvez considérer cette invitation comme une demande en mariage à moins que vous soyez raciste (.)

There are thousands of midnights in a life. Come on Your Majesty. There's room next to me. You can take that as a proposal. If you're not racist.

There are tens of thousands of midnights in a lifetime c'mon Your Majesty there is a place close to me and you can consider this invitation as a marriage proposal that is if you are racist.

459-Mani Kongo

J‘suis pas raciste moi parce que tout le monde est salaud toi lui moi tout le monde hmm moi je suis un noir plus noir que les blancs les plus que noirs (.)

I’m not racist. We’re all evil. You, me him. Everybody. I’m black. Blacker than the blackest White.

I am not a racist because everybody are swine, you, him, me, everybody hmm me I am a black blacker than the blackest white.

460-Custumer 1

Moi je suis un blanc et je ne serai jamais assez noir (.)

Me, I’ll never be black enough.

Me, I’m a white and I’ll never be black enough.

461-Marienke

Et lui il est gris (.)

He’s grey

And him he is grey

462-Jeanneke

Comme toute la Pologne (.)

Like everything in Poland.

Like the whole of Poland

463-Customer 2

Jeanneke là-bas tu seras reine (.)

You'll be a queen!

Jeanneke you'll be the queen!

464-Jeanneke

! Oui je serai la reine de Saba heu heu xxx Saba c'est pas du côté de chez-vous ça (.)

Queen of Sheba Sheba is not far from your place is it, honey?

Yes I will be the Queen of Sheba heu heu is Sheba not somewhere around you home?

465-Mani Kongo

Une tournée générale Marienke (.)

This round is for me!

Drinks for all Marienke.

456-All

(// Singing)

467-Mwana

(Singing)

468-Mwana and **Mani Kongo**

(Singing)

469-Mani Kongo

! Le sang de mon sang il n'est jamais trop tard (.)

Blood of my blood. It's never too late.

Blood of my blood. It's never too late.

470-Mwana

Pardonnes-moi père je te dirai la vérité pardonnes- moi (.4) papa (.)

Forgive me, father. I'll tell you the truth. Forgive me. Father.

Forgive me, father. I'll tell you the truth. Forgive me, Father.

471-Mani Kongo

° ! Tu as toujours ta cicatrice xxx chez-nous je te vois tu est une toute petite fille je te vois tu as 8 ans (.4) aujourd'hui moi ton propre père je te reconnais à peine &nous

irons d'abord au foyer d'Afrique retrouver Mayele (.4) ensuite nous irons récupérer mes objets chez monsieur Jos. (.)

You still have your scar ? I see you in front of me at home. I see you as a little girl. You are only 8. Today I hardly recognize you. We'll go meet Mayele then we'll get back my things from Mr Jos.

You still have your scar, at home, I see you you are a very little girl I see you you are 8, today, me your own father I can hardly recognise you, we will go first to the African Home to meet Mayele, then we will go recover my objects at Mr Jos' place.

472-Chaka-Jo

! Asseyez-vous papa vous l'avez bien mérité (.4) donne-moi l'adresse de ton amie Saffi je vais la chercher (.)

Sit down, pops. You deserve it. Give me Saffi's address. I'll go get her.

Sit down papa, you have deserved it, give me the address of your friend Saffi I will go fetch her.

Scene 42: In Mani Kongo's room at the inn. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Mwana, then, intermittently with Chaka-Jo, Saffi and Mayele.

473-Mani Kongo

Je t'ai apporté un passeport tout neuf il ne manque plus que ta signature toute la famille te réclame (.)

I have brought you a brand new passport. You just need to sign. The whole family is anxious to see you.

I've brought you an all new passport. You just need to sign the whole family is anxious to meet you.

474-Mwana

Tu sais papa je ne comprend plus notre langue je suis devenue quelqu'un d'ici maintenant (.)

I don't understand our language anymore. I am from here now

You know papa, I don't understand our language anymore, I have become someone from here now.

475-Mani Kongo

Ce n'est rien tu pourra re-apprendre

It doesn't matter. You can learn

It's nothing, you can start-over again.

476-Mwana

Qui c'est (.)

Who is that?

Who is this ?

477-Mani Kongo

C'est la photo de ta mère tu as toujours ressemblé à ta mère et je peux te le dire de toutes mes femmes elle était ma préférée (.)

Your mother. You always looked like her. She was the favorite of all my wives

It is you mother's picture, you have always looked like your mother and I can tell you that of all my wives your mother was my favorite.

478-Mwana

!&J'avais honte j'ai essayé de vous écrire mais je n'osais pas vous envoyer la vérité ni vous raconter le mensonge (.)

I was ashamed. I tried to write, but I didn't dare send you the truth or tell you lies.

I was ashamed, I tried to write but I dared not send you the truth nor tell you a lie.

479-Mani Kongo

Tais-toi ma petite Mwana tu me racontes le passé alors que je veux entendre le présent quand j'ai imaginé que tu ne nous aimais plus (.)

Ssh my little Mwana. You tell me the past when I want to know the present. How could I think you didn't love us.

Ssh my little Mwana you are talking about the past whereas I want to know about the present when I thought you did not love us anymore.

480-Mwana

! Si tu savais (.)

If you only knew.

If only you knew.

481-Mani Kongo

Mwana nos ancêtres sont avec nous te voilà devenue une grande femme//

Our ancestors are with us. You are a woman now.

Mwana, our ancestors are with us, you have become a grown-up woman now.

482-Chaka-Jo

! C'est nous (.)

We're here.

Here we come!

483-Saffi

Ooh Mwana (.)

Ø

Ooh Mwana!

484-Mwana

! Saffi & papa je te présente mon amie Saffi (.)

Father, this is my friend, Saffi.

Saffi ! Dad may I introduce you my friend Saffi.

485-Mani Kongo

>< Merci ma fille pour tout ce que tu as fais pour Mwana (.)

Thank you for all you have done for Mwana.

Thank you my child for all you have done for Mwana.

486-Saffi

Excusez-moi quand je suis émue j'ai les vertiges ! & quelle histoire c'est fantastique comme on se connaît (.)

I'm sorry. I feel dizzy when I'm moved. What a story? It's great. Everyone knows each other.

Excuse me, I am always dizzy when I am emotional what a story, it is fantastic how we know each other

487-Chaka-Jo

! Tu me connais moi (.)

You know me?

You know me?

488-Saffi

! Mwana m'a souvent parlé de toi heu ha (.4) ! Tu te rends compte Mwana (.4) quelle histoire (.4) Mayele c'est vraiment ton cousin (.)

Mwana talked about you enough! Can you believe it! Mayele is really your cousin.

Mwana has always spoken about you to me, do you believe Mwana, what a story, is Mayele really your cousin?

489-Mwana

! Mais comment vous vous connaissez vous deux (.)

But how do you know each other?

But how do you know each other?

490-Saffi

Hmm il est venu réparer le chauffe-eau (.)

He fixed the water heater.

He came to repair the water heater.

491-Mayele

Et ça chauffe bien maintenant (.)

It really heats up now.

And it heats now

492-Saffi

>< Oui ‘y avait pas assez de pression le tuyau était empêtré maintenant c’est dégagé (.)

There wasn’t enough pressure. The pipe was blocked but not anymore.

Yes there wasn’t enough pressure the pipe was blocked now it is cleared.

493-Mwana

Aidez papa à faire ses bagages je fais quelques courses (.)

Help father with his bags. I have an errand to run.

Help dad to pack his bags. I have some errands to run

394-Mani Kongo

Mais Mayele Mwana tu dire bonjour à ton cousin (.)

But Mayele! Mwana! Say hello to your cousin.

But Mayele Mwana say hello to your cousin.

495-Chaka-Jo

Moi aussi j'ai une course urgente à faire (.) ma princesse (.)

I have got an errand to run too. Princess!

I have an errand to run too. My princess!

Scene 43: At the police station, in Jefke's office. Dialogue between Van Loo, Jefke and Viva-Wa-Viva.

496-Van Loo

Je te présente le sauveur de l'humanité (.4) Viva-Wa-Viva un vulgaire petit gigolo un petit pimp[67] de rien du tout (.4) il lui manque plus que ses flèches et son masque d'ailleurs on s'est déjà rencontré (.4) c'est lui qui m'a bousculé dans la rue l'autre jour (.)

[67] Proxénète

Meet the savior of humanity. Viva-Wa-Viva. Just a gigolo, a small time pimp. He just needs his mask and his darts. In fact we've already met. He ran into me in the street the other day.

May I introduce the savior of humanity, Viva-Wa-Viva a vulgar small idiot a small worthless pimp, all he lacks now is his darts and his mask, after all we've already met, it is him who into me in the street the other day.

497-Jefke

Il a des papiers (.)

Has he got any id?

Has he got papers?

498-Jefke

Non évidemment je n'ai rien trouvé sur lui pas de fric pas de preuve mais il va tous nous dire (.)

Nothing on him. No money, no proof. But he's going to tell us everything.

Of course no I found nothing on him, no money no proof, but he will tell us everything.

499-Viva –Wa-Viva.

!>< Je n'ai rien fait je vous jure (.)

I'm innocent. I swear.

I have done nothing I wear.

500-Jefke

Oooh non ça commence mal très mal & <> aller nom prénom adresse et que ça saute nom de dieu (.)

We're off to bad start. Last name, first name, address! Faster than that!

Ooh no we're off to bad start a very bad start C'mon surname, name, address quick quick!

501-Viva-Wa-Viva

Viva-Wa-Viva j'habite avec Bibiche-Ninja Gare du nord (.)

Viva-Wa-Viva. I live with Bibiche-Ninja at the train station.

Viva-Wa-Viva. I live with Bibiche-Ninja at Gare du nord.

502-Jefke

Ta montre Swatch tes chaussures No Name c'est bien toi que j'ai vu l'autre fois au Katanga **m** non (.)

Swatch watch. No Name shoes. You were at the Katanga the other night.

Your Swatch watch, your No Name shoes wasn't you I saw at the Katanga the other night?

503-Viva-Wa-Viva

! Je connais un type il a les même chaussures et ><cette montre c'est pas ma montre on me l'a donné (.)

I know a guy who has the same shoes. And it's not my watch. It was a present.

I know a person who has the same shoes and this watch is not my watch they gave it to me.

504-Jefke

Ça nous avance à quoi je n'aime pas jouer avec xxx je n' vais pas perdre mon temps avec toi sache-le j'ai pas besoin de tes aveux pour te foutre en taule monsieur Viva sauveur de l'humanité //! & >< quoi (.)

What does that tell us? Don't mess with me. I won't waste anytime on you. I don't need your confession to send you to jail. What?

Where does that lead us to, don't play with…I wouldn't waste my time with you know that I don't need your confession to send you to jail mister Viva-Wa Viva saviour of humanity…what?

505-Policeman

Le patron du Katanga voudrait vous voir commissaire (.)

The owner of the Katanga wants to see you.

The owner of the Katanga would like to see you superintendent

506-Jefke

Faites-le attendre aller **&** alors (.)

He can wait!

C'mon let him wait …so?

Scene 44: In Mani Kongo's room at the Inn. Dialogue between Mani Kongo and Mwana.

(Background Music)

507-Mani Kongo

Heuhm ma canne heu mes colliers mes *Pièces d'identité* pts grâce à toi ma fille je retourne au pays la tête haute sais-tu ma fille aucune femmes n'a jamais touché à ces objets nous en parlerons plus tard chez-nous (.)

My headdress, my cane, my necklaces, my identity. Thanks to you I can return my head held high. Did you know that no woman has ever touched these things? We'll talk about this later.

Hum, my cane my necklaces my identity pts thanks to you my daughter, I can return my head held high. Did you know that no woman has ever touched these things? We'll talk about this later.

Scene 45: At the police station. Dialogue between Jefke and Jos

508-Jefke

Alors (.)

Well

So?

509-Jos

Il a cambriolé le magasin ce matin (.)

He broke into the store this morning.

He broke into the store this morning.

510-Jefke

Et qu'est ce qu'il t'a pris (.)

What did he steal?

And what did he take?

511-Jos

Il a piqué 150.000 balle que j'avais planqué dans un masque et tout les fétiches du vieux Mani Kongo à qui j'avais prêté du fric 'fric je m'en fou mais les fétiches en 20 ans d'Afrique moi je n'en avais jamais vu d'aussi beaux (.)

150,000 francs I'd hid in a mask and all of Mani Kongo's fetishes. I don't care about the money. But the fetishes were the best I'd seen in 20 years.

He stole 150,000 francs which I hid in a mask and all the fetishes of old Mani Kongo whom I lent money the money I don't care but as for the fetishes, I have never seen as beautiful as those in my 20 years in Africa.

(Background Music)

512-Marieke

//! Mon cher monsieur au revoir et bon voyage hein (.4) je vous aime bien hein (.)

Goodbye and bon voyage you are not too bad.

My dear sir, goodbye and safe journey, I like you well enough hein.

513-Jeanneke

//Bon retour si je gagne le gros lot j'arrive (.4) que tout se passe bien pour vous et votre papa (.)

Have a good trip. I'll join you when I win the lottery. I hope everything goes well.

Save return, if I win the lotto I'll come, may everything go well between you and your father.

514-Client (male)

Faut partir de bon cœur au revoir (.)

Our heart is with you, goodbye

Go in good faith goodbye.

515-Ludo

Je t'interdis de partir (.)

You can't leave.

I don't want to leave.

516-Mani Kongo

Au revoir sois sage je t'emmènerai au Congo ont faire xxx hmm (.)

Goodbye. Be good. You can come and see me in the Congo and we'll go hunting.

Goodbye be wise I will take you to Congo…hmm

517-Marienke

Aah le petit Ludo c'était son ami hein (.)

Little Ludo. He was your friend.

Ah the little Ludo, He was your friend.

518-Mani Kongo

Au revoir (.)

Ø

Goodbye!

519-All

// Au revoir et bon voyage (.)

Ø

Goodbye and save journey.

Scene 46: At the police station, in Jefke's office. Dialogue between Jefke and Viva-Wa-Viva.

520-Jefke

Parles-moi de ton copain celui qui a les mêmes chaussures (.)

Tell me about your friend with the same shoes.

Talk to me about your friend, the one with the same shoes.

521-Viva-Wa-Viva

C'est pas mon copain le mec avec mes No Name il est faux chauffeur de taxi c'est un métis il s'appelle Chaka-Jo il est tous les jours à l'aéroport (.)

He's not my friend. The guy with my shoes is a fake taxi driver. A Mulato. His name is Chaka-Jo. He's at the airport everyday.

He is not my friend, the guy with my No Name shoes, he is a fake taxi driver he is a metis his name is Chaka-Jo he is at the airport everyday.

522-Jefke

Et la fille qui t'a soi-disant offert la montre Swatch son nom (.)

And the girl who gave you the watch. What's her name?

And the girl whom you say gave you the swatch watch, her name

523-Viva-Wa-Viva

! **m** cette fille je ne l'a connais pas bien (.)

I don't really know her.

That girl, I don't know her well.

524-Jefke

°Aller un petit effort et t'est comme libre Viva hmm un petit effort (.4) nous on veut bien te croire que t'a rien à voir avec l'affaire des cabarets (.4) d'ailleurs t'es bien sapé hmm t'as l'aire d'un type sympa bien intégré dans notre pays (.)

Say the word and you're free. We'd really like to believe you. That you have nothing to do with the cabarets. You are awfully well dressed. You look like a good guy, well integrated.

C'mon just a little effort and you are free Viva hmm just a little effort, we will like to believe you, that you have nothing to do with the cabaret affair, after all you are well dressed hmm you look like someone understanding and well integrated in our country.

525-Viva-Wa-Viva

Cette fille c'est la copine du chauffeur de taxi elle est danseuse dans un cabaret (.)

She is the taxi driver's girl friend. She dances in a cabaret.

This girl is the taxi driver's girl friend, she is a cabaret dancer.

526-Jefke

° ! Quel cabaret (.)

Which one?

Which cabaret?

527-Viva-Wa-Viva

& Le Privé c'est une menteuse Mwana faudrait pas croire tout ce qu'elle raconte sur moi (.)

Le Privé. Mwana is a liar. You can't believe what she says about me.

Le Privé. She is a liar Mwana, don't believe what she says about me.

528-Jefke

Comment tu dis qu'elle s'appelle (.)

What is her name?

What did you say is her name?

529-Viva-Wa-Viva

Mwana elle n'est pas du Cameroun elle est du Congo (.4) Amanda c'est pas son vrai nom son père! C'est un vieux roi du Congo il est venu lui rendre visite (.)

She is from the Congo, not Cameroon. Amanda is not her real name. Her father is a King over there. He came to visit her.

Mwana, she is not from Cameroon, she is from Congo, Amanda is not her real name her father is an old king from Congo, he came to visit her.

530-Jefke

! Oh putain (.)

Goddamit

Oh dammit

Scene 47: At the Airport. Dialogue between Mwana and Chaka-Jo, Mwana and Mani Kongo.

531-Chaka-Jo

Tiens un cadeau c'est pour ton dispensaire au village (.)

A present. For your Clinic.

Take this, a gift for your clinic at the village

532-Mwana

! Non c'est trop d'argent Chaka-Jo je ne peut pas accepter (.)

I can't accept so much money.

No it is a lot of money Chaka-Jo I cannot accept

533-Chaka-Jo

Que veux-tu que je fasse de cette argent puisque Mani Kongo et toi vous vous en allez (.4) moi je reste seul avec mon faux taxi et mon faux nom faut noir faux blanc faux passeport je tiens plus (.)

I don't need it now that you are leaving. I'll stay here with my fake taxi, my fake name, fake black, fake white, fake passport. I can't stand it.

What do you expect me to do with this money now that Mani Kongo and you are leaving I remain alone with my fake taxi, and my fake name, fake black, fake white, fake passport, I can not bare it anymore.

534-Mwana

//!Mon amour tu va partir avec nous tu va m'aider à construire le dispensaire je suis sur que papa sera d'accord (.)

Come with us. You'll help me build my clinic. I'm sure father will agree.

My love you will come with us you will help me to build the dispensary, I am sure that dad will be ok

535-Chaka-Jo

Laisse-moi aller chercher mon passeport dans la voiture ici où là moi c'est pareil (.)

My passport's in the car. Here or there what does it matter? Or there it's the same

Let me go fetch my passport in the car, here or there it's the same to me

Scene 48: In the parking lot at the Airport. Dialogue between Van Loo and Chaka-Jo, then between Chaka-Jo and Jefke.

536-Van Loo

& Police (.)

Police.

Police.

537-Jefke

° ! Toi tu prétend que c'est ta maman qui t'a donné cette médaille (.4) comment elle s'appelle (.)

So you say your mother gave you this charm. What is her name?

So you claim that it is your mother who gave you this medal, what is her name?

538-Chaka-Jo

° ! Anastasia (.4) c'est tout ce que je sais d'elle (.)

Anastasia. That's all I know.

Anastasia, that is all I know about her.

539-Jefke

° ! Anastasia et depuis quand tu as cette médaille (.)

When did she give it to you?

Anastasia and when did she give it to you.

540-Chaka-Jo

° ! Depuis que je suis tout p'tit c'est le seul souvenir que j'ai de l'Afrique (.4) j'avais été rapatrié dans un groupe d'enfants métis (.4) j'ai fait une fuite de l'orphelinat où j'avais été placé haaaa &! Commissaire j'ai tout avoué faites ce que vous voulez mais rendez-moi ma médaille (.)

It's my only memory of Africa. I came to Belgium with a group of Mulato children. I ran away from the orphanage. I confessed everything. Just give me back my charm.

Since my childhood it is the only memory I have of Africa, I was repatriated in a group of mentis children, I escaped from the orphanage where I was kept…Superintendent I have confessed everything do whatever you want but return my pendant.

541-Jefke

° ! Maintenant tu voulais rentrer au Congo (.)

And now you want to go back?

Now you want to return to Congo?

542-Chaka-Jo

Ah ouais (.)

Yes!

Oh yeah!

542-Jefke

&Van Loo (.)

Ø

Van Loo

543-Mwana

Il est là papa je t'avais dit//

There he is, father, I told you.

He is here dad, I told you.

Scene 49: Location unknown. Dialogue between Jefke and a black acquaintance

544-Jefke

°! Anastasia m'avait encore parlé de cette grossesse mais j'y croyais pas moi (.4) j'y croyais pas (.)

Anastasia told me she was pregnant but I didn't believe her.

Anastasia told me again about this pregnancy but I did not believe, I did not believe

545-Acquaintance

Bien on reverra un jour & ta négresse (.)

You'll see her again some day, your negress.

Well we will one day see your negress.

546-Jefke

° ! Mais maintenant le contacte est rétablir (.4) ce vieux roi connaît Anastasia c'est un ami & c'est un vrai ami (.)

I can contact her now. The old king knows her. He is a real friend.

But now the contact has been established, this old king knows Anastasia he is a friend, a true friend.

547-Van Loo

Chef (.4) ici Van Loo vous êtes-là chef (.)

Chief, Van Loo

Chief, Van Loo coming, can you get me chief?

548-Jefke

Le commissaire écoute (.)

I'm listening.

Superintendent coming!

549-Van Loo

Je suis toujours ici avec ce Viva-Wa-Viva j'attend vos ordres//

I'm still holding Viva. What should I do?

I am still here with this Viva-Wa-Viva waiting for your orders

550-Jefke

Hmm (.)

Ø

Hmm

Scene 50: In the plane. Dialogue between Mwana and Mani Kongo.

551-Mwana

Merci beaucoup papa je suis très heureuse mais je regrette tellement de ne pas revenir avec mon diplôme de médecin (.)

Thanks, father. I'm so happy, but I wish I had come home a doctor.

Thanks a lot dad, I am very happy but I deeply regret not returning with my medical degree.

552-Mani Kongo

Tu auras ton diplôme chez notre guérisseur le vieux Mfumu il connaît le secret de toutes les plantes ce métier n'a jamais été pratiqué par les femmes mais ce voyage m'a surtout appris que les temps ont changé mais il ne faut pas brûler les étapes (.4) nous allons réunir le Conseil des sages // ***(music)***

Our medicine man Mfumu will give you your degree. He knows the secret of all plants. No woman has ever been a medicine man! But this trip has taught me that times have changed. Let's not rush through. First we must call together the Elders

You will have you medical degree from our medicine man, the old Mfumu he knows the secret of all plants. This job has never been done by women before but this trip has taught me that times have changed but don't rush. We will summon the Council of Elders.

The end

Fin