The English Influence on Dubbed TV Series: The Case of *Modern Family*

VINCENZA MINUTELLA

1. Introduction

Films and TV series are an important vehicle through which foreign cultures can influence our culture. American TV series dubbed into Italian can exert a great cultural and linguistic impact on young audiences, who may mimic the way their favourite TV characters behave and speak. Moreover, some scholars have argued that TV series might be more prone to source language interference and translation mistakes compared with feature films (see Alfieri, Contarino and Motta 131). In Italy, several scholars have commented on the low quality of dubbed TV series, highlighting several calques and unnatural expressions used in the Italian dialogues which are due to English-language interference (Alfieri, Contarino and Motta; Motta "Apporto" and "Diachronic"; Sileo "Doppiaggio" and *Doppiaggese*; Minutella "Dacci"). Previous studies on Anglicisms and calques in Italian dubbing and in TV language have focused on TV series such as *Beverly Hills 9010* (Brincat), *Beautiful* and *Centovetrine* (Sileo "Doppiaggio", *Doppiaggese*), *E.R.* and *Beautiful* (Alfieri, Contarino, Motta), *Fame* and *Glee* (Minutella "Dacci"), animated films (Minutella "Direct", "Wow"), the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Pavesi *Traduzione*,

"Translational", "Reappraising"; Freddi; Pavesi and Zanotti forthcoming). Several BA and MA dissertations have investigated TV series such as *Supernatural, Una mamma per amica*, *Breaking Bad*, *Gossip Girl*.

The aim of this article is to explore the English influence on the Italian language of dubbed TV series, focussing on the specific case study of *Modern Family* (2009-2020). This series has been chosen because it portrays several members of an extended American family in their daily interactions, in informal situations where family bonds and relationships are important. The language used closely resembles spontaneous conversation. Its popularity among young people and its extensive use of verbal and situational humour also contribute to making the series interesting from a cultural and linguistic point of view.

The English language influence on dubbed Italian will be examined by detecting the presence of linguistic elements such as Anglicisms (i.e. direct English borrowings such as *star, spoilerare, smoking*), as well as calques and translational routines deriving from literal translations (Pavesi *Traduzione*; Rossi *Linguaggio*; Motta "Apporto", "Diachronic"; Sileo "Doppiaggio", *Doppiaggese*, among others). The article will explore the presence of Anglicisms, calques and translational routines in the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family*. The study will focus specifically on the translation of salient linguistic characteristics of audiovisual dialogue - some elements typical of spoken language and of telecinematic dialogue such as the discourse markers *okay/okay*?, *wow*, *yeah*, *I mean*, expressions such as *you know what?*, *oh my God!*, address forms such as the familiarisers *man*, *mate*, *buddy*, *dude*, *pal*. The presence of some calques and translational routines often quoted in the literature on *dubbese* will be investigated. These are *amico* (from 'man'), *realizzare* (from 'realize'), *dacci un taglio* (from 'cut it out'), *voglio dire* (from 'I mean'), *già* (from 'yeah'), *lascia che ti dica/spieghi* (from 'let me tell you/explain/say'), *oh mio Dio* (from 'oh my god'), *sai (una) cosa?* (from 'you know what?') (Pavesi, *Traduzione* 49, "Translational", "Reappraising"; Rossi 309-311; Bucaria; Motta "Apporto", "Scena", "Diachronic" ; Minutella "Dacci", "Wow" ; Sileo "Doppiaggio", *Doppiaggese*). By analysing episodes from the same series released and translated in different years, a further aim of this study is to assess whether any significant differences in terms of Anglification can be observed in dubbing through the years. The paper will thus also attempt to investigate whether the number and frequency of English loanwords increases over time.

As regards the methodology adopted, the study is based on the analysis of a small corpus of television dialogue consisting of 10 episodes from the TV

series *Modern Family* randomly selected from seasons 1 to 5 (2009-2013). In order to gather quantitative and qualitative data, the episodes as released on the streaming platforms *Netflix* and *Disney Plus* were watched several times and their English and Italian dubbed dialogues were transcribed orthographically.[1] 220 minutes of television dialogue were transcribed and analysed. The collected texts were transcribed in a table (to compare the English dialogues and the dubbed Italian dialogues), but were also divided into two sub-corpora. The English dialogue sub-corpus is made up of 34,725 words, while the dubbed Italian dialogue sub-corpus consists of 30,859 words. Each corpus (*Modern Family_2009-2013_En* and *Modern Family_2009-2013_Ita*) was uploaded to *Sketch Engine* (Kilgariff *et al.* 2004). The written transcriptions and the episodes were then examined in order to detect the presence of evident English elements such as Anglicisms, and of more subtle English influence through calques. Anglicisms were detected manually, by watching the episodes and reading the transcriptions. On the other hand, calques and translational routines were detected reading the transcriptions and through the concordance function in the *Sketch Engine*. The calques and translational routines under analysis were selected from among those which are often quoted in the literature on *dubbese*.[2]

The term *dubbese* usually carries negative connotations indicating the 'unnatural' language of dubbing which is created through literal translations and which does not 'sound natural' to an Italian ear. Rossi defined *dubbese* as "la lingua tipica del doppiaggio, ritenuta una forma d'italiano ibrida tra falsa colloquialità ricca di calchi e stereotipi, pronuncia impeccabile e formalismo" (Rossi 636). Nevertheless, some scholars consider *dubbese* as a specific language variety, i.e., the language of dubbing, without adding any quality judgements. *Dubbese* is neutrally defined by Bucaria as "the language variety used in dubbed audiovisual texts" (151). Pavesi has pointed out that *dubbese* has specific features, regardless of the languages involved. The language trends of *dubbese* in various languages are "geographical undifferentiation, register and style neutralization, less textual cohesion,

---

[1]   I would like to thank Chiara Grasso for transcribing the episodes in English and in Italian.

[2]   On Anglicisms and calques in Italian dubbing, with an ironic and exaggerated approach, see also the video
clip by AIDAC «Un dialogo possibile?» <https://aidac.it/documenti/audio-video/> and <https://aidac.it/images/pdf/crusca_relazione.pdf> (Intervento di Filippo Ottoni all'Accademia della Crusca).

lexical permeability to the source language, repetitive use of formulae" (Pavesi, "Spoken" 81). Pavesi also considers the language of dubbing/ *dubbese* as constituting a third language or third norm (Pavesi *Traduzione*, "Spoken" , "Reappraising", "Translational"). It is a language variety in its own right, with specific features, due to its being a translated language constrained by the need for synchronisation with the images and with the mouth and body movements of the characters. Since dubbed language must match the length of the original language and articulation of the mouth of the original actors/characters, translation choices are often affected by synchronisation. As pointed out by Pavesi, "translation for dubbing is highly constrained by various types of synchronization, which will automatically impose a strong dependence exactly on the make-up of the ST" ("Spoken" 91). This may lead to the presence of Anglicisms and literal translations, or translation solutions having a similar articulation of the mouth as that of the original words/expressions. Moreover, the language of dubbing has been found to contain so-called translational routines, which are defined by Pavesi as "recurrent solutions to translation problems which tend to become overextended" (Pavesi, "Spoken" 94; see also Pavesi, "Translational").

Before moving on to the analysis, Anglicisms and calques will be briefly described. In this paper we will adopt a narrow definition of Anglicism as "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (Görlach 1). Scholars have identified different types of Anglicisms: non-adapted, adapted, false, and hybrid Anglicisms (see Pulcini *et al.*; Furiassi). Non-adapted Anglicisms are English words which keep their original form (i.e. *sport*, *chat*), adapted Anglicisms are adapted according to the morphology of the borrowing language (e.g. *sportivo*, *chattare*), false Anglicisms have an English form but are used with a different meaning or do not exist at all in the English language (e.g. 'smoking' as an item of clothing does not exist in English, its equivalent being 'smoking jacket'). Calques or loan translations reproduce the foreign word (its form and meaning or only its meaning) with Italian elements, through various processes. Calques can be semantic ('*realizzare*' from 'to realise'), lexical ('*amico*' from 'man'), syntactic ('*Buon fine settimana*' from 'Have a nice weekend') (see Pulcini, "Italian" 151-167).

2. The TV series *Modern Family*

Modern Family is a family comedy created by Steven Levitan and Christopher Lloyd, produced by 20th Century Fox television and screened in the USA by Abc, available in Italy first on the TV channels *Fox life* and *Italia 1*, then aired on the streaming platforms *Netflix* and *Disney+*. It consists of 11 seasons, for a total of 250 episodes lasting 22 minutes each. It is a sitcom belonging to the genre of the 'mockumentary', i.e., a fake documentary where the protagonists often speak directly to the camera, commenting on events and their feelings, as if they were addressing the documentary maker. The series follows the life of a modern American family living in L.A. The members of the family are the father Jay (with his young second wife Gloria, who is Colombian, and her son Manny), Jay's daugher Claire (and her own family, made up of her husband Phil and their three children Haley, Alex and Luke), and Jay's son Mitchell (with his husband Cameron and their adopted daughter Lily). The series thus portrays a gay couple, an interracial couple with a much younger wife, and a heterosexual white couple. Family bonds, relationships and conflicts, as well as prejudices are dealt with in a humorous way. The series won an Emmy Award for Outstanding Comedy Series.

The Italian version of the series was dubbed by the company Video Sound Service[3]. Several dialogue writers are the authors of the Italian dialogues and dubbing directors Teo Bellia and Roberto Draghetti alternated to direct the dubbing sessions. Season 1 was translated/adapted by Stefanella Marrama, Marina Guadagno, Margherita Sestito, Cecilia Gonnelli; season 2 was translated/adapted by Federico Nobili, Margherita Sestito and Cecilia Gonnelli; seasons 3 and 4 were translated/adapted by Gianfranco Amalfitano and Susanna Piferi; seasons 5 and 8 by Susanna Piferi; seasons 6 and 7 by Marina Guadagno and Susanna Piferi; season 9 by Emanuela Acampora; season 10 by Susanna Piferi, Ilaria D'Ottavi and Giulia Buffa; season 11 by Giulia Buffa. This alternation and multitude of dialogue writers is typical of the dubbed versions of TV series in Italy.

---

[3]   Information about the dubbed version is retrieved from Antonio Genna's website <https://www.antoniogenna.net/>.

3. ANALYSIS

The analysis conducted on this TV series focuses on the original and dubbed versions of the episodes and is divided into two parts. An exploration of Anglicisms is followed by an analysis of the way specific features typical of spoken conversation are conveyed in dubbing, detecting the presence (or absence) of calques and translational routines.

3.1. ANGLICISMS IN THE DUBBED VERSION OF *MODERN FAMILY* (2009-2013)

The episodes analysed contain a relatively limited number of Anglicisms. This confirms previous studies on dubbed films, TV series and animated films, which pointed out that Italian dubbing is definitely not 'invaded' by English words and expressions and that, when Anglicisms are used in dubbing, there is a tendency to choose words which are already known and accepted in the vocabulary of the Italian language and attested in dictionaries (Brincat; Pavesi, *Traduzione*; Ferro and Sardo; Minutella, "Fingerprints", "Dacci", "Direct", "Wow"). The only English items which are quite frequent in the dubbed episodes are the pragmatic Anglicisms *okay* and *wow*. *Okay* and *wow* are the only Anglicisms with more than 10 occurrences in the episodes analysed. All the other English words found in the Italian dialogues have a very low frequency. This again confirms previous studies on other genres (Pavesi, *Traduzione*; Minutella, "Direct", "Wow" among others).

3.1.1. *OKAY*

The most frequent Anglicism in the dubbed dialogues is *Okay*. It is used in all the episodes and it is the only Anglicism which is repeated several times by different characters. Everybody uses it. This comes as no suprise, since this word has become pervasive in the Italian language. Moreover, in the original English dialogues 'okay' is one of the most frequent words, with an absolute frequency of 265 (the item was found 265 times in the English dialogues corpus). In the dubbed dialogues there are 168 occurrences of *okay*. It is uttered in all the episodes, where it is used by various characters and with different functions. In the dubbed dialogues '*okay*' is a pragmatic discourse

marker functioning both as a response form – *okay* – and as a response elicitor – *okay?* However, it is also used as an adjective in the expression "è *tutto okay? – non è tutto okay*" (from the typical English expressions "*Are you okay/ You okay/Everything okay?*". The findings in this corpus confirm previous studies on animated films, i.e., that the most productive and widespread English element in Italian dubbing (as in Italian spontaneous conversation) is 'okay'. However, the English 'okay' is not always kept in the Italian dubbed dialogues. Alternative solutions are pragmatic equivalents such as *d'accordo*, *sì*, *senti*, *certo*, *allora* and omission or zero translation. *Okay* is also sometimes added in the Italian dialogues. This confirms its widespread acceptance as an item in the Italian language. The following examples show the extensive presence of 'okay' in the English dialogues and its presence and translation in the Italian dubbed version. Example 1 contains the Anglicism and an Italian pragmatic equivalent (*d'accordo*), in example 2 the three occurrences of 'okay' as an adjective are retained twice and once translated with a functional equivalent (*niente affatto*), while in example 3 the response form is kept.

Example 1

Original version	Dubbed version
<MITCHELL> **Okay**, Cam, I'm sorry that I blamed it all on you, **okay?**	<MITCHELL> **D'accordo**, Cam, scusa se ho dato la colpa a te, **okay?**

Example 2

Original version	Dubbed version
<PHIL> Are you **okay**? <WOMAN> Yes. <CLAIRE> Actually, not **okay**. Not **okay**.	<PHIL> È tutto **okay?** <WOMAN> Sì. <CLAIRE> No, non è tutto **okay**, **niente affatto**.

Example 3

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> **Okay**, we gotta hit the road.	<CLAIRE> **Okay**, dobbiamo muoverci.

3.1.2. Wow

Wow is the second most frequent Anglicism in the dubbed dialogues. This interjection occurs 26 times in the English original version and 16 times in the Italian dubbed version. Sometimes *wow* is added in Italian when the interjection is absent in the English original dialogue. However, alternative solutions to translate the English *wow* are Italian expressions of suprise such as *cavolo*, *oh*, *incredibile*, *fantastico*, *accidenti*, or zero translation/omission. This suggests that, although the Anglicism is used in dubbing, there is not a fixed choice and Italian words having the same pragmatic function or the strategy of omission are also used by dubbing professionals. The examples below show some of the solutions adopted in Italian dubbing.

Example 4 (Anglicism)

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> **Wow**! Dylan, I didn't know you could paint.	<CLAIRE> **Wow**, non sapevo che dipingessi.

Example 5 (omission)

Original version	Dubbed version
<HALEY> **Wow**! Oh, my goodness.	<HALEY> Oh, che meraviglia.

Example 6 (Italian pragmatic equivalent)

Original version	Dubbed version
<DEDE> Oh, **wow**. I am not prepared for this.	<DEDE> Oh, **cavolo**, non ero preparata a questo.

Example 7 (Italian pragmatic equivalent)

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> to Mitchell Oh, **wow**. When was the last time we talked under a table?	<CLAIRE> Oh **cavolo**. Quanto tempo è che non parlavamo sotto un tavolo?

Example 8 (Italian pragmatic equivalent)

Original version	Dubbed version
<MITCHELL> **Wow**. That--That looks exactly like Manny.	<MITCHELL> **Accidenti,** sembra il fratello gemello di Manny, lo sai?

3.1.3. Some observations on Anglicisms

Analysing the quantity and types of Anglicisms found in the dubbed episodes, some observations can be made. First, Anglicisms appear to be linked to plot and setting. For instance, an episode which shows Cameron as the coach of a football team contains Anglicisms belonging to the specialised field of American football. This again confirms previous studies on dubbed Italian (Brincat; Minutella "Direct" and "Wow"). Secondly, there does not seem to be a major increase in the amount of English loans in dubbing between 2009 and 2013. The first episode analysed (S1: E4, aired in 2009) contains 13 Anglicisms, while the last episode analysed (S5: E9, aired in 2013) contains 12 Anglicisms. No major pattern emerges, since the number of Anglicisms in the ten episodes under analysis oscillates between 7 and 15, depending on the contexts and situations of each episode. For instance, the episode which contains the highest number of direct loans deals with Haley going to college. The average number of Anglicisms per episode (2009-2013) is 11.4. The absence of a rise in Anglification from 2009 to 2013 might be due to the relatively short time span considered in this analysis. Different, more interesting results might emerge if we consider a longer time span, comparing episodes from 2009 with episodes from 2020. In fact, although episodes from the most recent season aired in 2020 were not transcribed for the purposes of this study, some of their dialogues were nevertheless qualitatively analysed. The first three episodes of Season 11 were watched, taking note of the Anglicisms uttered in the dubbed version. Episodes 1, 2 and 3 of Season 11 contain between 18 and 23 Anglicisms. This tentative (and incomplete) comparison may suggest that the quantity of Anglicisms in the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family* has slightly increased in more recent times. Further empirical research based on dialogue transcriptions is necessary in order to provide more reliable quantitative data.

It is also worth noting that as far as American culture is concerned, a trend in dubbing can be observed. In fact, there appears to be a tendency to keep culture-specific references as loanwords, rather than opting for a

domesticating approach which changes elements typical of the American culture into elements belonging to the target Italian culture. This happens for instance with some words referring to food (*waffle*, *pancake*), titles of film and TV series (*Hunger Games*, *High School Musical*, *Footloose*, *The L Word*, *My Little Pony*), and the school system ('*A*' as a mark is retained in the dubbed version, rather than using the Italian marking system; the word *college* is repeated). The example below illustrates this point:

Example 9

Original version	Dubbed version
<MANNY> We both get A's.	Prenderemo una A.

There are also cases in which Anglicisms are added in the dubbed version. A case in point is the example below, where 'look' is added in Italian.

Example 10

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> You don't need to change who you are to fit in with the cool kids.	Non hai bisogno di cambiare **look** per piacere ai ragazzi.

It is worth noting that a change of meaning also occurs in the above utterance by Claire. The woman is giving some advice to her younger daughter Alex - a very smart but quite antisocial and very serious kid who has just "turned Goth" trying to become friends with a cool girl in her school. Claire's comment on the importance of not changing one's own identity in order to be accepted by popular kids is turned in the Italian dubbed version into a comment on how to be attractive for guys. This translation solution carries ideological implications and skews the mother's character.

3.2. CALQUES AND TRANSLATIONAL ROUTINES IN DUBBED DIALOGUES

This section will investigate whether calques and translational routines such as *amico*, *realizzare*, *assolutamente*, *Oh mio Dio!*, *Sai (una) cosa?*, *Lascia che ti dica/chieda una cosa*, *Già*, *Voglio dire* and *Dacci un taglio* are used in the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family* (2009-2013).

3.2.1. Amico < man, mate, dude, buddy

As regards the prototypical dubbese vocative '*amico*', it only occurs once in the 10 episodes analysed. It is uttered by Jay to a young man he does not know. *Amico* does not translate an English familiariser. It is worth noting that the dialogues of this TV series do not contain any instances of the English vocatives which usually trigger the Italian '*amico*'. In fact the familiarisers *man*, *mate* and *dude* are never uttered. On the other hand, *buddy* is used 8 times, but it has various translations: *ragazzi, piccolino, piccolo, bene, tieni* – and zero translation/omission.

3.2.2. Realizzare < realize

There were no occurrences of the semantic calque '*realizzare*' in the episodes analysed. The 6 occurrences of "realize" were translated as *capire* (2), *pensare* (2), *rendersi conto* (2). This confirms previous studies (Minutella and Pulcini; Minutella, "Dacci", "Wow"). Although *relizzare* is often mentioned as a prototypical example of dubbese, empirical analysis on animated films and TV series suggests that it is not actually frequently found in dubbed Italian. The following example illustrates the use of '*capire*' to translate 'realize'.

Example 11

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> So, uh, we **realized** a couple things up there, and I think apologies are in order.	<CLAIRE> Allora, lassù **abbiamo capito** un paio di cose e credo proprio che vi dobbiamo chiedere scusa.

3.2.3. Assolutamente < absolutely

The episodes analysed contain only 3 occurrences of the adverb 'absolutely'. In the dubbed version, 3 different translations can be found: *assolutamente*, *assolutamente sì, ma certo*. The calqued *assolutamente* is indeed used, but only once, as illustrated in the example below:

Example 12

Original version	Dubbed version
<JAY> We're going up another level. <CLAIRE> **Absolutely.** Come on.	<JAY> Saliamo di un piano. <CLAIRE> **Assolutamente.** Forza.

Nevertheless, the more natural *assolutamente sì* and *certo* are also used, which suggests that the invariant *assolutamente* has not replaced the Italian expressions.

Example 13

Original version	Dubbed version
ENG: <CAMERON> Do we have a special bond? **Absolutely.**	<CAMERON> C'è un legame speciale? **Assolutamente sì.**

Further research on a larger corpus is needed to draw some conclusions.

3.2.4. (Oh,) mio Dio! < (Oh) my God/Gosh!

The mild expletive "Oh, my God" and its variants "My God" and "Oh, God" are quite frequent in the English dialogues. The *Sketch Engine* gives 32 hits for "Oh, my God", 2 for "My God", and 13 occurrences of "Oh, God". The euphemisms "Oh, my gosh" and "Oh, gosh" are also used (7 occurrences). These exclamations are uttered by most of the adult characters (most frequently by women - the teenager Haley, her mother Claire, the younger daughter Alex - but also by Cameron, Mitchell and Phil). In the dubbed version the calque "*Oh mio Dio!*" is mostly resorted to in order to translate the English expression. *Oh, mio Dio!* and *Oh, Dio!* occur 38 times. According to Sileo (*Doppiaggese*, 82-85) more natural Italian expletives would be *Oddio* or *Dio mio*. Alex once says "O santo cielo" (S4: E3). The repetitive use of *Oh mio Dio* in dubbed dialogues, often uttered with a high-pitched voice, becomes a marker of the characters' speech and of dubbese. The high frequency of this calqued expression in dubbed dialogues might end up influencing the way young people watching the TV series speak. What seems unnatural is also the very high frequency of occurrences of the expression in Italian. Examples 14 to 21 show the extensive and repeated use of '*Oh my God/gosh*' in English, and the prevailing literal translation in Italian dubbing. Some of the examples also contain the alternative translation provided by subtitles, where the more natural '*Oddio*' and '*Mamma mia*' are also resorted to.

Example 14

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
<HALEY> **Oh, my God**. Yay, it's big! **Oh, my God**. I love it. It's the most beautiful thing I've ever seen.	<HALEY> **Oh mio Dio**. È enorme. **Oh, che meraviglia,** lo adoro. È la cosa più bella che abbia mai visto.	<HALEY> **Mamma mia**. È enorme! **Oddio**, lo adoro. È la cosa più bella che abbia mai visto.

Example 15

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
<MITCHELL> **Oh, my God.** You guys go to The Lumberyard too?	<MITCHELL> **Oh mio Dio**, anche voi andate alla falegnameria?	<MITCHELL> **Oh, mio Dio**. Frequentate anche voi la Segheria?

Example 16

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
<HALEY> **Oh, my God**. What is that shirt?	<HALEY> **Oh mio Dio**, che cos'è quella?	<HALEY> **Oddio**, che maglietta hai?

Example 17

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
<HALEY> **Oh, my God**! Put on a shirt!	<HALEY> **Oh mio Dio**! Rimettila.	<HALEY> **Oddio**! Mettiti una camicia!

Example 18

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> **Oh, my God,** Mitchell.	<CAMERON> **Oh mio Dio,** Mitchell.

Example 19

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> **Oh, my God!** **Oh, my God!** **Oh, my God!**	<CAMERON> **Oh mio Dio,** **oh mio dio,** **oh mio dio!**

In the above example the exclamation is repeated with different intonation and pitch three times, when Cameron sees some amazing shirts. In this case the fixed expression is used for characterisation and to convey excessive excitement, and it is therefore repeated also in the dubbed version to highlight Cameron's exaggerated reaction.

Example 20

Original version	Dubbed version
<PHIL> **Oh, my gosh**. It's us at the market.	<PHIL> **Oh mio Dio**. Ma siamo noi al supermercato.

Example 21

Original version	Dubbed version
<ALEX> **Oh, my God.**	<ALEX> **Oh, mio Dio.**

3.2.5. SAI (UNA) COSA? < (DO) YOU KNOW WHAT?

The fixed phrase 'You know what?', which has the function of turn launcher, is typical of natural spoken conversation and of film and TV dialogue. Romero Fresco commented on it being a set phrase typically used in the English dialogues of the TV series *Friends*, while Freddi considers it a fixed 3-word-cluster which occurs in the English dialogues of two American films which are part of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (*PCFD*) (Freddi, 106-107). 'You know what?' can thus be considered a fixed expression typical of American telecinematic language. Previous studies have pointed out that it often gives rise to a syntactic calque typical of dubbed Italian, i.e., the stock translation *Sai (una) cosa?* (see Pavesi, *Traduzione* 49; Freddi 106-107).

In the 10 episodes of *Modern Family* analysed 'You know what?' is uttered 24 times, by several characters. This confirms that it is a common expression typical of television dialogue mimicking conversation among American speakers. As regards its translation, the calque '*sai (una) cosa?*' is not very frequent, as it occurs only 6 times in the dubbed version. On the other hand, the Italian dubbed dialogues contain more natural-sounding expressions, including omission. Alternative translation solutions found in dubbing are *senti, tranquillo*, the more natural *sai che ti dico?* (Pavesi, *Traduzione* 49), omission/zero translation, *d'accordo, scusa, ascoltami, aspetta, lui però, io invece, in fondo, ma noi, io non ci casco*. This shows that Italian dialogue writers tend to prefer variation rather than the use of a fixed expression and routinised translation. Nevertheless, by avoiding the calque and the repetition of the fixed expression or formulaic language typical of spoken interaction, the dubbed version loses characterisation since the repetitive use of this expression also contributes to characterisation. However, a fluent and natural sounding Italian dialogue is preferred and the calque appears to be avoided.

The following are some examples of exchanges containing the English fixed expression and showing its various translations.

Example 22

Original version	Dubbed version
\<JAY> to Cameron **You know what?** I'm gonna prove that you won only because I was distracted.	\<JAY> **Senti,** voglio provarti che hai vinto solo perché ero distratto.

Example 23

Original version	Dubbed version
\<HALEY> to her parents **You know what?** I think it's best if you guys get going.	\<HALEY> **Io invece** penso che sia meglio che voi due ve ne andiate.

Example 24

Original version	Dubbed version
\<CLAIRE> And **you know what?** You made me this way. (S3: E12)	\<CLAIRE> E **sai una cosa?** Tu mi hai fatta diventare così.

Example 25

Original version	Dubbed version
<MITCHELL> Right. **You know what**, Cam? Why don't I just take Lily to preschool on my way to work? (S3: E2)	<MITCHELL> **Sai una cosa**, Cam? Posso portarla io all'asilo mentre vado al lavoro.

The following examples are extracted from a conversation between Cameron and Mitchell about the fact that their daughter Lily must get less attached to Cameron. Cameron finds the idea of not taking Lily to pre-school and not doing things with her really hard. The expression 'you know what?' occurs several times and it is translated in different ways.

Example 26

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> You're right. **You know what?** It's gonna be a great day.	<CAMERON> Sì hai ragione, **scusa**. Sarà un gran giorno.

Example 27

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> **Okay**. **You know what**, Lily, sweetie? I know this is gonna be difficult-	<CAMERON> **Okay, ascoltami** Lily, tesoro. So che sarà difficile.
<LILY> Bye!	<LILY> Ciao.
<CAMERON> **Okay**. That was a knife to the heart.	<CAMERON> **Okay**, peggio di una coltellata.
<MITCHELL> No, it's-it's a good thing. Come on.	<MITCHELL> No va bene così, andiamo.
<CAMERON> Oh, **you know what?** She forgot her snack.	<CAMERON> **No, aspetta**, ha lasciato la merenda.

Example 28

Original version	Dubbed version
<WOMAN> **Okay, you know what?** He's trying to be nice, and you just called him Sally.	<DONNA> **Okay**, lui **però** sta cercando di essere gentile e tu lo chiami Sally?

Example 29

Original version	Dubbed version
<MITCHELL> **You know what?** It was nice of you to offer. (S4: E3)	<MITCHELL> **Sai una cosa?** Grazie dell'offerta.

Although 'Sai una cosa?' is seldom used in the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family*, it is among the translation solutions for 'you know what?'. Moreover, it can be considered a translational routine since it is also inserted in dubbing without the English trigger 'You know what?' In fact, in season 4, spisode 3 Cameron says "Why don't you call my dad?", which becomes "Sai una cosa? Chiama mio padre".

These quantitative data on the 10 episodes analysed corroborate previous studies by Freddi and Pavesi (*Traduzione*), since natural Italian solutions are not supplanted by the literal translation of the English expression. This seems to contrast with Sileo's findings that '*sai una cosa?*' "sembra ricorrere molto spesso nel linguaggio cine-televisivo adattato dall'inglese" and that the calque is replacing the Italian '*Sai che c'è?*' and '*Sai che ti dico?*' (Sileo, *Doppiaggese* 98, 99). Nevertheless, research focussing on more recent episodes of the series is needed in order to ascertain whether contemporary dubbed dialogues of this series contain more occurrences of the calqued fixed expression.

3.2.6. 'Lascia che ti dica/chieda qualcosa/una cosa' < 'Let me tell/ask you something'

No occurrences of the structural calque 'lascia che ti dica/chieda qualcosa/una cosa' were found in the dialogues analysed. The examples below illustrate the

choice of more direct and less formal Italian expressions such as 'dimmi una cosa' and 'ascolta'. They are uttered by adult males to young boys (Manny and Luke).

Example 30

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> **Let me ask you something**.	<CAMERON> **Dimmi una cosa**, Manny.

Example 31

Original version	Dubbed version
<LUKE> Can't imagine you working. <PHIL> Luke, **let me tell you something**. That is very offensive to women. Your mom works very hard. It's just now she works for us.	<LUKE> Non ti ci vedo che lavori. <PHIL> Luke, **ascolta**. Così offendi tutte le madri di famiglia. Tua madre lavora sodo, lavora per tutti noi.

3.2.7. *Già* < Yeah

As pointed out by Pavesi, the pair *yeah - già* is one of the most frequent translational routines in Italian dubbing (Pavesi, "Aspetti" 137; Bucaria; Sileo, *Doppiaggese*, 92-96; Minutella, "Wow"; see also Pavesi and Zanotti forthcoming). The need for lip synchronization has probably generated this recurrent solution, due to the similar articulation of the mouth of the two words 'yeah'/'*già*'. The English dialogues contain 157 occurrences of 'yeah'. In the dubbed version, these are rendered with the following words (in order of frequency): *sì*, *certo*, *già*, ø (omission or zero translation). *Già* is used 31 times in the dubbed dialogues as a response form. This shows that although the translational routine *già* is indeed used in the Italian dialogues, other Italian solutions are preferred. Italian dialogue writers opt for variation rather than a fixed, recurrent, repetitive one-to-one equivalence. This again confirms observations made in previous studies on TV series and animated films, that is, that dubbing professionals

aim at avoiding repetitiveness (Minutella "Dacci", "Wow"). Moreover, the most frequent translation is *sì*, which, as pointed out by Pavesi and Zanotti (forthcoming) "can be posited as functionally the most immediate equivalent of the English *yeah*". The examples below illustrate the extensive presence of the discourse marker 'yeah' in the English dialogues and its varying translations (*sì*, *già*, omission) in the dubbed dialogues. Example 32 also contains an instance of 'realize' translated with an Italian verb which is not a calque.

Example 32

Original version	Dubbed version
\<MITCHELL\>	\<MITCHELL\>
Yeah. **I realized** that if I was gonna raise a boy, I needed to butch up my life. You know, I wanted to be able to teach my son all the things that my Dad taught Claire.	**Sì**. **Mi sono reso conto** che se voglio crescere un maschio, devo essere più virile. Insomma devo insegnare a mio figlio tutto quello che mio padre ha insegnato a Claire.

Example 33

Original version	Dubbed version
\<CLAIRE\> Mm-hmm. **Yeah**. I had a pretty crazy day, but it-it had an interesting ending.	\<CLAIRE\> Mmmh, **sì,** ho avuto una giornata assurda, ma con un finale interessante.

The following example takes place during a meeting between Mitchell and Cameron (a gay couple) and a lesbian couple who is visiting them so that their children can play and they can try to get along. The two couples do not really get along and are quite embarassed. The exchange contains several occurrences of 'yeah' (5) and 'I mean' (2), used as hesitators and fillers. In the dubbed version, 'yeah' is translated 3 times with the traslational routine *già* and twice omitted. The discourse marker 'I mean' is translated once with *sì* and once with *insomma*. The Anglicism *gay* is also used in the dubbed version.

Example 34

Original version	Dubbed version
<WOMAN> **Yeah**. So glad that we are doing this.	<DONNA> **Già**, sono talmente contenta.
<MITCHELL> **Yeah. Yeah**, me too. **Yeah**.	<MITCHELL> **Già, già**, anche io.
<WOMAN> **I mean**, we're the only **gay** parents in the class.	<DONNA> **Sì**, siamo gli unici genitori **gay** della classe.
<MITCHELL> **Yeah**, we should be supporting one another. **I mean**, we have so much in common.	<MITCHELL> Dobbiamo aiutarci a vicenda. **Insomma**, abbiamo tanto in comune.

3.2.8. *VOGLIO DIRE* < I MEAN

Instances of the discourse marker *I mean* are translated with the following words and expressions (in order of frequency): *cioè*, *insomma*, *sì*, *visto che*, omission/zero translation, *voglio dire*. Various different solutions are adopted. They are Italian pragmatic equivalents, the word *insomma* (which fits in terms of lip synchronisation) and the syntactic calque *voglio dire*. However, occurrences of the syntactic calque *voglio dire* are less frequent than the more natural Italian solutions. This shows that there is no overuse of the literal translation and that dialogue writers opt for more natural solutions. The quantitative results on *Modern Family* thus corroborate previous findings on animated films (Minutella, "Wow") and contrast with Rossi's comment that there is an overuse of '*voglio dire*' in dubbed dialogues (Rossi, *Linguaggio*).

3.2.9. *DACCI UN TAGLIO* < CUT IT OUT

The expression '*dacci un taglio*' only occurs once in the dubbed corpus. Its English trigger is not 'cut it out' but rather "let's just do this".

3.2.10. A recent calque? *Di sempre* < Ever?

After analysing words and expressions which are considered typical of *dubbese*, I decided to investigate the presence of a word combination which is very frequently used in contemporary newspaper articles and in the news, especially about sports, but also in spoken Italian. The prepositional phrase '*di sempre*' may in fact be a recent calque from the English 'ever', in expressions such as 'the best/worst + Noun + ever' or 'the most + Adj + ever". '*Di sempre*' is not mentioned in the literature on *dubbese*. However, it might be the result of an English language influence on Italian through translation, since it is more concise than the Italian expressions that convey the superlative/the same meaning (such as 'di tutti i tempi, in assoluto, che ci sia mai stato', etc.) This intuition was confirmed by some recent comments by *Accademia della Crusca* (2016) and the *Treccani* magazine (2018). In 2016 Matilde Paoli on the *Accademia della Crusca* website argued that "in tutte queste espressioni troviamo *ever*, il cui primo significato è appunto 'sempre' […], mentre in italiano sarebbe necessario ricorrere a espressioni diverse: la traduzione con *(di) sempre* permette di creare una serie di espressioni parallele a quelle inglesi e ugualmente "economiche"."[4] As pointed out in the *Treccani* website,

> Quel *di sempre* sostitutivo del secondo termine di paragone di un superlativo relativo è entrambe le cose: un calco sull'inglese *ever*, in espressioni come *bigger than ever* 'più grande di come sia mai stato'; un sistema indubbiamente rapido e conciso con cui all'inizio i giornalisti sportivi, poi i giornalisti in generale e, infine, anche la lingua comune, hanno trovato una scorciatoia per evitare l'articolazione più complessa e ricca costituita dal modulo sintattico normale (e normato). Sostiene Matilde Paoli in una pagina dell'Accademia della Crusca dedicata a questo tema […]: «Ciò che certamente infastidisce è l'alta frequenza con cui viene usata questa nuova formula a scapito della variazione e dell'originalità che la nostra lingua ci può consentire».[5]

The expression '*di sempre*' is thus calqued on the English 'ever', it is shorter than other more natural Italian expressions and therefore might be used in

---

[4]   <https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/consulenza/la-crusca-e-laccademia-italiana-piu-longeva-di-sempre-/1174>.

[5]   <https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/domande_e_risposte/grammatica/grammatica_1553.html>.

translations where conciseness or the same length as the original version is needed. This might include online newspaper articles as well as subtitled or dubbed versions of audiovisual products. In light of the above comments, I decided to verify how expressions such as 'the best/worst/most + Noun/Adj + ever' are translated in the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family*, in order to ascertain whether the expression '*di sempre*' is actually used also in dubbing. Very few occurrences of this construction were found in the 10 episodes analysed. Season 5, episode 9 (*The big game*) contains the superlative expression ironically uttered by Cameron. As illustrated in example 35 below, the dubbed version translates the expression with the calque '*più vincente di sempre*'. On the other hand, the subtitled version opts for the more natural Italian expression '*di tutti i tempi*', which is slightly longer.

Example 35

Original version	Dubbed version	Subtitled version
<CAMERON> If I win today that makes three... making me **the winningest** first-year freshman coach **ever.**	<CAMERON> Se vinco oggi fanno tre e diventerò l'allenatore del primo anno **più vincente di sempre.**	<CAMERON> Se vinco oggi, io salgo a tre... e divento il coach di matricole **più vittorioso di tutti i tempi.**

The choice of '*di sempre*' in dubbing might be due to the need for synchronisation, since the articulation of '*di sempre*' is quite similar to that of 'ever', whereas '*di tutti i tempi*' is longer and has a different articulation of the mouth. The above is the only occurrence of '*di sempre*' in the ten episodes analysed. In other episodes, longer but more natural Italian expressions are chosen. For instance, in the following example, from season 1, the superlative is rendered with the expression '*del mondo*'.

Example 36

Original version	Dubbed version
<CAMERON> Who warned you that that was **the worst idea ever**? Anyone?	<CAMERON> Chi ti aveva detto che era **la peggiore idea del mondo**? Qualcuno?

A further occurrence of a superlative with 'ever' is translated without resorting to the easy and short calque '*di sempre*'. In the example below the sentence containig the superlative is rewritten/adapted in the dubbed version.

Example 37

Original version	Dubbed version
<CLAIRE> Hang on one sec. **Okay.**	<CLAIRE> Aspetta un secondo.
<PHIL> Is that **the funniest thing ever**?	<PHIL> **Mi fa morire dal ridere**.
<CLAIRE> Oh, **yeah**!	<CLAIRE> Oh **sì**.
<CAMERON> Oh. **Oh, my gosh**. Mitchell, come here. You have to see what Claire sent us.	<CAMERON> **Oh mio dio** Mitchell vieni, guarda che ci ha mandato Claire.
<MITCHELL> **Okay**, wait. One second. **Okay**.	<MITCHELL> **Sì**, aspetta un secondo. **Okay**.

The example above contains several linguistic items which are typical of spontaneous conversation and whose translation has been discussed in this article. There are 3 occurrences of 'okay' (rendered with omission, *sì* and *okay*), the discourse marker 'yeah' translated as '*sì*', the euphemistic exclamation 'Oh my gosh' rendered with the calque '*Oh mio Dio*' and the expression 'the + superlative + ever', which is rewritten in Italian.

5. Conclusion

The analysis carried out in this article has shown that the dubbed version of *Modern Family* contains a relatively limited presence of Anglicisms and that there was no major increase in the quantity of Anglicisms between 2009 and 2013. There also appears to be a limited presence of calques and translational routines, since the Italian dialogues contain few occurrences of the words and expressions which are often mentioned in studies on *dubbese* as typical markers of translated language conveying an unnatural flavour to the Italian dialogues. The only expression which is very frequent in the dubbed dialogues is *Oh mio Dio!*, which is repeated throughout the episodes by most characters.

Nevertheless, in order to provide a fuller picture of the English influence on dubbed Italian, further research is needed on a much larger corpus. For instance, episodes from seasons 6 to 11 (2013-2020) should be transcribed and analysed in order to ascertain both whether more recent dubbed dialogues are more Anglicised and whether translational routines and fixed expressions such as '*oh mio Dio!*' and '*Sai una cosa?*' are more pervasive in dubbed dialogues in more recent times.

Furthermore, empirical research could benefit from the creation of a parallel Screen English and Italian corpus. The corpus should contain the transcriptions of the English and Italian dialogues of TV series, animated films, and films. This would enable researchers to discover patterns and regularities in both telecinematic English dialogue and dubbed dialogue. A comparison of the patterns that emerge with dictionary definitions and with data from general English and Italian corpora would also provide interesting results. For instance, by investigating corpora of spoken Italian, we could ascertain whether expressions such as '*di sempre*', '*Oh mio Dio*', '*sai una cosa?*', '*già*' and '*voglio dire*', among others, are used in contemporary Italian. A comparison with data from a corpus of Italian films and TV series could also lead to useful insights.

What emerges from this small-scale study on the translation of *Modern Family* is that this series does mimic spontaneous conversation and uses a series of fixed expressions typical of spoken English and that Italian dubbing professionals mostly use a natural-sounding Italian, avoiding calques and excessive repetitions, resorting to various solutions and creativity. This corroborates previous studies (Minutella "Dacci", "Direct" and "Wow") and shows that, overall, the quality of the dubbed dialogues of *Modern Family* is good.

Works Cited

Alfieri, Gabriella, Simona Contarino, e Daria Motta. "Interferenze fraseologiche nel doppiaggio televisivo: l'italiano di *ER* e *Beautiful*". *Atti delle giornate di studio sull'interferenza italiano-inglese (Venezia, aprile 2002)*. A cura di Anna Vera Sullam Calimani. Firenze: Cesati, 2003. 127-49.

Andersen, Gisle. "Pragmatic Borrowing". *Journal of Pragmatics* 67 (2014): 17-33.

Bollettieri Bosinelli, Rosa Maria. "Tradurre per il cinema". *Manuale di Traduzione dall'inglese*. A cura di Romana Zacchi and Massimiliano Morini. Bologna: Mondadori, 2002. 76-88.

Brincat, Joseph M. "Il doppiaggio di telefilm americani: una variante tradotta dell'italiano parlato-recitato?" *L'italiano oltre frontiera. 5. Convegno Internazionale, Leuven, 22-25 aprile 1998 (Vol. 1)*. Ed. Serge Valvonsen *et al.* Leuven/ Firenze: Leuven University Press/Franco Cesati Editore, 2000. 245-58.

Bucaria, Chiara. "Acceptance of the Norm or Suspension of Disbelief? The Case of Formulaic Language in Dubbese". *Between Text and Image. Updating Research in Screen Translation*. Ed. Delia Chiaro, Christine Heiss and Chiara Bucaria. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008. 149-63.

Chaume, Frederic. "La pretendida oralidad de los textos audiovisuales y sus implicaciones en traduccion". *La Traducción en los medios audiovisuales*. Ed. Rosa Agost and Frederic Chaume. Castellón de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2001. 77-87.

Chaume Varela, Frederic, e Cristina García De Toro. "El doblaje en España: Anglicismos frecuentes en la traducción de textos audiovisuales." *Rivista Internazionale della Tecnica della Traduzione* 6 (2001): 119-37.

Di Fortunato, Eleonora, e Mario Paolinelli (a cura di). *Barriere linguistiche e circolazione delle opere audiovisive: la questione doppiaggio*. Roma: AIDAC, 1996.

Duro Moreno, Miguel. "'Eres patético': el Español traducido del cine y de la televisión". *La traducción para el doblaje y la subtitulación*, Madrid: Catedra, Signo e Imagen, 2001. 161-88.

Ferro, Patrizia, e Rosaria Sardo. "La TV per bambini e per ragazzi". *Gli italiani del piccolo schermo. Lingua e stili comunicativi nei generi televisivi*. A cura di Gabriella Alfieri and Ilaria Bonomi. Firenze: Cesati, 2008. 379-450.

Forchini, Pierfranca. *Movie Language Revisited: Evidence from Multi-dimensional Analysis and Corpora*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2012.

Forchini, Pierfranca. "A Diachronic Study of Familiarizers ('man', 'guys', 'buddy', 'dude') in Movie Language". Ed. Rocío Baños, Silvia Bruti and Serenella Zanotti. Special issue of *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* (2013): 504-25.

Formentelli, Maicol. "The Vocative *Mate* in Contemporary English: a Corpus-based Study". *Language Resources and Linguistic Theory*. Ed. Andrea Sansò. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2007. 180- 99.

_____. "Vocatives Galore in Audiovisual Dialogue: Evidence from a Corpus of American and British Films". *English Text Construction*. 7.1 (2014): 53-83.

Freddi, Maria. "The Phraseology of Contemporary Filmic Speech: Formulaic Language and Translation". *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue: Linguistic and Translational Insights*. Ed. Maria Freddi and Maria Pavesi. Bologna: CLUEB, 2009. 101-123.

Furiassi, Cristiano. *False Anglicisms in Italian*. Monza: Polimetrica, 2010.

Garzone, Giuliana. "Osservazioni sull'assetto del testo italiano tradotto dall'inglese". *L'italiano delle traduzioni*. A cura di Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Garzone. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2005. 35-57.

Gellerstam, Martin. "Fingerprints in Translation". *In and Out of English: For Better, for Worse?* Ed. Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005. 201-13.

Gottlieb, Henrik. "Anglicisms and Translation". *In and Out of English: For Better, for Worse?* Ed. Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005. 161-84.

_____. "Old Films, New Subtitles, More Anglicisms?" *Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility at the Crossroads. Media for All 3*. Ed. Aline Remael, Pilar Orero and Mary Carroll. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012. 249-72.

Herbst, Thomas. "Why Dubbing is Impossible". *Traduzione multimediale per il cinema, la televisione e la scena*. Ed. Christine Heiss and Rosa Maria Bollettieri Bosinelli. Bologna: CLUEB, 1996. 97-115.

Minutella, Vincenza. "'Fingerprints' of English: Lexical and Syntactic Borrowings in Dubbed Italian." *Papers from the 24th AIA Conference. Challenges for the 21st Century: Dilemmas, Ambiguities, Directions*. A cura di Gabriella Di Martino, Linda Lombardo e Stefania Nuccorini. Roma: Edizioni Q, 2011. 121-28.

_____. "'Dacci un taglio, vuoi?' Anglicisms in Dubbed TV Series, Then and Now". *Ricognizioni* 2.4 (2015): 235-56.

_____. "Direct Anglicisms in Dubbing in Italy: State of the Art". *English in Italy. Linguistic, Educational and Professional Challenges*. A cura di Cecilia Boggio e Alessandra Molino. Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2017. 87-104.

_____. "Direct Anglicisms in Dubbed Italian: A Preliminary Study on Animated Films." *Lingue Linguaggi* 28 (2018): 193-209.

_____. "Wow! Ehi, amico. Lascia che ti spieghi... Okay? Già. The English Element in Dubbed Italian. The Case of Animated Films". *Textus* 34.1 (2021): 75-100.

Minutella, Vincenza, and Virginia Pulcini. "Cross-linguistic Interference into Italian Audiovisual Discourse: The Cases of *Realize, Impressive* and *Excited.*" *Observing Norms, Observing Usage: Lexis in Dictionaries and the Media.* Ed. Alessandra Molino and Serenella Zanotti. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014. 333-50.

Modern Family. Created by Steven Levitan and Christopher Lloyd. 2009-20. ABC. Television.

Motta, Daria. "L'apporto inglese alla lingua italiana attraverso la fiction doppiata". *Le forme e la storia* 3.1 (2010): 239-44.

Motta, Daria. "Dalla scena del delitto alla scena del crimine". *L'Italia e i mass media.* Ed. Marco Gargiulo. Roma: Aracne, 2012. 127-42.

_____. "Diachronic Models of TV Dubbing on Contemporary Italian." *ITALICA* 92 [4](2015): 959-78.

_____. "Il doppiaggio televisivo come strumento didattico per l'insegnamento dell'italiano LS Dall'adattamento culturale dei testi alla didattica della fraseologia." *Italiano LinguaDue* 1 (2017): 70-82.

Ottoni, Filippo. "Un dialogo possibile? Video sul 'doppiaggese' presentato da Filippo Ottoni all'Accademia della Crusca". 20 April 2022 <http://www.aidac.it/index.php/it/documenti/audio-video>

Paolinelli, Mario, and Eleonora Di Fortunato. *Tradurre per il doppiaggio. La trasposizione linguistica dell'audiovisivo. Teoria e pratica di un'arte imperfetta*, Milano: Hoepli, 2005.

Pavesi, Maria. "Aspetti (socio)linguistici del doppiaggio". *Il doppiaggio: trasposizioni linguistiche e culturali.* A cura di Baccolini R. *et al.* Bologna: CLUEB, 1994. 129-42.

_____. *La traduzione filmica. Aspetti del parlato doppiato dall'inglese all'italiano.* Roma: Carocci, 2005.

_____. "Spoken Language in Film Dubbing: Target Language Norms, Interference and Translational Routines". *Between Text and Image. Updating Research in Screen Translation.* Ed. Delia Chiaro, Christine Heiss, and Chiara Bucaria. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2008. 79-99.

_____. "Spoken Language in Film Dubbing: Target Language Norms, Interference and Translational Routines". *Between Text and Image: Updating Research in Screen Translation.* Ed. Delia Chiaro, Christine Heiss, and Chiara Bucaria. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008. 79-99.

_____. "Dubbing English into Italian: A Closer Look at the Translation of Spoken Language. *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Ed. Jorge Díaz-Cintas. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2009. 197-209.

_____. "The Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue: A Means to Several Ends". *The Languages of Dubbing: Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*. Ed. Maria Pavesi, Maicol Formentelli, and Elisa Ghia. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014. 29-55.

_____. "Translational Routines in Dubbing: Taking Stock and Moving Forwards". *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation*. Ed. Irene Ranzato, and Serenella Zanotti. London: Routledge, 2018a. 11-30.

_____. "Reappraising Verbal Language in Audiovisual Translation: From Description to Application". *Journal of Audiovisual Translation* 1.1 (2018b): 101-21.

Pavesi, Maria, and Elisa Perego. "Profiling Film Translators in Italy: A Preliminary Analysis". *JosTrans – The Journal of Specialised Translation* 6 (2006): 99-114.

Pavesi, Maria, and Serenella Zanotti (forthcoming). "Translational Routines at the Crossroads of Corpus Studies and Historical Research: The Case of *yeah* > già in Dubbing".

Pulcini, Virginia. "Italian". *English in Europe*. Ed. Manfred Görlach. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 151-67.

Pulcini, Virginia, Cristiano Furiassi, and Félix Rodríguez González. "The Lexical Influence of English on European Languages: From Words to Phraseology". *The Anglicization of European Lexis*. Ed. Cristiano Furiassi, Virginia Pulcini and Félix Rodríguez González. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012. 1-24.

Raffaelli, Sergio. "Un italiano per tutte le stagioni." *Barriere linguistiche e circolazione delle opere audiovisive: la questione doppiaggio*. A cura di Eleonora Di Fortunato e Mario Paolinelli. Roma: AIDAC, 1996. 25-28.

Romero Fresco, Pablo. "Naturalness in the Spanish Dubbing Language: A Case of not-So-Close Friends" *Meta* 54.1 (2009): 49-72.

Rossi, Fabio. *Il linguaggio cinematografico*. Roma: Aracne, 2006.

_____. "Doppiaggese, filmese e lingua italiana", Retrieved from <http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/doppiaggio/Rossi.html> (last accessed April 2013). (2012).

Sketch Engine, <http://www.sketchengine.eu>

Sileo, Angela. "Il doppiaggio: interferenze linguistiche sulla soglia tra inglese e italiano". *Altre Modernità* 1 (2015): 56-69.

_____. *Doppiaggese: verso la costruzione di un metodo*. Roma: UniversItalia, 2018.

Online Resources

Accademia della Crusca: *La Crusca è l'accademia italiana più longeva di sempre?* A cura di Matilde Poli, 21 ottobre 2016. 20 April 2020. <https://accademiadellacrusca.it/it/consulenza/la-crusca-e-laccademia-italiana-piu-longeva-di-sempre-/1174>

Treccani: *Lingua italiana. Domande e risposte.* 20 April 2022. <https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/domande_e_risposte/grammatica/grammatica_1553.html>