

“DACCI UN TAGLIO, VUOI?” ANGLICISMS IN DUBBED TV SERIES, THEN AND NOW

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ABSTRACT • This contribution focuses on the influence of the English language on dubbed Anglo-American TV series through time. By drawing on the Italian dialogues of the first eleven episodes of the musical drama series *Fame* (1982) and *Glee* (2009), we have looked for traces of English in Italian dubbing, identifying various types of Anglicisms, i.e., direct and indirect English borrowings. We have detected the direct Anglicisms in the Italian dialogues and verified whether a selection of indirect Anglicisms quoted in the literature on dubbese were actually used in *Fame* and *Glee*. The two series have been compared in order to assess whether and how more recent dubbed dialogues are more anglicized than older ones. The preliminary results of this investigation seem to suggest that anglicization increases in terms of direct borrowings, but decreases in terms of indirect borrowings.

KEYWORDS • audiovisual translation, dubbing, TV series, English borrowings, Anglicisms, calques

1. Introduction and research question

In today's globalized world, Anglo-American popular culture exerts a great influence on Italian culture and society through the media. Audio-visual programmes in particular play an important part in the contact between cultures and languages and contribute to a process of Anglification, both in cultural and in linguistic terms. As argued by Gottlieb, “dubbed or subtitled Anglophone films and TV productions tend to enhance the global dominance of English” (2012: 262). The aim of this article is to examine the English language influence on the Italian language of dubbed TV series through time. A comparative, diachronic approach will be adopted, since two American fictional television series produced within a time span of 27 years have been selected as a case study for analysis. American television products have been chosen since they represent a large portion of the audiovisual programmes aired on Italian television and because they are extremely popular among young audiences. This is also testified by the fact that several university students choose to analyse TV series as the subject of their final BA, MA or PhD dissertations and that some students belong to fansubbing communities, i.e., groups of fans who create and provide online amateur subtitles of popular TV series. Moreover, as pointed out by Alfieri *et al.* (2003: 131) and Motta (2008, online) among others, the translated language of television products is different from that of films, since it displays greater repetitiveness in conversational exchanges and overall less stylistic care, also due to time constraints. It is thus usually considered more prone to source language interference than the dubbed language of films. According to Motta, “il doppiaggio filmico, eseguito su un testo singolo, è certamente più sorvegliato dal punto di vista metaculturale e linguistico, e dunque

meno esposto a interferenze, mentre quello del piccolo schermo, soggetto a ritmi serratissimi di elaborazione, rende più facile ottenere un risultato finale meno sorvegliato” (2008, online).

By analysing and comparing the Italian dialogues of two American musical drama series from different periods – *Fame* (1982) and *Glee* (2009) – the article sets out to assess whether and how the English influence in screen translation has increased over the years, i.e., whether more recent dubbed dialogues are more Anglified than older ones. In order to do so, we will look for ‘traces’ of English in Italian dubbing, identifying and analysing various types of Anglicisms, i.e., both direct and indirect borrowings. The working hypothesis of this study is that, due to the increased English impact on Italian, more English borrowings – both direct and indirect ones – will be used in the dubbed dialogues of a more recent TV series (*Glee*) than in those of an older one (*Fame*) (see Gottlieb 2012a: 250).

2. Data and methodology

Fame and *Glee* were selected for comparison because of their similarities. They belong to the same subgenre (i.e., musical drama or musical dramedy), they portray the lives of students and their teachers in fictional American high schools, contain musical and dance numbers, are addressed to a young audience and are both popular in Italy.

Fame (1982-1987) is a musical drama series produced by Christopher Gore which won several Emmy and Grammy Awards. It was first broadcast in the United States in 1982 by NBC, while in Italy it was first aired in 1983 by Raidue, where it is known as *Saranno famosi*. The success of the series in Italy is attested by the fact that several reruns have been broadcast in recent years on various Italian television channels such as Rai3, MTV music and MTV and that a DVD box was released in 2007. *Fame* follows the lives of the students and teachers at New York City High School for the Performing Arts, where music, dance, English literature and drama are taught to a group of students belonging to different ethnic groups and to different social classes. Each episode lasts approximately 46 minutes and contains dance and music numbers.

Glee (2009-2015) is a musical dramedy series produced by Ryan Murphy, Brian Falchuk and Ian Brennan which won the Golden Globe award for best TV series – musical or comedy – in 2010. *Glee* was first broadcast in the United States in May 2009 by Fox, while in Italy it premiered on Fox on 25th December 2009 (only a few months after its American release), and it was later aired by Italia 1 in 2011. The show is extremely popular among young audiences both in the USA and abroad, so much so that its fans are called “gleeks” (*Glee* + geeks). Zaccone (2009, online) defines the *Glee* phenomenon as “un’epidemia musicale user-generated”, while Casarini (2015: 217) points out that “the Italian fan base proved to be closely familiar with the show before it even landed on Italian television”, since they organised an enthusiastic flash mob in Rome four days before the show’s premiere on Fox Italia. The TV series portrays the lives of the students and teachers at the William McKinley High School in Lima, Ohio. It focuses on the members of the school’s choir, the *Glee* club called New Directions, led by the teacher Will Schuester. These students, who are considered losers by their schoolmates, try to win the national *glee* championship. Each episode lasts approximately 45 minutes and contains singing and dancing numbers where famous songs with lyrics relevant to plot development are performed by members of the show’s cast.

For the purposes of this paper, the first eleven episodes from season 1 of both *Fame* and *Glee* were analysed. The investigation carried out in this article is based on repeated viewing of each episode both in Italian and in English. For *Fame* 506 minutes of dialogues were analysed, and 495 for *Glee*, amounting to a total of approximately 1001 minutes (16 hours and 41 minutes). The English and dubbed Italian dialogues used as examples were transcribed from the

Italian DVD box sets *Fame-Saranno famosi, stagione 1*, and *Glee, prima stagione*. Manual sorting of the data was required and for each word or expression lexicographic resources such as English and Italian monolingual dictionaries were consulted.

The paper will initially describe the notion of Anglicism and that of dubbed language or dubbese and will then focus on the analysis of the data retrieved from the dubbed TV series. We will first detect and examine more obvious, transparent cases of English influence, i.e., direct borrowings. Secondly, attention will be focused on a selection of more subtle and less evident instances of source language interference, i.e., semantic loans, morphosyntactic, structural and pragmatic calques, unnatural-sounding Italian words and expressions, and frozen translational routines. A comprehensive discussion of all the instances of SL interference in the dubbed dialogues is outside the scope of this paper since it would require a much longer investigation. For the purposes of this study we will select a number of significant indirect borrowings quoted in the literature on Italian “dubbese” (Brincat 2002; Alfieri, Contarino and Motta 2003; Pavese 1994, 1996, 2005, 2008, 2009; Rossi 2006, 2011, 2012; Motta 2008; Antonini 2008; Bucaria 2008; Minutella 2011; Alfieri, Bonomi 2012; Minutella, Pulcini 2014; Sileo 2015). The following words and expressions will be taken into consideration: *classe, dannato, fottuto, dacci un taglio, ci puoi scommettere, prego, realizzare, voglio dire, signor/a + surname, amico*. The paper will verify whether these instances of indirect borrowings from English are actually used in *Fame* and *Glee*.

3. Anglicisms

English borrowings, or Anglicisms, have been defined and classified in various ways. Görlach defines an 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 2003: 1). This notion of Anglicism includes only those words or expressions which have a clear English form. However, the linguistic influence from English on other languages also takes place through other less transparent forms which derive from formal adaptation and literal translation, and may often involve longer linguistic units. As a result, as argued by Pulcini *et al.*, “it would be dismissive to ignore other less-readily identifiable forms of lexical influence, such as Anglicisms which are adapted to the orthographic and morphosyntactic systems of the recipient languages (adapted loans), and other forms such as false Anglicisms (Furiassi 2010), hybrids, calques and semantic loans” (2012: 5). A broader definition of Anglicism, an umbrella term which encompasses various types of English interference, is proposed by Gottlieb. The Danish scholar defines an Anglicism as “any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English” (Gottlieb 2005: 163). The analysis of the English language influence on dubbed Italian presented in this paper will adopt this broader, more inclusive definition of Anglicism. The focus will be on both direct borrowings (non-adapted Anglicisms, adapted Anglicisms, false Anglicisms and hybrid Anglicisms) and indirect borrowings (calques and semantic loans).

Pulcini *et al.* (2012: 6-8) provide a comprehensive typology of lexical borrowings which will serve as a reference point for our analysis. They divide lexical borrowings or Anglicisms into direct borrowings (Anglicisms which are formally recognizable) and indirect borrowings (Anglicisms which are not formally recognizable since they use elements of the recipient language). Direct borrowings include words and multi-word units which are recognizably English in their form and where the English origin is detectable (Pulcini *et al.* 2012: 6). This category encompasses non-adapted Anglicisms such as *marketing*, adapted Anglicisms such as *chattare*, false Anglicisms like *smoking* for *smoking jacket* and hybrid Anglicisms such as

musica pop. While non-adapted and adapted Anglicisms are easier to identify, false Anglicisms (also called pseudo-loans) and hybrid Anglicisms may be more problematic. A false Anglicism is defined by Furiassi 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 receptor language even though it does not exist or is used with a conspicuously different meaning in English” (2010: 34). Hybrid Anglicisms are usually multi-word units which combine an English element with a recipient language element.

Indirect borrowings such as calques and semantic loans, on the other hand, may be more difficult to detect since “the SL model is reproduced in the RL through native elements (a translation equivalent or, in the case of a semantic loan, through an already existing word which acquires a new meaning)” (Pulcini *et al.* 2012: 6). Within this category, Pulcini *et al.* (2012) distinguish between calques, which can be either lexical (when they involve a single lexical unit) or syntactic (when they involve longer stretches of language), and semantic loans or semantic calques (when they involve the meaning of a word). A semantic loan is a word which already exists in the recipient language, but acquires a new meaning from the source language word. A prototypical example of semantic loan is the verb *realizzare*, which took on the meaning of ‘to become aware of’, ‘rendersi conto di’ in 1938 (GDU) (discussed in Minutella, Pulcini 2014).

Another distinction should be made between the indirect borrowing of single lexical items and that of longer stretches of language. Recent research on language contact has highlighted the presence of English-derived phraseology which ranges from collocations to idioms, multi-word units, routinised formulas and set expressions (Pulcini *et al.* 2012: 13-14; Gottlieb 2012b). Morphosyntactic, structural or phraseological calques are more difficult to detect since they are made up of elements of the recipient language but they follow the structure of the source language. An example of morphosyntactic calque is the expression *ci puoi scommettere*, from *you can bet on it/that*.

A further notion which is relevant for this study is that of pragmatic borrowing, which is defined by Andersen (2014: 17) as “the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language into a recipient language.” In Andersen’s view, pragmatic borrowing can include both “the direct borrowing of forms which serve pragmatic functions in the SL, such as interjections, expletives, discourse markers, tags, response markers, etc.” and the indirect borrowing which involves “the contact-induced use of RL material which takes on new discourse functions as a result of external influence” (Andersen 2014: 18). Indirect pragmatic borrowing involves the use of formulas, syntactic structures, greetings, leave-takings and other politeness formulae which are literal translations of English structures. An example of direct pragmatic borrowing (or pragmatic Anglicism) in Italian is the use of the discourse marker of agreement *okay*, while an example of English-inspired indirect pragmatic borrowing (or pragmatic calque) which can be found in dubbed dialogues would be the use of *Ti voglio bene* as a leave-taking in face-to-face conversation or at the end of a phone call, since it mirrors the English *I love you* (Pavesi 1994: 138). Having specified what we mean by Anglicisms, before moving on to our analysis, it is important to describe the language of dubbing.

4. Audiovisual translation and dubbese

The language of dubbed audiovisual texts has been investigated by several scholars and it is commonly known as *dubbese* or *doppiaggese*. While the term initially had negative connotations, it is now used to refer to “the language variety used in dubbed audiovisual texts” (Bucaria 2008: 151). Rossi defines *doppiaggese* as “la lingua tipica del doppiaggio, ritenuta una forma d’italiano ibrida tra falsa colloquialità ricca di calchi e stereotipi, pronuncia impeccabile e

formalismo” (2006: 636). Referring to various languages, Pavesi (2008: 81) has highlighted the following language trends of dubbese: “geographical undifferentiation, register and style neutralization, less textual cohesion, lexical permeability to the source language, repetitive use of formulae.” Dubbese has been found to have specific features and to constitute what Pavesi calls a ‘third norm’. In fact, when dialogue writers translate and adapt audiovisual texts, they tend to use a repertoire of linguistic features which belong to this variety: “la scelta quindi non è più di adesione né al sistema di partenza, né a quello di arrivo, ma ad una terza norma, quella dell’italiano doppiato” (1996: 128). Dubbese is thus characterised by self-referentiality, since stock translations or translational routines (Pavesi 2005) tend to be repeated and re-used in other dubbed texts, sometimes despite their absence from real spontaneous conversation.

The specific technical constraints to which dubbing is subject, that is, different types of synchronization - lip sync, isochrony or duration of the utterance and kinesic synchrony or synchrony with the body movements of the actors (Chaume 2004, 2012: 66-78) - may account for instances of source-language interference. As pointed out by Pavesi (2008: 91),

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 source text. More specifically, the need to maintain the same length and the same pause structure as that of the original is likely to encourage a structural patterning which mirrors source texts.

Source language interference and the use of formulaic language and translational routines may thus occur in dubbing for reasons of synchronization and due to the self-referentiality of dubbese. The features of the Spanish language of dubbing, its “prefabricated orality” (Chaume 2004, 2012) and its naturalness, or unnaturalness, have been investigated by several scholars (Gómez Capuz 2001a, 2001b; Duro 2001; Chaume 2004, 2012; Chaume and De Toro 2001; Marzá and Chaume 2009; Baños-Piñero and Chaume 2009; Romero Fresco 2009a, 2009b, 2012; Baños- Piñero 2014a, 2014b). Among them, Gómez Capuz (2001a, 2001b), Duro (2001) and Chaume and De Toro (2001) have analysed the presence of Anglicisms in Spanish dubbing, focussing in particular on phenomena of pragmatic interference through semantic, syntactic and phraseological calques which affect the organization of discourse.

Several studies have also been devoted to the description of the Italian language of dubbing and various scholars have addressed features such as the lexical and syntactic permeability to the source language, the use of translational routines and formulaic language (Pavesi 1994, 1996, 2005, 2008, 2009; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Alfieri *et al.* 2003; Rossi 2006; Antonini 2008; Motta 2008, online; Bucaria 2008; Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Freddi 2009, 2012; Minutella 2011; Minutella and Pulcini 2014; Pavesi, Formentelli and Ghia 2015). Scholars have detected various types of source language influence, in the form of direct and indirect borrowings, and ranging from the semantic to the syntactic and pragmatic level.

As far as direct borrowings in Italian dubbing are concerned, it is generally agreed that Italian dialogue writers tend to adopt English words which are already part of the Italian language and few new direct Anglicisms (Pavesi 2005: 43; see also Brincat 2002; Rossi 2006). However, examining a corpus of Italian audiovisual texts aimed at a young audience (approximately 16 hours of films, animated films and TV series), Minutella (2011) has highlighted that the dubbed dialogues of such texts contain a high number of direct borrowings compared to previous research (Brincat 2002), “with the presence of some uncommon words whose status in Italian is not stable” (Minutella 2011: 125-126). In her analysis of direct Anglicisms in three episodes of *Fame* and *Glee*, Meinero (2012) has observed that the number of English words in *Glee* is much higher than in *Fame* and that *Glee* contains some direct Anglicisms which are not attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries. The analysis carried out

in our article aims to investigate whether the above trends are confirmed – or not – by analysing a larger corpus of data.

As far as calques in Italian dubbing are concerned, several instances of source language interference resulting in false friends, semantic, lexical and syntactic calques, awkward phrasing, translational routines have been reported, both in dubbed films and, perhaps to a greater extent, in dubbed television dialogues (Brincat 2002; Alfieri, Contarino and Motta 2003; Pavesi 1994, 1996, 2005, 2008, 2009; Rossi 2006, 2011, 2012; Motta 2008 online; Antonini 2008; Bucaria 2008; Minutella 2011; Alfieri, Bonomi 2012; Minutella, Pulcini 2014; Sileo 2015). Rossi has argued that the calques produced in dubbing may be re-used in national audiovisual language and also enter everyday language: “sul terreno del lessico, il fenomeno più evidente è quello dei calchi più o meno inavvertiti [...] e spesso entrati nella lingua degli altri mass media oltretutto nell’italiano comune” (2006: 309). Motta (2008, online) states that “il lessico della fiction doppiata pullula di calchi impropri”, while Bucaria (2008: 150-151) similarly notices that “examples abound in which awkward phrasing in dubbed Italian and the consequent lack of correspondence with everyday speech is likely to attract the attention of even the least attentive viewer.” As explained by Pavesi, the repeated use and re-use of calques has given rise to translational routines in dubbing. Examples from previous studies are *assolutamente* from *absolutely*, *bene* from *well*, *ci puoi scommettere* from *you can bet*, *dacci un taglio* from *cut it out*, *esatto* from *exactly*, *l’hai detto* from *you said it*, *la sai una cosa?* from *you know something?*, *you know what?*, *scordatelo* from *forget about it*, *sì signore, no signore* from *yes, sir/ no, sir*, *amico* from *man*, *già* from *yeah* (Pavesi 2005: 48-52), *vuoi?* from *will you?/would you?* (Pavesi 1994: 137), *dannazione* from *damn* or *damn it!*, *dannato* from *damned*, *fottuto* from *fucking*, etc. (Rossi 2006: 309-310).

Due to the large number of calques quoted in previous studies, only a few significant examples of indirect borrowings commonly found in the literature on Italian dubbing have been selected and investigated in order to explore the SL interference on the dubbed dialogues of *Fame* and *Glee*. The following words or expressions were searched for in the 22 episodes analysed and they will be discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4:

- the false friend *classe*, from *class*, instead of *lezione* or *corso* (Motta 2008, online)
- the semantic calque *realizzare* from *realize* (instead of *rendersi conto di*, *accorgersi*)
- the lexical calque *dannato*, from *damned* (instead of *maledetto*)
- the lexical calque *fottuto*, from *fucking* (instead of *maledetto*)
- the pragmatic routine *Ci puoi scommettere*, from *You bet/you can bet* (instead of *senza dubbio/ci puoi giurare/te lo giuro/naturalmente*)
- the pragmatic routine *dacci un taglio*, from *cut it out* (instead of *smettila/piantala/finiscila*)
- the overuse of *voglio dire* from *I mean* (instead of *cioè*)
- the pragmatic calque *prego* from *please* (instead of *per favore*) (Rossi 2006: 309-310; Pavesi 2005: 48-49)
- the pragmatic calque *Signor/Signora* + Surname, from *Mr/Miss/Mrs* + surname, used by pupils to address teachers (instead of *Professor/e/essa* + Surname) (Motta 2008, online)
- the vocative *amico*, a translational routine from *man* (instead of the more natural use of *bello* or the omission of the vocative) (Pavesi 1994, 1996, 2005; Rossi 2006)

5. Analysis

This section will analyse the presence of Anglicisms in *Fame* and *Glee*, making a comparison between the two series. First, the direct borrowings found in each series will be

listed, then indirect borrowings in each series will be presented. The findings will be illustrated through examples which contain the Italian dubbed dialogue, followed by the English original dialogue in round brackets.

5.1. Direct Anglicisms in *Fame*

A total of 37 direct Anglicisms were detected in *Fame*. The following three tables list these direct borrowings in alphabetical order, divided into the sub-categories of non-adapted Anglicisms (32) (Table 1), adapted Anglicisms (2) (Table 2) and false Anglicisms (3) (Table 3). Each item is followed by the number of occurrences. No hybrid Anglicisms were found in the dubbed dialogues analysed. It is worth noting that the frequencies are quite low and that some English words are hapax legomena, i.e., words which occur only once and can therefore be casuals.

Table 1: Non-adapted Anglicisms in *Fame*

1. bar (1)	12. film (9)	23. piano-bar (1)
2. baseball (1)	13. football (1)	24. poker (1)
3. blues (1)	14. hamburger (1)	25. rock (1)
4. boogie (5)	15. jazz (7)	26. show (6)
5. bowling (1)	16. jeans (1)	27. sound (1)
6. budget (3)	17. jogging (1)	28. sport (2)
7. burger (1)	18. lindy (1)	29. stop (2)
8. cast (3)	19. majorette (1)	30. thermos (1)
9. charleston (1)	20. musical (2)	31. western (2)
10. club (4)	21. non stop (1)	32. wow (2)
11. comedy club (4)	22. okay (46)	

Table 2: Adapted Anglicisms in *Fame*

1. dollaro/i (9)
2. sportiva/i (3)

Table 3: False Anglicisms in *Fame*

1. catch (1)
2. snack (1)
3. spot (1)

As can be seen from the above tables, the most frequent type of direct borrowing is that of non-adapted Anglicisms. As far as the semantic fields are concerned, the English words used in *Fame* belong to the semantic fields of leisure - in particular dance, music and sport -, film, television, food. All the Anglicisms used in dubbing are attested in the *Grande Dizionario dell'Usò* (GDU), except for the compound *comedy club*. While the noun *club* has become part of the Italian vocabulary, *comedy* is not included in the GDU, nor is the compound *comedy club*. The OED defines a *comedy club* as “a venue where stand-up comedy is performed”. It is thus a reference to Anglo-American culture which does not have an equivalent in the Italian culture. However, *comedy club* in the English dialogues of the episode under analysis refers to a specific club where Danny works, which is called ‘the comedy club’. This might be the reason why it is retained in the dubbed version, as it is considered a proper noun referring to a specific

object/place. This is a case of foreignization in dubbing, since the original name of the object is kept. *Burger*, on the other hand, had not entered the Italian language at the time when the series was broadcast (the first attestation of *burger* was in 1995 according to the GDU). However, *hamburger* (first attestation 1963, GDU) was already common in the Italian language, and in the episode analysed we see Doris rehearsing in a commercial for burgers. The dubbing of *Fame* thus seems to adopt only Anglicisms which have already become part of the Italian language and whose meaning is immediately understood by the audience. This confirms previous studies on direct English borrowings in dubbing (Pavesi 2005; Brincat 2002).

Other words deserve closer attention. Unsurprisingly, the most frequent Anglicism is the discourse marker *okay*, which has a range of pragmatic functions in English (Pulcini and Damascelli 2005). When it is uttered to express agreement, or to ask for agreement in the English dialogues, the Italian dubbing renders it with *okay/okay?* (mostly), but also with Italian equivalent expressions such as *va bene, d'accordo, bene, grazie, ho capito, capito?, ti va?* or omission. The following examples illustrate the translation strategies adopted in the Italian dubbed version. Examples 1 and 2 contain the pragmatic Anglicism *okay*, uttered by students and a teacher, whereas in examples 3 and 4 other Italian words such as *capito* and *va bene* are preferred, perhaps to avoid excessive repetitiveness in the Italian dialogues.

Example 1:

Danny: **Okay**, favoloso! (Danny: **Okay**. Fine!)

Example 2:

- Signorina Grant: È terribile Leroy. Facciamo così, portala domani mattina, la scambieremo con una in cui ti puoi ficcare, Leroy, **okay?**

- Leroy: **Okay**.

(- Miss Grant: That's awful Leroy. I'll tell you what. You bring them in to me tomorrow morning and I'll trade for a pair that fits you, **okay?**

- Leroy: **Okay**.)

Example 3:

Montgomery: Non dire a nessuno che te l'ho detto, **capito?**

(Montgomery: Don't tell anybody I told you, **okay?**)

Example 4:

Danny: Sì, io, **va bene** centralino, ho capito.

(Yeah, **okay**, operator, okay.)

Some words belonging to the semantic fields of entertainment and sport show interesting translational patterns, since they are used as direct borrowings in the dubbed version, but their Italian equivalents are more frequent than the English words. For instance, the noun *football*, referring to American football, is retained only once in its original form in the dubbed version, while it is usually translated into *calcio* (three times). This reveals a target-oriented, domesticating approach through the use of a sport which is thought to be more familiar to an Italian audience. *Show* and *star* also display an interesting pattern. The English dialogues contain several instances of *show*, which are rendered with the Anglicism *show* (1954, GDU) six times, but in most of the occurrences the Italian equivalent noun *spettacolo* is preferred, as can be seen in the following example, which also contains *complesso* as an equivalent for *band* (even though the Anglicism had entered the Italian language in 1950 so it could have been used):

Example 5:

Danny: Coco, lo sai cosa serve al tuo **complesso** per lo **spettacolo**? (Coco, you know what your **band** needs for the **show**?)

The same occurs with *star*, which is kept only once as a direct borrowing (first attestation in 1929, GDU), while it is usually translated with the Italian equivalents *stella*, *divo/a/e*, *primadonna*, as illustrated by the examples below:

Example 6:

Doris: È nel camerino della **primadonna**. (She’s in the **star**’s dressing room.)

Example 7:

Coco: Signorina Sherwood, io sono già una **stella**. (Coco: Miss Sherwood, I am already a **star**.)

The compound word *piano bar* also provides an interesting example, since it is used in the dubbed dialogues to translate Bar Mitzvahs, as can be seen in example 8 below:

Example 8:

Coco: Pensa ai soldi, tesoro, potremmo far colpo. Ci sono i **piano bar**, i tè danzanti a Long Island. (Coco: The money, honey. We could clean up. There are **Bar Mitzvahs** and tea dances in Long Island.)

In the above utterance Coco, who wants to convince the musician Bruno to perform with her, says that they could play and sing at Bar Mitzvahs. This is a reference to Jewish culture: Bar Mitzvah is the confirmation ceremony in a synagogue to celebrate that a Jewish boy has reached the age of religious responsibility. Bar Mitzvah can refer to the ceremony, the boy or the celebration of this event (OED, CED). The Italian dubbed version completely omits this cultural reference which was perhaps thought to be unknown by the target audience and replaces it with an Anglicism, the compound *piano bar*, which has a similar articulation of the mouth (they both contain two bilabial consonants, /p/, /b/ for *piano bar*, /b/, /m/ for *Bar Mitzvahs*). Moreover, the GDU traces the first attestation of bar Mitzvah in 1984, therefore after the episode was released in Italy. It is worth pointing out that also other references to Jewish culture in the series were omitted and domesticated, an approach which *Fame* shares with the dubbed version of *The Nanny*. Another example of Anglicism which is used to omit a cultural reference can be found below:

Example 9:

Signorina Grant: Cosa? Vorresti farmi credere che ti piacciono i **film western**? (What? You are a big fan of **Randolph Scott Westerns**?)

Where in the original Miss Grant talks about Radolph Scott Westerns, i.e., westerns in which the popular American actor stars, the Italian dialogue writers retained the Anglicism but eliminated the cultural reference to the person who was perhaps considered not equally popular in Italy.

As previously highlighted, only 3 false Anglicisms were found in the dialogues analysed. *Catch* is an instance of compound ellipsis since it generates from *catch wrestling* and its English equivalents are *catch wrestling* or *wrestling*. *Catch* is included in Furiassi’s Dictionary of False Anglicisms in Italian (in Furiassi 2010: 154). Its first attestation in Italian was in 1935 (GDU). In the dubbed dialogues of *Fame*, *catch* translates *mud wrestling*:

Example 10:

Leroy: Bibbia? Questa è la prima bibbia che vedo con foto di **catch** femminile. (Bible? The first bible I ever seen with ads for female **mud wrestling** in it.)

Snack is another false Anglicism which, however, is not contained in Furiassi (2010).

Example 11:

Danny: Lavoro in un posto, uno **snack**, aperto di notte.
(I got a job at a, at a all-night **sandwich stand**.)

In the above example *snack* translates *sandwich stand* and it is created through a process of compound ellipsis from *snack bar*. The Anglicism *snack* exists in Italian, but with the meaning of “a light quick meal eaten between or in place of main meals” (CED), as the equivalent of *merendina* (GDU), whereas *snack* with the meaning of *snack bar* is not common and is not attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries. The third false Anglicism, *spot*, is another example of compound ellipsis (from *spot commercial*). Its English equivalent is *commercial* (Furiassi 2010: 201), as can be seen from the dialogues below:

Example 12:

Bruno: È per uno **spot** pubblicitario.
(It’s for a Cookie Snap **commercial**.)

On the whole, the dubbed version of *Fame* appears to adopt only those direct Anglicisms which were already accepted as part of the Italian language in 1983 and there seems to be a target-oriented approach which tends towards domestication and simplification of elements which may prevent immediate understanding by the Italian audience.

5.2. Direct Anglicisms in *Glee*

The Italian dubbed dialogues of *Glee* contain 142 direct Anglicisms, that is, almost four times those found in *Fame*. In terms of quantity of direct borrowings, the initial hypothesis that a more recent dubbed series would contain more Anglicisms than an older one is thus corroborated by this data. Recent dubbing is much more Anglified and there is an increase in all types of direct borrowings. In terms of typology, non-adapted Anglicisms are the most frequent ones (117), followed by adapted Anglicisms (13), false Anglicisms (7) and hybrid Anglicisms (5).

Table 4: Non-adapted Anglicisms in *Glee*

1. babygate (1)	41. Grammy (1)	81. sandwich (3)
2. baby-sitter (4)	42. handicap (1)	82. scotch (1)
3. ballad (19)	43. hike (3)	83. sexy (2)
4. band (1)	44. hip hop (1)	84. show (1)
5. bar (3)	45. hippy (1)	85. single (1)
6. baseball (2)	46. hockey (1)	86. SMS (1)
7. bingo (2)	47. hot-dog (1)	87. soft rock (1)
8. black (1)	48. hovercraft (1)	88. spelling (1)
9. blog (3)	49. Internet (1)	89. sport (3)
10. boy band (2)	50. iPhone (1)	90. standard (2)
11. bowling (1)	51. iPod Shuffle (1)	91. standing ovation (1)
12. break (4)	52. jam session (1)	92. star (14)

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13. breakdance (2)	53. jazz band (1)	93. set (2)
14. budget (5)	54. ketchup (1)	94. stress (3)
15. CD (3)	55. kicker (4)	95. stretching (1)
16. cheerleader (14)	56. leader (5)	96. Super Bowl (1)
17. clown (1)	57. leadership (1)	97. Super Bowl Shuffle (1)
18. club (appr. 120)	58. link (1)	98. supermarket (1)
19. coach (10)	59. look (5)	99. superstar (1)
20. college (9)	60. marketing (1)	100. swing (1)
21. cowboy (1)	61. mash-up (9)	101. talk show (1)
22. cross (1)	62. medley (2)	102. team (1)
23. disco (2)	63. mister (1)	103. test (1)
24. disco music (1)	64. mix (1)	104. time-out (1)
25. DNA (1)	65. MTV (1)	105. timer (1)
26. down (1)	66. musical (9)	106. top (1)
27. DVD (2)	67. MySpace (6)	107. trend (1)
28. Ebay (1)	68. nerd (1)	108. video (6)
29. E-mail (2)	69. new entry (1)	109. vintage (2)
30. extension (1)	70. new jazz swing (1)	110. veejay (1)
31. fan (2)	71. okay (95)	111. vocal coach (1)
32. fan fiction (1)	72. online (4)	112. wow (7)
33. football (35)	73. partner (2)	113. wrestling (1)
34. frozen yogurt (1)	74. part-time (1)	114. Xbox (1)
35. gay (15)	75. puzzle (1)	115. yeah (1)
36. gay pride (1)	76. quarterback (7)	116. YouTube (4)
37. gel (3)	77. rapper (1)	117. zip (1)
38. Glee (appr. 100)	78. record (1)	
39. Glee club (appr. 100)	79. roastbeef (1)	
40. Google (1)	80. rum (1)	

Table 5: Adapted Anglicisms in *Glee*

1. bloglandia (1)	6. manageriali (1)	11. sportive (1)
2. chattare (1)	7. mixaggi (1)	12. stressano (1)
3. dollaro/i (8)	8. mixarla (1)	13. stressante (1)
4. flirtare (1)	9. scioccata (1)	
5. film horror (1)	10. scuolabus (1)	

Table 6: False Anglicisms in *Glee*

1. autostop (2)	4. boxer (1)	7. smoking (1)
2. baby-doll (1)	5. fast food (1)	
3. bowling (1)	6. outing (1)	

Table 7: Hybrid Anglicisms in *Glee*

1. camion wrestling (1)	3. vice manager (1)	5. sala hobby (3)
2. rondata flick (1)	4. musica pop (1)	

In terms of quantity, the most frequent Anglicisms are *club*, *Glee*, *Glee Club* and *okay*. *Okay* is used in the Italian dialogues as a discourse marker with a range of pragmatic functions such as marker of agreement, response elicitor, or to organise interaction, and it corresponds to its use in the English dialogues. However, it is worth pointing out that in some cases *okay* is added in the Italian dub, especially to translate the discourse marker *all right*. *Okay* is thus very

frequent in Italian. Nevertheless, alternative Italian discourse markers like *certo*, *va bene*, *d'accordo*, *bene*, *basta*, the greeting *ciao*, or omission are also used. *Club*, *Glee* and *Glee Club* are obviously extremely frequent in the dubbed dialogues, since the series is the story of the members of the school's choir, the Glee Club. The compound *glee-club* is defined by the OED as "a society formed for the practice and performance of glees and part-songs", where glees are musical compositions, of English origins, for three or four voices. The GDU contains the following definition for the Anglicism *glee*: "nel secolo XVIII, in Inghilterra, componimento musicale a carattere madrigalesco per una, due o tre voci". However, the contemporary use of *glee* and the compound *glee-club* are not found in the Italian monolingual dictionaries consulted (GDU and Zingarelli 2016), perhaps because it is a recent and quite specialised field. Other frequent words are *football* (35), *ballad* (19), *gay* (15), *cheerleader* (14), *coach* (10), *musical* (9), *mash-up* (9). The frequency of these words is related to the series' plot, since the protagonists belong to a choir, some of them are cheerleaders, some play in the football team, one of them is gay and one of them has gay parents.

In terms of meaning, the Anglicisms belong to the semantic fields of sport, music, dance, technology (especially the internet), leisure, entertainment, television, cinema, food, clothes. Proper nouns such as *E-bay*, *Google*, *Grammy*, *MTV*, *MySpace*, *Xbox*, *Super Bowl* and brands such as *iPhone* and *iPod Shuffle* (all related to technology, the world wide web or music) are also used in the dialogues. Most of the direct borrowings are nouns or compounds, but also verbs (the adapted Anglicisms *chattare*, *flirtare*, *stressare*, *mixare*), adjectives and English interjections such as *wow* and *yeah* can be found. Moreover, *Glee* contains several luxury loans such as *star*, *show*, *band*, *college*, *cheerleader*, *coach*, *partner*, *sexy*, etc. These Anglicisms refer to objects or concepts which are already lexicalized in the recipient language, but are used in Italian since they sound more fashionable or modern. *Glee* also contains some Anglicisms which are not attested in the GDU, such as proper nouns, the neologisms *babygate* and *bloglandia*, *glee club*, some terms belonging to the specialised fields of sports and music such as *cross* and *down* (in football), the hybrid compound *rondana flick* (sport), *mash-up* (music) and *vocal coach* (music). The hybrid compound *camion wrestling* is a cross-linguistic hybrid, or "hybrid compound" (Furiassi 2010: 40), since none of its elements belongs to the recipient language: it is made up of a French word and an English word and it is used to translate *monster truck*. Another compound noun which is not attested in the GDU is *fan fiction*, which is defined by the OED as "fiction, usually fantasy or science fiction, written by a fan rather than a professional author, esp. that based on already-existing characters from a television series, book, film, etc.; (also) a piece of such writing." This noun was added in the OED in 2004 but is absent from the GDU. However, it is attested in the Zingarelli 2016, which defines it as "storia ispirata a trame o personaggi di film di animazione, fumetti, romanzi fantasy e sim., creata e messa in rete da appassionati di quei generi narrativi." *Babygate* is absent from both the English and Italian monolingual dictionaries consulted (OED, CED, GDU and Zingarelli). It is a neologism coined by the young people in the show by using the suffix *-gate* ("a terminal element denoting an actual or alleged scandal" (OED) which is compared to the Watergate). *Babygate* means 'the baby scandal', since Quinn, the captain of the cheerleaders and head of the Chastity Club, is pregnant. For want of space, only a few examples of direct Anglicisms will be discussed below.

Example 13:

Emma: Alcuni anni fa ho cominciato a **flirtare online** con una vecchia fiamma, Andy. Lui era strano, io smisi di **chattare**, e due mesi dopo...hanno ucciso Versace. Straziante.

(A few years ago I started an **online flirtation** with a high school flame, Andy. Things got weird, and I **called it off**. And two months later...Versace was dead. Dead.)

In the above utterance Emma, one of the teachers, uses the adapted Anglicisms *flirtare* (GDU, first attestation in 1887) and *chattare* (GDU, first attestation in 1995), and the non-adapted Anglicism *online* (GDU, first attestation 1983). *Chattare* is introduced in the Italian dialogues even if the English original does not contain the verb *to chat*. The following example is an utterance by another teacher, Sue, to her rival colleague Will:

Example 14:

Sue: Sai, Will, ho fatto la **veejay** per un paio d’anni. Non su **MTV**, ma insomma.
(You know, I was a **veejay** for a couple of years. Not **MTV**, but still.)

According to the GDU the first attestation of the Anglicism *veejay* was in 1983, and it originates from the pronunciation of VJ (for *video jay*). In the utterance below, on the other hand, one of the students, Santana, tells Quinn to check Puck’s cell phone since it contains the sexts they exchanged the night before, while Puck was baby-sitting with Quinn. The noun *sext* is a neologism which means “a sexually explicit text message” and which has also generated the verb, meaning “sending such a text message, sexy texting” (CED). In the dubbed version the word *sms* is used to replace the neologism *sexts*. The Italian acronym *SMS* (for *Short Message Service*) is an Anglicism which means “a text message sent using SMS” (CED) and which English native speakers use less frequently than *text*.

Example 15:

Santana: Perché non controlli il suo cellulare? I miei **sms** sono difficili da cancellare.
(Why don’t you check his cell phone? ‘Cause my **sexts** are too hot to erase.)

The above examples show how pervasive the presence of the English language is in the dialogues of this series, regardless of the age of the speaker. Continuous references to the internet, technology, social networks, entertainment, music and sports are made, and these fields tend to be more receptive to Anglicisms. Moreover, on the whole *Glee* seems to adopt a foreignizing approach, as English words tend to be maintained, also some which have not yet been included in dictionaries.

5.3. Indirect borrowings in *Fame*

The dubbed dialogues of *Fame* were analysed in order to verify the presence of the selected instances of indirect borrowings – lexical calques, false friends, semantic loans, unnatural-sounding Italian words and expressions, pragmatic routines, frozen translational routines.

The false friend *classe*, used to translate *class* instead of *lezione* or *corso* (Motta 2008) was indeed found in the dubbed dialogues of *Fame*, as illustrated by the following example:

Example 16:

Miss Grant: Che gliene pare signor Martelli? Che impressione ha avuto della sua prima **classe** di ballo?
(How about it, Martelli? What’s your impression of your first dance **class**?)

The semantic calque *realizzare* (Rossi 2006; Sileo 2015: 62-63; Minutella, Pulcini 2014) on the other hand, is never used in the dubbing of *Fame*, where *realize* is translated with the verbs *rendersi conto di*, *credere*, *sapere*, as can be seen in the following example:

Example 17:

Danny: Forse è perché vorrei essere nello spettacolo più di quanto **mi renda conto**.

(Maybe it's because I wanted to be in the show more than I **realized**.)

The lexical calque *dannato*, which literally translates *damned* (instead of the more natural *maledetto*) can be found in the dubbed dialogues analysed:

Example 18:

Mr. Shorofsky: Posso avere per favore un **dannatissimo** cartello? Non intendo perdere altro tempo.
(May I please have the **damn** picket sign so I can get this thing over with?)

The lexical calque *fottuto*, from *fucking* (instead of *maledetto*) also occurs in the dubbed version of *Fame*, but only once. It is uttered by Coco, who is talking to her friend Leroy.

Example 19:

Coco: No, se non mi dici perché ti comporti come un **fottuto** imbecille.
(No, if you don't tell me why you're acting so **flat-out** dumb!)

In this specific case, *fottuto* translates *flat-out dumb*: it is an example of re-use of a translational routine due to the fact that the dialogue writers had to resort to an Italian word which matched the articulation of the mouth seen in a close-up shot.

The pragmatic calque *prego* from *please* (instead of *per favore*, or omission) (Rossi 2006: 309-310; Pavesi 2005: 48-49) is also used, as can be seen from the following example, where an omission of the word would have been more natural:

Example 20:

- Miss Sherwood: Chi è, **prego?**
- Miss Grant: Sono io Elizabeth. Lydia.
(- Miss Sherwood: Who is it, **please?**
- Miss Grant: It's me Elizabeth. It's Lydia.)

The vocative *amico*, a translational routine due to lip synchronization, from *man* (instead of the more natural use of *bello* or the omission of the vocative) (Pavesi 1994, 1996, 2005; Rossi 2006) is also quite frequent in the dialogues analysed. However, alternative equivalents such as *bello* or the omission of the vocative also occur, as can be seen from the following utterances:

Example 21:

- Leroy: **Amico**, non mi interessa Shakespeare. (**Man**, I ain't interested in no Shakespeare.)
- Leroy: Sono fuori, **amico**. (I'm out, **man**.)
- Leroy's brother: Ehi, **amico!** Quel piccoletto è mio fratello. (Hey, **man**, that little dude is my brother.)
- Bruno: Tu comunque non dovresti stare qui, **amico**. (You're not supposed to be there anyway, **man**.)
- Leroy: C'è uno sciopero dei professori, **bello**. (Hey, it's a teachers' strike, **man**.)
- Coco: Senti, buttalo fuori. (**Man**, throw him out.)

Fame contains several occurrences of *man* used as a vocative or interjection in the original dialogues, but it is often omitted. The Italian dialogues contain 15 occurrences of *amico*, which is mostly uttered by Leroy or Leroy's brother (who are African American men), only once by Coco (a Latino girl) and once by white guys Bruno (to address Leroy's brother) and Montgomery (to address Leroy). *Amico* seems to be used in the speech of African American men in particular to connote their speech (which in the original dialogues contains non-standard grammatical features that are always erased and standardised in the Italian dialogues). *Amico*

thus appears to be a marker of ethnicity to some extent. It creates an idiolect and a more colloquial register. However, its presence in Italian is reduced compared to the English version.

The pragmatic calque *Signor/Signora* + Surname, from *Mr/Miss/Mrs* + surname, used by the students to address their teachers (instead of the Italian vocatives *Professor/e/essa* + Surname) (Motta 2008, online) is also present in the dubbed dialogues of *Fame*:

Example 22:

Julie: Oh, salve **signor Shorofsky**. (Oh, hi, **Mr. Shorofsky**.)

The pragmatic routine *Ci puoi scommettere*, from *You bet/you can bet* (instead of *senza dubbio/ci puoi giurare/te lo giuro/naturalmente*) is used in *Fame*:

Example 23:

Montgomery: Ah, **ci può scommettere**. (**You bet**.)

The pragmatic routine *Dacci un taglio*, from *cut it out* (instead of *smettila/piantala/finiscila*) (Rossi 2006: 310) is also quite frequent in the dialogues analysed, as illustrated in the following examples:

Example 24:

Coco: Leroy, **dacci un taglio**. Questa è la mia bibbia, va bene?
(Leroy. **Get it straight**. This is my bible, all right?)

It is worth pointing out that the above is not a literal translation from *Cut it out*, so it is not an instance of SL interference, but the re-use of an expression typical of dubbese, a translational routine, probably to convey a colloquial register.

Example 25:

Montgomery: **Dacci un taglio, vuoi?** (**Give it a break, will you?**)

The above utterance contains two stock translations, which can be considered pragmatic borrowings that make the dialogue sound unnatural. Pavesi (1994: 137) and Rossi (2006: 310) have reported the use of *vui?* as a stock translation of the tag *will/would you?*, which is adopted in English conversation as a politeness device to mitigate an imperative. Once again, *dacci un taglio* in this example does not literally derive from *cut it out*, and is thus an instance of the self-referentiality of dubbed language.

The overuse of *voglio dire*, instead of *cioè*, from the discourse marker *I mean* is another instance of calque which is found in the dubbing of *Fame*.

Example 26:

Julie's mother: **Voglio dire**, tu che cerchi di inserirti nella nuova scuola e io che cerco di farmi strada nel mondo del lavoro.
(**I mean**, you're trying to fit into your new school and I'm trying to wedge my way into the job market.)

Example 27:

Bruno: **Voglio dire**, non riesce a sentire la parola “no”. (**I mean**, she's unable to hear the word “no”.)

However, it is worth pointing out that other translation strategies are also adopted to render *I mean*. The choice of *insomma*, in particular, has been described by Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 79) as a translational convention deriving from the need for lip synchronization. *Insomma*,

comunque, veramente, cioè, or omission, are also adopted to render *I mean* in *Fame*. This shows that, in shots where synchronization was not required, the dialogue writers attempted to opt for alternative and more natural solutions, as in the following example:

Example 28:

Kathy: Beh ma è così, tutti abbiamo i nostri problemi, **cioè** nessuno di noi ha tutto, ognuno ha un handicap o qualcosa del genere.

(Well, it's true. We all have our problems, **I mean**, no one gets everything. We all have some kind of handicap or something.)

5.4. Indirect borrowings in *Glee*

The dubbed episodes of *Glee* do not contain any instances of the false friend *classe* meaning *lezione* or *corso*. *Fottuto* is also absent, as are *voglio dire, prego?* and the semantic calque *realizzare*. The English verb *realize* (6 occurrences) is translated with *capire* (4), *rendersi conto* (1), omission (1), as can be seen from the following examples:

Example 29:

Kurt: Noi siamo solo una distrazione. Prima lo **capiamo**, meglio è. Rassegnati.

(We're nothing but distractions. The sooner we **realize** that, the better.)

Example 30:

Rachel: Un ruolo da protagonista non è importante quanto la vostra amicizia.

(I **realized** being a star doesn't make me feel as special as being your friend.)

It is worth pointing out that the discourse marker *I mean* is never translated as *voglio dire* and it is either omitted or rendered with *insomma, certo, comunque, davvero*.

On the other hand, *dannato* is used in the dubbed dialogues of *Glee*, also in cases when the original does not contain the word *damned*. This might show that *dannato* is part of the stock repertoire of dubbese.

Example 31:

Emma: Sì. Questa **dannata** canzone. (Oh, yes! It's the **darn** *Thong Song*.)

Example 32:

Quinn: Non mi serve il suo aiuto. Esci dalla mia **dannata** auto! (I don't need your help. Get the hell out of my car!)

The vocative *amico* occurs only once:

Example 33:

Finn: Per me non è un problema, **amico**. (It's not a problem for me, **man**.)

The pragmatic calque *Signor/Signora* + Surname, used by students to address their teachers (rather than the Italian vocatives *Professor/e/essa* + Surname) is also present in the dubbed dialogues of *Glee*:

Example 34:

Rachel: **Signor Schue**. (**Mr. Schue**)

However, the Italian mode of address *Professor/essa* + surname is also frequently adopted, as illustrated by the following utterances:

Example 35:

- Finn: Um, **Professor Schue?** (Um, **Mr. Schue?**)
- Finn: Ha un momento, **Professore?** (You got a sec, **Mr. Schue?**)
- Rachel: Ma abbiamo bisogno di lei, **professore.** (But we need you, **Mr Schue.**)

Finally, the pragmatic routines *Ci puoi scommettere/puoi scommetterci* and *dacci un taglio* are used in the Italian dialogues of *Glee*:

Example 36:

Will: **Puoi scommetterci.** (You can bet on that.)

Example 37:

Finn: Ehi ehi, **dacci un taglio** (Hey, **back off.**)

In example 37 *dacci un taglio* is not a literal translation of *cut it out*. This shows its function as a translational routine, a stock expression typical of dubbing.

6. Conclusions

Several observations can be drawn from this study. Firstly, that our initial hypothesis that modern dubbing would be more Anglified than older dubbing is confirmed since there is a much higher number of Anglicisms in *Glee* than in *Fame*. There is an increased Anglification in screen translation through direct borrowings. Non-adapted Anglicisms are the most frequent category of direct borrowings, although the 2009 dubbing shows a rise also in the number of adapted, false and hybrid Anglicisms, and in the number of compounds. The direct borrowings found in the dubbed versions belong to several different semantic fields, but those of leisure, entertainment, music, sport and technological developments are particularly productive in the *Glee* dialogues. Moreover, an important difference between the two series is that the Italian dialogues of *Glee* also contain words which are not attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries (specialized terms such as *rondata flick*, *vocal coach*, etc.), while in the older *Fame* well-established English words are preferred.

As regards indirect borrowings, they appear to be more frequently used in *Fame* than in *Glee*. Instances of pragmatic interference and the re-use of translational routines are less evident in the more recent series. This seems to suggest that Anglification increases in terms of direct Anglicisms, but decreases in terms of indirect Anglicisms. However, this is a preliminary observation which has to be corroborated by a quantitative analysis, and on a wider array of calques.

Another issue that emerges from this study is that synchronization does not always account for the use of calques. Synchronization is an important constraint which may give rise to source language interference, as calques are often used because of the need to closely follow the articulation of the mouth or utterance length. However, several cases have been observed in which a calque or a translational routine typical of dubbese is adopted in the dubbed dialogues even if there is no need for lip synchronization and to closely follow the make-up of the original text. Moreover, this study also confirms the self-referentiality of dubbese and the fact that some stock translations have become part of the linguistic repertoire of dubbed language, and are therefore re-used even when the source text does not contain an equivalent expression, as is the case for *fottuto* uttered by Coco, which translates *flat-out dumb*, or the pragmatic routine *dacci un taglio* which translates *give it a break* and *get it straight*.

Another noteworthy result of our analysis is that there seems to be an attempt to avoid repetitiveness and to resort to synonyms on the part of dialogue writers. The examples discussed illustrate that various translation equivalents are used in dubbing. A case in point is the discourse marker *okay*, which is undoubtedly the most widespread Anglicism in the dubbed dialogues analysed (and in Italian in general). Nevertheless, alternative options, Italian words with the function of expressing or asking for agreement, were indeed very frequent in both *Fame* and *Glee*. Other translation equivalents for the English *okay* were *certo*, *va bene*, *d'accordo*, *bene*, *basta*, *ciao*, omission. In discussing the relationship between English and Italian and the widespread use of English words in various sectors of contemporary Italian culture, Beccaria has expressed his worry that English-derived words will supplant their several Italian translational equivalents and that the lexical variety of the Italian language will disappear. Beccaria explains that

non ho nulla in contrario all'anglismo anche subdolo, che non è inglese nudo e crudo ma soltanto lo ricalca: [...] Non ho nulla contro un verbo ricalcato sull'inglese come *testare*, va benissimo. Ma un fatto spiace: che *testare* ci impoverisca, posto che sta sostituendo, mettendoli negli angoli riposti della nostra mente, i vari sinonimi *provare*, *saggiare*, *sperimentare*, *analizzare*, *collaudare*. [...] e

l’okay ha bloccato una vasta serie di opzioni come *sta bene, bene, va bene, d’accordo, intesi, giusto* [...] (2015: 91).

The results of our study show that, at least in the dubbed dialogues analysed, the Anglification process has not at all impoverished the richness of the Italian language.

Other examples of variation in dubbing are the cases of *realize* and *I mean*. There seems to be an attempt to avoid the semantic calque *realizzare*, which is never used in the dubbed dialogues. Out of 10 occurrences of *realize* in *Fame* and *Glee*, none is rendered with *realizzare*, whereas *capire, rendersi conto, credere, sapere* are preferred. This corroborates a previous study by Minutella and Pulcini (2014), who found that the calqued *realizzare*, despite its acceptability as a long-standing calque in the Italian language, tends to be avoided in dubbed TV series since it has a very low frequency compared to its synonyms. The same variation in the dubbing of *Fame* and *Glee* can be found for the discourse marker *I mean*, which has a range of translation equivalents such as *insomma* – a translational routine for reasons of synchronization (Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002), *veramente, cioè, certo, comunque, davvero*, omission. These examples also confirm previous research by Freddi, who observed that “in some instances translational routines leave place for variation and creativity on the part of the translators” (2009: 122).

A further issue has emerged from the analysis of the dubbed episodes: the presence of a ‘new’ morpho-syntactic calque with a pragmatic function which has not been studied so far. The structure *Lascia/i che + Verb* in the subjunctive is a combination which occurs 4 times in *Fame* and 3 in *Glee*. This seems a case of direct literal translation of the English expression *Let me + verb*, which is used as an emphatic, polite formula to offer something, to offer for help, or to introduce an utterance when the speaker wants to say something important to the interlocutor. While *lascia/i che + subjunctive* is perfectly correct and acceptable, Italian speakers, especially in an informal conversation, would probably tend to use more direct expressions in such situations. The following examples taken from *Fame* and *Glee* will illustrate this point:

- Mr. Shorofsky: Signor Melendez! Come sta? **Lasci che le dia una tazza di caffè.** (Mr Melendez, how are you? **Let me get you a cup of coffee.**) (*Fame*)

In the above case *Posso offrirle/prepararle un caffè?* or simply *Vuole un caffè?* might have been more direct and natural.

- Doris: Per favore, **lascia che ti dica** io una cosa. (**Let me tell you** something now.) (*Fame*)

Again, *posso dirti una cosa* or *ora ti dico una cosa / fatti dire una cosa* might have been more natural and less formal.

- Sue: [...] ma **lascia che ti confessi** un piccolo segreto. ([...] but **let me tell you** something.) (*Glee*)

In the above utterance a more direct expression could have been *(Ora) ti confesso/posso confessarti?*

- Sue: **Lascia che ti aiuti** io, allora. (Well, **let me help you** out, then.) (*Glee*)

Ti aiuto io, or *fatti aiutare* seem more natural and less formal offers. The dubbed dialogues of *Glee* also contain alternative, less formal translations for the *Let me + verb* combination:

-
- Josh: **Ora te lo spiego.** (Well, **let me tell you** something.) (*Glee*)
 - Will: Aspetta, **ti do una mano.** (**Let me help you**, buddy.) (*Glee*)

It is worth noting that this same structure (*dèjeme decirle* (<let me tell you>), *déjame adivinarlo* (<let me guess>) has been identified in Spanish dubbese by Lorenzo (1996) and Gómez Capuz (2001a), who consider it a semi-fixed, pragmatic expression that conveys artificiality to dubbed language. Further research on the use of this morphosyntactic structure in Italian conversation and in a larger corpus of dubbed audiovisual texts is required in order to verify whether it can be regarded as another, perhaps more subtle instance of phraseological and pragmatic influence of the English language on dubbed Italian.

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B. Filmography

- Fame* (Christopher Gore, 1982)
- Glee* (Ryan Murphy, Brian Falchuk and Ian Brennan, 2009)

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