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Reassessing Dubbing

Historical approaches and current trends

edited by
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Reassessing Dubbing

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Reassessing Dubbing. Historical approaches and current trends
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The dubbing revolution

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The post-production process commonly known as dubbing, which, as is well known, involves the substitution of an original dialogue track with one translated into a given target language, is still one of the most practised forms of audiovisual translation internationally (Chaume 2012, 2016). The world's audiovisual map is commonly divided into "subtitling" and "dubbing" (with a smaller percentage of "voice-over") countries – these preferences being dictated by social, financial and historical reasons. Dubbing is the most expensive modality of audiovisual translation and also "the preferred option in countries with a single linguistic community" (Pérez-González 2009: 18). As Cornu and O'Sullivan (2018: 23) point out with regards to the European landscape:

> dubbing remains widely used in national film industries which can afford it. In countries such as Germany, Italy, Spain and France, it is not restricted to cinema, and television programming heavily depends on dubbed films. In Germany, viewers' attitudes and the strength of the dubbing industry have led to the virtual disappearance of subtitled films in cinemas. A similar trend can be observed in Austria and Switzerland (Boillat 2013: 145). However, the situation is somewhat special in France where distributors' marketing habits and viewers' behaviour still strongly favour dubbing, and yet the demand for subtitled films is relatively high.

Despite the Eurocentric standpoint of most studies in the field, research on dubbing in the rest of the world is recently growing at a fast pace, shortening the gap between studies on the various and varied socio-cultural traditions by offering interesting insights which point to similarities and differences in the origin and function of dubbing in the respective contexts, focusing especially on ideological constraints and reception issues (see for example Ameri et al. 2018; Ameri and Khoshsaligheh 2018; Chan Takhung 2018; Di Giovanni 2016; Kenevisi at al. 2016; Koshsaligheh and Ameri 2016; Yahiaoui 2016).

However, in order to understand that the dubbing and subtitling landscape is not set within rigid coordinates, but always subject to shifts, one need only look, as does Chaume (2016: 70), at some "fascinating trends" that have been developing in the

audiovisual market in recent years, whereby "dubbing countries are starting to take firm steps toward subtitling", while some "subtitling countries are now beginning to experience the joy and ease of dubbing". In 2007, a study by media Consulting Group found that, as regards cinematographic distribution, "even though some countries would traditionally be inclined to prefer dubbing (Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic), […] most of them are clearly moving towards subtitling. In fact, only Italy and Spain, where films are generally dubbed, have resisted this trend" (2007: 6). The report also found that, as far as TV broadcasting is concerned, dubbing was still the preferred option in 10 out of the 25 EU countries, namely in Germany, Austria, Spain, France, Hungary, Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Switzerland, and French-speaking Belgium. It was noted, however, that practices vary depending on several factors, including the genre of the work and viewers' age. The study found, for instance, that in almost all 31 countries in the study, children's films are generally dubbed, a practice that is "particularly expensive for Scandinavian countries, where all other audiovisual works, distributed or broadcasted, are subtitled" (2016: 7). The study also revealed that the "preferred choice for screening television works in Europe is clearly dubbing" (71) and that "broadcasting a subtitled work in countries with a dubbing tradition can lead to audience drops of about 30%" (10). A more recent study, conducted on behalf of MESA Europe Content Localisation Council (2017), has shown that due to the "explosion in channels" resulting from the emergence of on-demand streaming platforms such as Netflix and Amazon Prime, with "the insatiable global appetite for content of all types" that this has brought about, current spending on services of content localisation across Europe, the Middle East and Africa is on the increase, getting close to $2 billion annually. Particularly interesting for our purposes is the finding that "dubbing accounts for the largest portion of revenues", "with a 70% share of total spend" (*MESA News* 2017). As Chiaro (this volume) notes:

> the traditional distinction between so-called dubbing and subtitling countries has now become simplistic. Nowadays "dubbing strongholds" such as Italy, France and Spain, while still privileging dubbing, generally offer viewers a choice between watching a product as a sub or a dub in cinemas, digital and satellite TV and DVDs for home theatre while streaming also provides a choice of translational modality […] [D]ubbing/subtitling boundaries regarding consumer choice remain fuzzy and fraught with bias.

Video-on-demand platforms are bringing about significant changes in the current AVT landscape, as illustrated by "the new dubbings into English that Netflix is currently broadcasting", which represent an "interesting contemporary trend" (Chaume 2018: 87). In Anglophone countries, where "mainstream audiences have little exposure to foreign-language media and translation" (Dwyer 2017: 41),

dubbing has been traditionally associated with inauthenticity. According to Mark Betz (2001: 32), "the traditional impatience British and American viewers demonstrate when confronted with poor sync […] is the product of both lack of exposure to dubbed films (as they live in an English-language culture and cultural marketplace) and a fetishistic attachment to the idea of the "authentic" cut of film, an attachment dubbing disturbs".[1] In Anglo-American contexts, where "high/low distinctions determine [viewers]'s expectations and reactions concerning dubbed versus subtitled films" (Betz 2001: 4), the consumption of foreign-language subtitled products is still linked to social class and education, and often associated with highbrow/middlebrow taste (Mazdon 2016; Nornes 2007: 12; Wilinsky 2001: 3).[2] In the British context, "the cultural and intellectual snobbery at the heart of a highly polarised film culture for decades has contributed to preventing mainstream non-English-language films from becoming available to wider audiences in well-dubbed versions" (Lembach 2003: 50), and a similar situation has been documented for mainstream US screen media (see Rich 2004).

Dramatic changes have nevertheless occurred over the past years even in the Anglophone domain. Netflix now produces originals in a multitude of languages around the globe and streams them to English-speaking audiences with dubbing as the default option. This decision was part of a global marketing strategy, developed by the company in an effort to reach the broadest English-language audience possible, which was hailed by some commentators as sign of a dubbing revival: "Dubbing is back – thanks to Netflix", writes James Gill (2018). As reported in an article published by *Variety* in 2018, Netflix conducted interviews with US consumers about their preferences regarding foreign language titles and translation modes. These "overwhelmingly told the company that they wanted to watch foreign originals with English subtitles" (Roettgers 2018). Market research found that, after streaming "a dubbed version of the French show "Marseille" to a subset of its viewers by default", viewers "who got the dubbed streams were more likely to finish the series than those who watched it with subtitles" (Roettgers 2018). Dubbing is therefore clearly part of a marketing strategy that aims at expanding the pool of Netflix subscribers around the world, a strategy that has been labelled "the dubbing revolution" (Moore 2018). In both the US and the UK, "Netflix is now streaming dubbed versions of shows by default, while still letting users switch to the original with subtitles at any time. Consumers seem to like it, no matter what kind of notions they might have had about dubbing" (Roettgers 2018). For example, according to

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1. On the traditional association between subtitles and authenticity in Anglophone contexts see O'Sullivan (2011).

2. See also Kilborn (1993), Mazdon et al. (2010), Mazdon and Wheatley (2013).

Netflix, 81% of viewers in English-speaking countries watched the German TV series *Dark* with dubbed audio (Roettgers 2018). The Danish series *The Rain* was also dubbed, and, because most of the cast spoke English, they were able to dub it themselves (Roettgers 2018). In contrast, in Poland, watching the Netflix series *Stranger Things* dubbed in the national language apparently stirred strong reactions among Polish viewers. Hence, "Netflix made lektoring [overdubbing] the default for Polish audio in foreign-language content there" (Rodriguez 2018).

Dubbing is being increasingly adopted for film distribution in Russia, a traditionally voice-over country, and is also gaining ground among former Communist countries (Szarkowska and Laskowska 2015). In the Ukraine, a traditionally voice-over country, dubbing "is used for cinema releases, and DVDs usually contain Russian dubbing" (Matamala 2018: 70). As Matamala (2018: 71) observes,

> firm boundaries between clearly delineated camps may be a thing of the past, since technologies seem to move towards a greater empowerment of audiences, who will hopefully be able to choose the audiovisual transfer mode that is more suited to their personal needs – irrespective of what the national traditions and collective preferences are.

Finally, it is important to mention that dubbing is largely represented in videogames, although "the dubbing mode has normally been available only in fully localized versions for territories which are considered to be of sufficient commercial significance" (Mangiron and O'Hagan 2013: 164). The translation of audio texts follows "dubbing practices commonly used in cinema and television" (Bernal-Merino 2014: 115), although with varying degrees of complexity.

The above notwithstanding, dubbing is relatively underrepresented in audiovisual research. As Díaz Cintas (2016: xiii) points out,

> despite this long tradition, research into dubbing has been modest to say the least. Even now that the output of articles and books is most healthy, interest in dubbing remains stubbornly low, particularly when compared with its sibling subtitling, which has known an unprecedented and exponential growth in the last couple of decades, or with the newer accessibility modes, which have also blossomed in scholarly exchanges.

Interestingly, although Munday's *Introducing Translation Studies* (first published in 2001) has changed its table of contents over the years and incorporated a section on "New directions from the new media" in its third (2012) and fourth (2016) editions, the book's focus on subtitling, in a chapter mainly devoted to audiovisual translation, is evident. This is justified by the author at the very beginning of the chapter: "Very dramatic developments in translation studies have occurred in the field of audiovisual translation, most notably subtitling" (275). Chaume's work (2004) on dubbing is amply illustrated in the book, but the fact that Munday tends

to identify audiovisual translation with subtitling is proven by several generalisations which relate only to this mode of translation, as shown by the following: "the general absence of [AVT's] own theoretical models is surprising. Its orientation has been above all prescriptive, describing and deciding how and where the subtitles should appear and what are the best techniques for producing a successful product" (Munday 2016: 297–298); "many studies continue to limit themselves to the written word on the screen and its comparison to a researcher-produced transcription of the spoken dialogue" (Munday 2016: 298); "One of the complications is that the visual image is hardly ever altered in the TT, so it is easier to focus on the written word" (Munday 2016).

Indeed, a look at the recent publications on AVT shows a great imbalance between dubbing and subtitling research. Some of the recent collections of essays on AVT are a case in point: *Audiovisual Translation: Language Transfer on Screen* (2009, edited by Díaz Cintas and Anderman) contains one contribution on dubbing, and one on dubbing and subtitling, out of its 18 chapters; *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation* (2009, edited by Díaz Cintas) includes 6 chapters on dubbing and 1 on both dubbing and subtitling out of the 17 titles; in *Perspectives on Audiovisual Translation* (2010, edited by Bogucki and Kredens), 2 out of 12 chapters are devoted to dubbing; *New Insights into Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility: Media for All 2* (2010, edited by Díaz Cintas et al.) contains 2 essays on dubbing out of 19 chapters; *Audiovisual Translation and Media Accessibility at the Crossroads: Media for All 3* (2012, edited by Remael et al.) devotes 3 chapters to dubbing, plus 2 to dubbing and subtitling, out of 19 contributions; *Audiovisual Translation in a Global Context* (2015, edited by Baños Piñero and Díaz Cintas) includes 2 contributions on dubbing out of 15 chapters; *Audiovisual Translation: Taking Stock* (2015, edited by Díaz Cintas and Neves) has 7 chapters on dubbing (and one on both dubbing and subtitling) out of a total of 16 contributions; *Fast-Forwarding with Audiovisual Translation* (2017, edited by Díaz Cintas and Nikolić) lists 3 chapters on dubbing, and one on dubbing and subtitling, out of 12 contributions; and finally, in *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation* (2018, edited by Ranzato and Zanotti), 5 out of 13 chapters focus on dubbing. The rest of the chapters in this sample of collections is mostly devoted to subtitling, but also to other modes such as audio description and subtitling for the deaf and the hard-of-hearing.

In addition, data from some of the most popular AVT conferences of the last few years attest to this imbalance even more explicitly: at the *Languages & the Media 11th* conference (Berlin, 3–4 November 2016), 2 papers were about dubbing and 1 on both dubbing and subtitling out of a total of 63 contributions; the *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation* conference (Rome, 11–13 February 2016), included 22 papers on dubbing and 2 on both

dubbing and subtitling out of 50 contributions; at the *Media for All 6* conference (Sydney, 16–18 September 2015), 6 out of 55 papers centred on dubbing; *Media for All 5* (Dubrovnik, 25–27 September 2013), on the other hand, included only 15 papers specifically on dubbing, plus 3 on both dubbing and subtitling, out of 107 contributions.

The low percentage of dubbing studies in recent years has also been noted by Matamala (2017: 12–14), who analysed the abstracts presented at three AVT conferences in 2004–2005 and at three more recent ones (2015–2016). As Matamala observes, a considerable drop in dubbing research can be observed by looking at the most recent data, while interest in subtitling has been increasing globally. "This trend would be even more striking", Matamala continues (Matamala 2017: 13), "if data from the conference in Rome (LCRAV [*Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation*]), with a remarkable 36% of papers on dubbing, was not considered".

It is certainly understandable, and to be taken into account, that conferences organised in subtitling countries should total a greater number of contributions centred on this AVT mode (and the other way round in dubbing countries), but the overall impression is that AVT scholars seem to be more interested in subtitling.

In addition, it should be noted that, apart from individual case studies, more comprehensive monographs on dubbing are scarce. For example, Chaume's *Audiovisual Translation: Dubbing* (2012), although conceived as an introductory textbook, raises a number of research issues, related to technical, linguistic and professional matters, to the extent that it remains a reference book for future research. The few recent monographs in English dedicated to dubbing, however, have either concentrated on specific translational aspects (Ranzato 2016 on the translation of culture specific elements) or taken a historical slant (such as Mereu Keating 2016). The latter can in fact be defined as the traditional approach in the research on this mode of AVT.

The overall impression is that dubbing is in fact perceived as 'history' in comparison to other more fashionable or recent forms of AVT. And, to tell the whole bitter tale, there is always an attached stigma, a soupçon of unethicality about dubbing (see Nornes 2007; Dwyer 2017). After all, it is often associated with the politics of infamous dictatorial regimes, as an effective and efficient tool of censorship. It is perhaps no wonder that some researchers prefer to look at dubbing from a historical perspective, as a relic from a disturbing past. Not to mention the view that dubbing is the ultimate deception, as famously epitomised in Almodóvar's (1988) *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* [*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*], a film in which the dubbing actor is portrayed as the quintessential deceiver. A fake voice covering the original actors' voices, arguably the most important instrument of their art, dubbing is conveyed in this famous film as a manipulative

tool which offers no possibility to the audience to make a (n ethical) comparison between source and target text. In the words of Herbert Fielden-Briggs, "Dubbing is a lie. You lie from beginning to end. It's a complete invention, so it can be more or less faithful to a given market" (in Nornes 2007: 222). According to Michel Chion, "dubbing produces a palimpsest beneath which there runs a ghost-text. It is a centrifugal process, tending toward rupture and dispersion" (1999: 153). Quite similarly, Jorge Luis Borges famously viewed dubbing as a "malignant artifice", an "audiovisual anomaly" invented by Hollywood studios:

> by means of a perverse artifice they call dubbing, they devise monsters that combine the famous face of Greta Garbo with the voice of Aldonza Lorenzo. How can we fail to proclaim our admiration for this distressing prodigy, for these ingenious audio-visual anomalies?   (1988: 62)

Borges's words illustrate "the centrality of the uncanny in dubbing" (Nornes 2007: 2008), a theme widely explored in Dwyer's chapter on *Singin' in the Rain* (Donen and Kelly 1952) in this volume and in Bosseaux's *Dubbing, Film and Performance: Uncanny Encounters* (2015). A similar concern is reflected in Woody Allen's *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* (1966), a film that foregrounds dubbing as "a mode of intercultural appropriation (or misappropriation)" (Fraser 2010: 19). As already seen, this negative conception of foreign-language dubbing has had particular currency in Anglophone screen cultures (see Dwyer 2017), where dubbing has often been regarded as "Hollywood's way of letting the domestic voice invade the film's space, produce dissonance and dislocation, *speak for the film instead of letting the film speak for itself*" (Fraser 2010: 25).

Dubbing, nonetheless, lends itself to diverse approaches. Thanks to its verbal and prosodic richness to mimic the voices coming from the source texts, it is indeed a privileged site of investigation of fictive orality, in all its linguistic and pragmatic conventions, and as such it has been explored in books that have analysed, among other issues, the influence of this mode on face-to-face conversation (Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Pavesi et al. 2014) or investigated its creative potentialities through the multimodal analysis of oral and visual tracks (Bosseaux 2015; Sánchez Mompeán 2017). As illustrated above, it is also the ideal audiovisual text for exploring issues of ideological manipulation and constraints as it has always been used as an active tool for censorship by dictatorships and democratic governments alike (Díaz Cintas 2012; Díaz Cintas et al. 2016).

Finally, an interesting take on dubbing is offered by Tom Whittaker (2012: 294), who notes that the "critical discourse that has surrounded Spanish dubbing […] has paid scant attention to its crucial relationship with audiences and everyday life in Spain". Moving from a perspective that focuses on the vocal dimension of dubbing, Whittaker observes:

> The widespread success of dubbing in Spain has been most usually attributed to the country's high levels of illiteracy in the 1930s. While this is undoubtedly true, this account often overlooks the affective dimension of cinema-going, and the extent to which dubbing was integral to generating pleasure among audiences. In contrast to subtitles, the dubbed voice served to maintain close structures of identification in the cinema, enabling the audience to empathise and respond emotionally to the onscreen actors (295).

All these strands and more, including the historical, the (new) technological, the ideological, the professional, and the linguistic, are taken up by the authors of this collection which offers a multi-faceted assessment of dubbing on the move. The aim of this volume is to give dubbing research its due by showing that, far from being a doomed or somewhat declining form of AVT, dubbing's creative potential is being exploited globally in the most diverse and fruitful ways, linguistically, representationally and technically. Contributions to this collection embrace dubbing's important historical past to give sense to present and future developments.

The chapters included in the first part of the book give a refreshing twist to the historical perspective on dubbing by highlighting lesser-known aspects of dubbing practices in order to map a broad picture which transcend the single case studies under analysis. In "Undoing dubbing: *Singin' in the Rain*", Tessa Dwyer examines the narrative of this canonical musical to think specifically about the importance of language and interlingual translation in the development of film as medium and film culture more broadly. Precisely because the film does not deal directly with issues of interlingual translation, the author argues, it demonstrates how sound technologies catapult issues of language difference and transfer to the very heart of film production.

Wider issues are also at the heart of Nolwenn Mingant's "When the *Thief of Bagdad* tried to steal the show: The short-lived dubbing of Hollywood films into Arabic in the 1940s", which foregrounds the distribution strategy adopted by US distributors in the face of huge political difficulties when they experimented dubbing into Arabic for the North Africa and Middle East market in the 1940s. The political dimension of dubbing practices is highlighted in this contribution as well as in the following chapter: "Locked into dubbing: Retracing the origins, establishment and fortune of Italy's mainstream AVT practice", by Carla Mereu Keating, in which the author produces archival evidence to help us understand the reasons behind the introduction of dubbing in Italy in the early 1930s and its establishment as the country's favourite AVT practice in the decades that followed. The intertwining of commercial, political, cultural and linguistic issues triggered enduring consequences on the development of the AVT industry in Italy.

By also looking at archival evidence, as well as at a variety of other sources, in the final chapter of this first part, "Auteur dubbing: Translation, performance and authorial control in the dubbed versions of Stanley Kubrick's films", Serenella

Zanotti reconstructs the genesis of the dubbed versions of the famed director's films, focusing on his role and degrees of intervention in the dubbing process. Zanotti detects an unusually evident auteurist imprint in the dubbed versions of Kubrick's films, which can be discerned by painstakingly reconstructing and shedding light on the films' paratexts.

The chapters included in the second part of the book are devoted to the most recent developments in dubbing research and practice. And it is on technological innovations and on the role of the new audiences in the digital era that Frederic Chaume's opening contribution is focused. "Audiovisual translation in the age of digital transformation: industrial and social implications" presents three consequences of digital transformation in AVT, choosing technological progress and eventually its political use as key points of argumentation.

The next chapter, "Are we all together across languages? An eye tracking study of original and dubbed films", by Elena Di Giovanni and Pablo Romero-Fresco, contributes to the growing body of research using eye tracking, so far mostly dedicated to subtitling, by focusing on dubbing. It reports on an experiment, the first of its kind, carried out in 2016, which analyses the gaze behaviour of viewers of the original English and dubbed Italian version of Wes Anderson's *The Grand Budapest Hotel*. This experiment lays the foundations for further comparative analyses on perception and reception of original and dubbed films.

In her chapter on "Fandubbing across time and space: from dubbing 'by fans for fans' to cyberdubbing", Baños reflects on the origins of fandubbing and the motivations behind this practice. Presenting it as a dynamic socio-cultural experience which has been deeply impacted by the profound changes witnessed by the media industry in the past few years, Baños describes the evolution of fandubbing from a fans-for-fans practice to its most recent creative uses for altruistic and/or political endeavours.

Closing this section, Delia Chiaro's "To Europe with love: Woody Allen's liquid society" examines the American director's 'trilogy' of films shot in Europe from the perspective of Allen's technical recreation of lingua-cultural otherness in his non-American characters and reflects on the post-modern notion of "translanguaging", relevant for the way in which bilingual characters adopt or use English. Chiaro dwells on the strategies adopted to translate these characters' dialogue exchanges and on the actors' self-dubbing needed for these films, thus shedding light on an interesting intersection between linguistic and technical issues.

The third part of the book focuses on linguistic aspects of this particular form of fictive orality. Words are not the only focus of Sofía Sánchez-Mompeán's "More than words can say: Exploring prosodic variation in dubbing", in which the prosodic choices of actors and dubbing actors are explored. The author verifies the relevance of four prosodic systems, namely pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness

and tempo, and their pragmatic implications for English-Spanish dubbed dialogue, illustrated through a series of examples.

The *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Pavesi 2014) is at the base of the two following chapters, "Representing orality through questions in original and translated film dialogue" by Elisa Ghia, and "English films vs Italian films: A comparative analysis via the Pavia Corpus of film dialogue and the WordSmith Tools" by Raffaele Zago. In the former, question usage in dubbed and original Italian film dialogue, at formal and functional levels, is investigated with the aim of detecting common traits and differences between the two registers. Zago's contribution, on the other hand, addresses issues of comparability between English and Italian films by focusing on mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs, in order to identify cross-linguistic dimensions of comparability between English and Italian original films as well as to examine the language of dubbed Italian films in contrast with the language of both source texts and Italian original films.

In the last part of the book, two contributions deal with the construction of identity in characterisation. The use of accents and language varieties as means of character construction is analysed in "Sleeping with the fishes. Italian Americans in animation", by Ilaria Parini, who focuses her analysis of original dialogue and dubbing on a group of characters of the DreamWorks animated comedy *Shark Tale* (2004), presenting narrative and linguistic features that make it easy to identify them as Italian American Mafiosi. In the final chapter, "Constructing youth identities in dubbed movies: A view from Italy", Debora Ciampi explores the idiolect of a particular speech community as portrayed in American teen movies and rendered in Italian dubbing. By concentrating on potentially challenging topics such as teenage sexuality, drug consumption, and violence, Ciampi's analysis reveals a change in target cultural norms with respect to previous decades, a situation by which sensitive topics tend to be retained rather than mitigated. Such an approach indicates that on-screen, licentious and unrestrained behaviours are regarded, according to the author's conclusions, as more desirable than in the past.

Most contributions of this collection are analyses of cinematographic films, in line with the majority of research works in the field, which have so far privileged cinematographic films over television. In addition, researchers have seldom chosen to evidence the differences between adaptations for cinema and those made for television, either from a translational or technical (i.e., sound mixing, lip synchronisation, or acting) point of view. This is somehow surprising as the attitude of professionals and audiences towards the two media was, at least until not long ago (i.e. before the advent of quality television series), very different, and thus arguably inspired a different handling of the dubbing process in the two media (see Barra 2009, 2013). As far as 'historical' approaches go, this might be a good avenue for future research.

The aim of this volume is to contribute to AVT research "by raising the visibility of dubbing" (Díaz Cintas 2016: xiii). Focus is no longer on the passive tool in the hands of unethical manipulators, but on the creativity that dubbing has encouraged in multifarious occasions and on the decidedly activist recent turn that Baños describes in this volume: proof indeed that dubbing has come a long way and has not been less ready than other AVT modes to respond to the mood of the times.

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Filmography

Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios. Pedro Almodóvar. Spain. 1988.
Singin' in the Rain. Stanley Donen and Gene Kelly. USA. 1952.
What's Up, Tiger Lily? Woody Allen and Senkichi Taniguchi. USA. 1966.

Historical approaches

Undoing dubbing

Singin' in the Rain

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Focusing on the film industry's transition to sound in the late 1920s, canonical musical *Singin' in the Rain* is, foremost, a dubbing narrative. This chapter revisits this film classic in order to bring into focus lesser-known histories relating to screen translation, and to think specifically about the importance of talk and inter-lingual translation to the development of film culture broadly. *Singin's* emphasis on dubbing as *domestic* operation invites reconsideration of the transition era's 'language crisis' and the artificial voice/body combinations integral to foreign-language dubbing. Precisely because *Singin'* does not deal directly with issues of inter-lingual translation, it demonstrates how sound technologies catapult issues of language difference and transfer to the very heart of film production, prefiguring the inter-lingual in the everyday.

Keywords: dubbing, *Singin' in the Rain*, screen translation, talkies, voice, film sound, film history, indirect recording, synchronisation, lip-sync

Currently ranked as the number one musical of all time by the American Film Institute, *Singin' in the Rain* (Kelly and Donen 1952) holds canonical status in film culture worldwide (see Cohan 2000; Wollen 1992). Surprisingly, it is also a film about dubbing. Second only to the lampposts, umbrellas and puddle splashing of its title sequence, *Singin'* is remembered for its final, pivotal scene of exposé, whereby the curtain is raised (quite literally) on an act of voice doubling. The glamorous silent screen star Lina Lamont (Jean Hagan) has the carpet pulled from under her when she makes a live appearance following the premiere of her picture *The Dancing Cavalier*. Mid-song, Lamont is revealed as a fraud, her singing dubbed by little known actress Kathy Selden (Debbie Reynolds) hidden behind the picture theatre curtain (see Figure 1). With credit restored where credit is due, Lina's career lies in ruins whilst Kathy's stardom begins its ascent. Or, so the story goes. Behind the scenes of this behind-the-scenes narrative, a wholly other, counter-narrative unfolds. It is Reynolds herself who is dubbed, even as her character dubs for another,

as any discerning listener might detect.[1] Moreover, as Reynolds notes in her autobiography *Debbie Reynolds: A Life* (Reynolds and Columbia 1988: 94), in some scenes when Kathy supposedly dubs Lina, ironically, it is actually Hagan's own voice that is heard.

Figure 1. Positioned behind the picture theatre curtain, Kathy Selden sings for Lina Lamont in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), © MGM

*Singin'*s paradoxical "double dubbing" phenomenon in which dubb*ee* Lina/Hagan dubs for dubb*er* Kathy/Reynolds has already been much discussed in screen scholarship by James Card (1984), Carol Clover (1995), Kaja Silverman (1988) and Peter Wollen (1992) amongst others.[2] These scholars have teased out manifold layers of signification and complication within this dubbing spectacle, with Clover (1995) providing a particularly in-depth reading that draws out other sites of racially-charged misattribution and appropriation within the film. It is not my intention here to rehash these arguments and commentary. Rather, in this chapter, I revisit dubbing's centrality within *Singin'*s on- and off-screen antics in order to bring into focus alternative, lesser-known film histories relating to screen translation. I trace the historical development of dubbing and related translation techniques in order to think specifically about the importance of language and inter-lingual translation to the development of film as medium and film culture more broadly. *Singin'* invites this intervention, I argue, due to its preoccupation with origin points – not only the emergence of talkies, but also the "proper" source of

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1. As James Card (1984: 92) notes, when Kathy dubs Lina singing "Would You?," the vocals are notably distinct from her rendition of "Good Morning" in the previous scene.

2. On *Singin'*s "double dubbing," see also Christopher Ames (1997: 65), Rudy Behlmer (1982: 267–8), Cohan (2000: 59), Hugh Fordin (1984: 358), Gerald Mast (1987: 264), Martin Roth (1990) and Marsha Siefert (1995: 55–6).

film sound and recorded voices. *Singin'* not only links film historical stages to the problems and possibilities engendered by sound and speech, its "double dubbing" uncovers profitable connections between the technological and the translational.

*Singin'*s narrative treatment of dubbing focuses exclusively on domestic, *intra*-lingual uses, entirely ignoring foreign-language contexts. Instead, the duplicity and manipulation engendered by dubbing is brought into relief via routine forms of sound recording and engineering intrinsic to sound film technology and early synchronization processes (see Pauletto 2012). This emphasis upon dubbing as *domestic* operation is significant to my analysis for two reasons. By highlighting anxieties that surround *intra*-lingual post-synchronised revoicing, *Singin'* invites reconsideration and contextualisation of similar anxieties produced by the apparent "language crisis" of the transition era and the artificial voice/body combinations integral to foreign-language dubbing. In short, this film aids in sketching a broad context around dubbing's domestic *and* foreign pasts, identifying links between them. Secondly, although *Singin'* does not deal directly with foreign-language revoicing, the inter-lingual dynamics of dubbing are never entirely absent all the same. The conclusion of the film's narrative resolves the damage done via dubbing by restoring recorded voices to their rightful owners/bodies, so that image and sound perfectly cohere, forming an audio-visual whole. This harmonious resolution is, of course, entirely unavailable to foreign-language audiences: with inter-lingual dubbing, the post-recorded voice defies reunification with any "proper" on-screen source/body. In this way, *Singin'* marks the duplicity of inter-lingual dubbing as *un*resolvable and performs a double devaluation, managing to both neglect and reject inter-lingual dubbing at one and the same time.

This implicit devaluation of inter-lingual dubbing travels a common course. Jorge Louis Borges (2004[1945]: 18) famously denounced this translation technique, describing dubbing as a "malignant artifice" and heartily protesting against the voice/body "monsters" rolled out by Hollywood at the time, which could "combine the illustrious features of Greta Garbo with the voice of Aldonza Lorenzo". A similar denunciation is made by sound engineer George Lewin (1931) in a paper discussed in detail below. Anti-dubbing advocates routinely point to the fakery and artifice involved in this common language transfer technique. However, the "double dubbing" trick deployed in *Singin'* cannot but compromise this line of argument. The film's deconstruction of dubbing is inverted by its very dependence on – and consequent re-mystification of – this technique. The question remains: how does this inversion affect double devaluation of inter-lingual dubbing? Is that also turned on its head? By demonstrating the ultimate artifice underpinning the image/sound reunification at the heart of its narrative, *Singin'* opens up new ways of envisioning audiovisual dynamics and their relationship to both voice and language. In this chapter, I explore the inter-lingual contours of this revaluation, suggesting that

Singin' reassesses dubbing, positioning language mediation, transfer and translation as formative elements of film's past and present.

Tracing origins

Singin''s plot revolves around the film industry's "coming of sound" in the late 1920s following the success of Warner Brothers' Vitaphone feature *The Jazz Singer*. Set in the year of *Jazz*'s initial New York release, *Singin'*'s film-within-a-film narrative is initiated by *Jazz*'s rave reviews and the subsequent decision by Monumental Pictures boss R. F. Simpson (Millard Mitchell) to turn in-production silent *The Duelling Cavalier* into an "all-talking" sound feature. Eventually, the film is retitled *The Dancing Cavalier* when it is transformed into a musical. With Monumental Pictures conversion to sound, it collides head-on with the "language problem" as Lina's inelegant voice (coded as "lower-class") proves a major obstacle to her success as a Talkies star. Behind her back, R. F. agrees to solve this dilemma through the technological trick of voice doubling. Before going on to examine "*Singin'*'s central obsession with the relationship between sound and image (see Wollen 1992: 55), I begin" by looking more closely at its positioning of *Jazz* as the founding moment of film sound, which layers its narrative preoccupation with origin points. Tracing film historical origins through fact, fiction and folklore, *Singin'* melds memory and myth to expose an unsettling instability. The origin points it establishes ultimately don't stand up to scrutiny. Sound in cinema long predates *Jazz*, as Rick Altman explores in detail in *Silent Film Sound* (2004), while the demands of language differentiation have shaped film's development since its inception.

During the silent era, cinemagoers were treated to a huge variety of mechanised and non-mechanised sync sound experiences. Many of the sounds accompanying silent cinema were produced using techniques now commonly associated with inter-lingual translation, such as indirect recording or "playback", post-synchronisation and live or mechanical revoicing. The promise of sound was regularly deployed as a means of attracting customers by providing novelty and offering a point of difference from other products or experiences on the market (Lastra 2000: 101). In this way, according to James Lastra (97), sound introduced an element of excess, highlighting performative aspects of showmanship that ruptured as much as reinforced cinematic illusions. The value offered by sound lay both with its extra-diegetic novelty *and* representational realism. As the same film would often screen simultaneously at a number of local venues, sound synchronisation provided an important point of difference (Sirois-Trahan 1999: 437). During this time, sound was achieved via a heterogeneous assortment of methods, including musical accompaniment, actors and singers positioned behind the screen, lecturers

or explainers, sound effect machines (see Bottomore 1999) and diverse techniques of mechanised synchronisation utilising optical sound recording, electromagnetic recording, wax cylinder and disk phonographs, amplifiers and gramophone projection systems (Abel and Altman 1999: 396; Crafton 1999: 51–60).

The prevalence of diverse silent-era forms of film "talk" indicates the constant presence of both written and spoken language as well as linguistic mediation within early cinema. Even the phrase "talking film" far predates the transition era and was used to refer to a diversity of techniques and experiences (Abel and Altman 1999: 397). In North America during the early 1900s, for instance, the practice of live voicing provided a novel form of "talker" films in which performers positioned behind the movie screen delivered lines of dialogue at moments when the characters on-screen were seen to be speaking, effectively supplementing their mute voices and providing an impression of sound synchronisation (397). At the same time, early *mechanised* sync sound films were also referred to as "talking films." Even experimental titling techniques could be touted as forms of film "talk," as were the animated titles of Biograph's *Looking for John Smith* (McCutcheon 1906). Just as language has constituted an integral part of cinema since its inception, and was often prioritized over the image in early cinema going experiences like lecturing (see Lastra 2000: 100), language *transfer* has also been ever-present, underwriting cinema's evolution as one of the first global mediums. Hence, cinema's "language problems" did not first emerge during transition. Rather, linguistic diversification has been constant within screen culture since the silent era and has always presented both difficulties and profitable opportunities (see Liepa 2008: 298). In this chapter, I demonstrate that it was not the arrival of language that unsettled transition era cinemagoers but rather, a heightened awareness of its pivotal, primary role.

Silent era sound practices developed in two concurrent directions: live and recorded, both of which have proved crucial in shaping future paradigms of film sound. Live and recorded sound techniques evolved in tandem and were often used side by side. As Lastra (2000: 94) proposes, typical sounds such as music, singing, speech and sound effects could all be made to "fit" the image, with varying degrees of precision, and all qualify loosely as forms of synchronisation. Just *how* such sounds were produced was left up to the vision or whim of the exhibitor and sometimes remained a mystery to audience members (Klenotic 2001: 158). While mechanised forms of sound synchronisation bear direct links to contemporary dubbing methods, non-mechanised, live forms pre-empted many of the issues raised by post-synchronisation revoicing, influencing audience expectations and attitudes, and helping to establish conventions of sonic realism such as spatial depth of field.

Philadelphia-based immigrant and entrepreneur Siegmund Lubin (1851–1923) often melded live sounds with early forms of mechanised synchronisation, trialling a wide variety of film technologies and promotional gimmicks (Eckhardt

1999: 408). In 1903, he experimented with "song films" to complement live singing performances, before tailoring this concept to produce Cineophone Films to accompany *recorded* songs, music and spoken routines played on a phonograph (see Lastra 2000: 100; Abel 2001). Advertised by the tagline: "moving pictures speak and sing," Joseph Eckhardt (1999: 411–12) points out how these films represent an early example of indirect recording. Rather than featuring the recording artists heard on the records, these films most likely involved actors or lesser-known musicians miming to pre-recorded performances (412), with on-screen bodies forced to mould themselves to pre-existent sounds. For Lastra (2000: 102), such playback techniques prioritize sound over image, treating "sound recording as the structural basis of the entire representational amalgam." In *Singin'*, playback is used within song-and-dance numbers, as Reynolds' biography documents: "They had one man on the set who did nothing but watch our lips. If there was one mistake, it was 'CUT!' and we'd have to start all over again. …When I wasn't in front of the camera, I was off somewhere sitting listening to a record, mouthing it" (Reynolds and Columbia 1988: 92)

In 1907, Lubin returned to live forms of synchronisation, following nationwide interest in the "talker" phenomenon. Lubin hired actors to stand behind the screen and perform a type of live dubbing, uttering words of dialogue to match the action, gestures and mouths of actors on screen. According to Altman (2004: 166–7), such actors behind-the-screen offered "an inexpensive alternative to synchronized sound." They were regularly advertised as constituting the latest *technological* advance, despite the fact that they provided a non-mechanical form of film sound (Klenotic 2001: 158). Lubin blurred the boundaries even further. After initially hiring actors to sit behind the screen and provide live dialogue, Lubin decided to record this performance onto wax records, probably to save costs and ensure a more uniform product. Due to the short duration of early wax records, however, live actors needed to fill in during record changes (Eckhardt 1999: 413). Eckhardt surmises that the effect of switching between live and wax sound accompaniment would have been "maddeningly disjunctive, and nearly impossible to synchronise" (413).

Evidently, dubbing techniques and technologies did not evolve in relation to the industry's wholesale transition to sound as *Singin'* would have us believe. Nevertheless, the film's focus on the voice as locus of anxiety, inauthenticity and, finally, restorative redemption – deploying it as shorthand for all the changes and challenges of the transition era – quite accurately reflects the mood of the day. In analysing late 1920s responses to talkies by the general press and fanzine publications, Crafton (1999: 489–98) reports the predominance of vocal issues and evaluations. Analyses of star voices, "itemizing those whom sound had helped or hurt," were a major preoccupation, drawing attention away from other pressing matters affecting transition-era politics such as trade unions and actors strikes (3; 490). In

this way, *Singin'* rehearses the central fixations of the era in which it is set. Indeed, as scriptwriters Comden and Green divulge, the plot was inspired by memories of the infamous "downfall of John Gilbert, the reigning king of the silent screen in 1928, whose career was finished off by one single talking picture..." (quoted in Fordin 1984: 352).[3]

Precisely because *Singin'* does not deal directly with issues of inter-lingual translation, it demonstrates how sound technologies catapult issues of language difference and transfer to the very heart of film production, prefiguring the inter-lingual in the everyday. Unlike film stars Vilma Banky, Pola Negri, Greta Garbo and Karl Dane, for instance, the fictional Lina Lamont does not face issues of assimilation. However, the dilemma of mismatch between her body and voice cannot ultimately be separated from issues of language difference. Although it bears no trace of foreignness, Lina's voice is accented nevertheless, betrayed by its unrefined, "lower-class" tenor and overly local, Brooklyn-style intonation. By identifying voice as a site of crisis, subject to a "quick-fix" via post-synchronization, *Singin'* underlines the duplicitous potential within routine recording technologies and sound engineering. As Mikhail Yampolsky argues (1993: 73), inter-lingual dubbing only rehearses in exaggerated form the alienation of voice from body that characterizes all film sound synchronization. Accordingly, *Singin'*'s implicit devaluation of inter-lingual dubbing as outright fakery requires re-interrogation. As I detail here, the inauthenticity of Lina's lip-sync actually contextualizes and begins to deconstruct debates surrounding inter-lingual translation during the transition era.

Presenting voice doubling as the quintessential demonstration of "new" sound technology, *Singin'* also taps into other anxieties that filter through discussions of star voices and vocal challenges, sometimes resting just below the surface of public debate. Woven around Kathy's dubbing of Lina, *Singin'*'s narrative is primarily concerned with locating sound's correct or faithful source. It is not until the duplicity of this doubling is exposed, and the disembodied voice restored to its rightful body (Don addresses the audience: "Stop that girl – It was her voice you fell in love with – She is the star of the picture") that the narrative and romance can resolve. This exposé demands to be read in relation to Altman's (1980) seminal article on "cinema as ventriloquism". For Altman (1980: 69) sound in cinema functions to create "a new myth of origins," that "displaces our attention (1) from the technological, mechanical, and thus industrial status of the cinema, and (2) from the scandalous

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3.   Although historians like Crafton (1999, 503), Kevin Brownlow (quoted in Crafton 1999: 503) and Alexander Walker (quoted in Ames 1997: 231n4) cast doubt on the veracity of the Gilbert anecdote, noting that today his recorded voice does not appear shrill and that he actually produced numerous Talkies rather than one calamitous failure, some of which were moderately successful, the myth of his downfall remains a "memory" shared by the industry and public alike.

fact that sound films begin as language – the screenwriter's – and not as pure image." It does so by obsessively pointing the camera at characters whose lips are moving, diverting attention away from the true source of the sound: the loudspeaker. Altman (77) goes on to discuss sound cinema's "throwing of the voice," which he describes as a form of lip-synching. For Altman, *all* sound cinema partakes in lip-sync, hence demanding a reconsideration of "cinema as ventriloquism" (67).

Sound cinema's ongoing preoccupation with moving lips (seen in close-up talking, smoking, drinking or kissing) signals a vococentrism (Chion 2009: 75) that emerged during the transition era and is clearly evident in *Singin*'s plot and back-story. Yet, was it the high-pitched tones of Gilbert's *voice* that brought him asunder in *His Glorious Night* (Barrymore 1929) or was it simply his out-of-date acting style, satirized in *Singin'* when Don echoes Gilbert's infamously repetitive line, "I love you… I love you… I love you…," in *The Duelling Cavalier*? (see Figure 2). Crafton (1999: 507–8) suggests that alcoholism and an old-fashioned screen persona may have played a greater part in Gilbert's demise than his voice. Often, voices were blamed for a litany of other issues, such as a star's waning popularity, tabloid scandals (as in the case of Clara Bow), personality clashes and the like (Crafton 1999: 501–8). After listing numerous silent stars who he deems "casualties of sound," Julian Fox (1972: 36) proceeds to note that in many cases, it was simply the reality of a star's voice – good *or* bad – that was the problem, quoting a line from *Hollywood Cavalcade* (Cummings 1939) to make his point: "People don't *want* to hear their idols talk. It takes away their mystery. It makes them ordinary and commonplace." In enabling audiences to hear the voices of the silent stars, sound effectively "substituted dreams for reality" (Fox 1972: 36).

Figure 2. A scene from *Singin' in the Rain*'s (1952) film-within-a-film *The Duelling Cavalier* that parodies John Gilbert's acting in *His Glorious Night*, © MGM

This idea is eloquently expanded upon by Michel Chion (1999: 10) who proposes that early sound films "lacked lack," arguing that silent cinema "was perfectly constituted and structured around its lack in such a way that the arrival of real sound could only be perceived as an intrusion." "Once heard in reality," he states, "even the most divine voice had something trivial about it" as "the "oral" filling of an absence or lack over which desire has built its nest" inevitably lead to feelings of disappointment (9). While silent-era audiences were free to construct "dream voices" of their own making, sound destroyed this sense of plenitude by insisting on the concrete materiality of speech, presenting grounded voices rigidly anchored to particular bodies and unable to erase their own temporal and geographic located-ness. As Arne Lunde (2004: 34) comments, sound brought to the cinema a "quotidian concreteness and banality." Compared to the imagination of desire, the sudden audibility of film stars made them sound ordinary and mundane if not outright wrong. Part of the problem was found, not in the quality or pitch of the voice itself, but in its stubborn singularity as silent stars became welded to specific voices that remained constant despite the changing roles they sought to perform.

Additionally, transition-era talkies exhibited rigidity in sound design. According to Chion (2009: 17), sound lost a sense of its virtual or abstract dimension or, as Carol Hamand (1984: 26) proposes, sound lost its "relative independence" from the image. The silent cinema's "freedom to render sound intermittently, to include a disjunction between a representation of a sound in the action and its rendering in another form" was forsaken (31). Although silent films often portrayed people talking, delivering dialogue that was never represented in inter-titles, the sound era quickly adopted a new industrial rule: "any talking on the screen must be accompanied by an aural imitation" (31). Hence, whereas silent cinema contains both rendered and un-rendered dialogue, after the late 1920s, moving lips become welded to audible words (32), a concept that Chion (2009: 13; 73–6) explores in some depth. Consequently, Chion (13) argues that the talkies saw not the arrival of sound *per se*, but its concretisation and inflexibility: "a silent film has the prerogative to evoke sound (with images, texts, or intertitles) only when it needs or wants to, whereas the sound film is obliged to have it 'turned on,' as it were, all the time." With sound suddenly always "on", it became harder for filmmakers to control, manipulate and subjectively present sound elements, resulting ironically in a more monotone experience. Even inter-titling, Chion notes, was able to emphasise some words above others via fonts, size and layout, and could thus render the "*discontinuity of listening*" (13).

In this sense, the new cohesion promised by cinema's marrying of sound and image was undermined on many levels. While the addition of sound was broadly understood as an advance in realism, the concretisation it offered inevitably involved compromise and loss. Additionally, sound's very novelty often distracted viewers,

making them more aware of the constructed, artificial nature of the cinematic illusion (see Spadoni 2003: 8).[4] Sound brought a new scrutiny to the cinema-going experience and could make audiences feel uneasy and disorientated, often prompting laughter at inopportune moments. At times, laughter was caused by the rudimentary nature of early sound filmmaking which could result in stilted vocal performances, jumps in sound levels or hissing and scratching sounds (14n27). Such disruptions only exacerbated the problems affecting star voices. Hence, although Talkies claimed to deliver a new sensory wholeness to cinema, they also unwittingly indicated how sound and image were never unified to begin with, being recorded separately and often at different times. For Chion (1999: 125–7), if "the talking cinema has shown anything by restoring voices to bodies, it's precisely that it doesn't hang together; it's decidedly not a seamless match." The noticeable "seam" between sound and image, he notes, "is an inherent consequence of the material organization of cinema," resulting from the fact that the "physical nature of film necessarily makes an incision or cut between the body and the voice." Whether or not sound and image originally occurred at the same time (and they often do not), they are irreparably split at the moment of recording, becoming inscribed "on separate surfaces (the celluloid image and the soundtrack)" (126).

As viewers became "suddenly much more aware of Hollywood films as manufactured objects," cinematic technology came under scrutiny (Spadoni 2003: 6). In this regard, *Singin*'s narrative interest in voice recording is faithful to the era's "renewed sensitivity to the very medium of film" (6). Spadoni (5) notes how the intensified scrutiny on the part of viewers worked against the general "coarsening of film style" that resulted from the technical limitations of sound recording and undermined its quest for realism (11). When technical slip-ups occurred, such as breaks in the filmstrip, the effect was doubly damaging, pointing glaringly to the presence of the apparatus and the artifice of the illusion. *Singin'* also supports Spadoni's assertion that voice recording and synchronisation lay at the heart of this new "medium sensitivity", as every "slipup in synchronization served to remind viewers that the bodies speaking on the screen constituted whole entities only tenuously" while even perfectly synchronized voices were regularly derided as "unnatural," "colourless," and "mechanical" (5–6). According to Everson (1998: 342–3), "one or two breaks and repairs in the film itself could destroy synchronization unless the missing frames were replaced or 'padded' by blank leader, either method being tricky, untidy, and, in the long run, impractical." Other problems included disc mix-ups and the fact that discs wore out quickly, requiring theatres to have

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4.   Spadoni (2003: 5) quotes a 1928 review from *Variety*: "another angle is whether the voice on the screen does not suggest something missing, with that missing element the physical self. This is undeniably felt."

multiple copies on hand (Eyman 1997: 205). In *Singin'*, at the preview screening of
The Duelling Cavalier, a sync problem arises when the film catches momentarily in
the projector and the sound track continues with no break and is then hastily sped
up. As the film becomes decidedly out-of-sync, the villain's words appear to come
out of Lina's mouth and *vice versa.*

Part of the problem was that voices always issued from the same spot (the
loudspeaker) no matter where the character was situated on screen (Spadoni
2003: 6–7). After experiencing talkies for the first time in London, film critic
Alexandre Arnoux describes this effect as "rather disconcerting": "Since the loud-
speaker installed behind the screen never changes its locus of sound propagation,
the voice always comes from the same spot no matter which character is speaking"
(quoted in Clair 1972: 128). In addition, many of the early sound films including
Jazz contained jarring juxtapositions between silent sequences with or without
scored music tracks and the "scratchy quiet" of scenes with synchronised speech
(Spadoni 2003: 7). Other problems related to the technical limitations imposed by
sound, including the immobilisation of the camera to reduce background noise,
making shot transitions and varied camera angles difficult to achieve. For Arnoux,
these technical shortcomings resulted in "extreme cinematic monotony, a clumsy
continuity and a static quality which brings us back directly to the theatre" (quoted
in Clair 1972: 128).

According to Altman (1980: 69–71), the fact that film sound actually issues
from a loudspeaker rather than from bodies or mouths on-screen produces inter-
nal tension and anxiety. Narrative film's fascination with pointing the camera at
the speaker (the classic shot/reverse shot sequence) and *seeing* speech embodied
by moving lips serves to mask its technological construction. The sight of moving
lips produces a "rerouting of the sound from apparatus to diegesis" (74), making
the voice appear to emanate from the character speaking on screen, not the loud-
speaker. A similar point is made by Chion (2009: 73–6) in his discussion of cinema
as a "vococentric" or "verbocentric" art in which close-ups and mouth-oriented
shots are prioritised. For Yampolskly, the "paradoxical power revealed by dubbing,"
points to "fundamental characteristics of film," namely that the "body in sound
film is always split" (Yampolsky 1993: 66; 72). The unnatural body/voice combi-
nations produced via interlingual dubbing and derided by Borges (2004[1945])
are "already contained in the very structure of sound film. Dubbing only leads the
alienation of the voice from the body to extremely paradoxical and therefore more
tangible forms" (Yampolsky 1993: 73). Indeed, Chion (1999: 127) suggests that
objections to the artifice of film sound techniques were not overcome by techno-
logical improvements but, rather, by processes of acclimatisation and compromise.
It was not that the unnatural sonic perspective offered by the loudspeaker was
resolved. Rather, this effect of sonic displacement gradually became an accepted

convention (131), smoothing over, rather than altering, the fact that "the recorded voice, which presupposes a certain depth, is in contradiction with the flatness of the two-dimensional image" (Doane 1985: 171).

Dubbing deconstructed

Nowhere is the crisis of authenticity heralded by film voices clearer than in sound engineer Lewin's paper on "Dubbing and Its Relation to Sound Picture Production" (1931), which aimed to "dispel the illusion which many people seem to have, that most sound pictures are full of artificial and faked effects" such as occurs when "foreign versions of domestic pictures are made by synchronizing foreign voices to the lip movements of the original version" (1931: 38). Ironically, Lewin's assurances about the authenticity of sound pictures achieve the opposite effect. After detailing the origin of the term "dubbing," Lewin advises against using it "loosely to describe any process whereby the original recording is modified in any way" (38). Foremost, he seeks to distance film sound engineering from the practice of voice doubling or vocal substitution parodied in *Singin'* which, he claims, only occurs in "foreign versions". In his haste to blame the "foreign" for practices well documented at the time in domestic contexts (see Ďurovičová 2003), Lewin indicates the extent to which anxieties surrounding the actor's voice – its aesthetic and technical suitability – culminated around issues of vocal subterfuge. As *Singin'* testifies, undisclosed voice doubling stood in for the artifice of the industry as a whole, signalling the outermost limit of the deception worked by the unnatural image/sound hybrid of the talkie.

It is interesting to pit Lewin's defence of dubbing against *Singin's* reconstruction of industry happenings at this time. Certainly the underhand Lina/Kathy voice antics mirror strategies employed for many a big-name star during the transition era including Richard Barthelmess in *Weary River* (Lloyd 1929) and Louise Brooks in *The Canary Murder Case* (St. Clair 1929) (Crafton 1999: 509–10; see Dwyer 2016).[5] Indeed, Natasa Ďurovičová (2003) notes that after 1930, a revoicing clause was written into the standard Hollywood studio contract, granting producers the right "to dub or use a 'double' in lieu of the artist." Lewin's disapproval of such measures also provides an accurate reflection of public sentiment at the time, with fans advocating on behalf of "authentic" voices from around 1930 onwards (Crafton 1999: 513). Notably, both *Singin'* and Lewin attest to the anxiety produced when

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5.   Advertising for *Weary River* claimed that audiences would hear Barthelmess "talking and playing for the first time," yet an off-camera singing double Johnny Murray was used instead, while Frank Churchill's piano playing was heard (Crafton 1999: 509–10). Writing for *Motion Picture Classic* in July 1929, George Kent Schuler noted how Barthelmess' mouth moved, but not his throat (509).

dubbing is deployed not as a strategy of translation but rather in same-language contexts. It is this unease, palpable in Lewin's defensive tone, that induced numerous early sound-era film stars to publish sworn statements and affidavits testifying to the authenticity of their vocal performances. Unable to accompany the national tour of her first talkie *The Trespasser* (Goulding 1929) and hence produce the live appearance required to authenticate her screen performance, Gloria Swanson went to the effort of providing reviewers with sworn testimony instead (see Ames 1997: 68), while Colleen Moore published a statement in *Photoplay* accompanying the release of *Smiling Irish Eyes* (Seiter 1929) and *Footlights and Fools* (Seiter 1929), that declared: "at no place in said talking pictures has a 'double' or substitute been used for my voice" (Crafton 1999: 512). Such measures indicate the extent to which intra-lingual voice doubling was rampant during the transition period.

For Lewin, if the film soundtrack includes the actual voices of the on-screen actors, then it remains authentic, despite its often highly constructed, manipulated nature. He admits, for instance, that with playback techniques so integral to the song-and-dance numbers of film musicals, "the sound is recorded first, without the picture, so that the singers may be placed in any way desired" (Lewin 1931: 47). Despite the illusion thus created "that both sound and action took place at the same time," Lewin insists that playback is "not a faking process, in the ordinary sense of the word, as the voices we hear are actually those of the people we see" (47). He continues, that the "only time voices are really faked is in the preparation of foreign versions," insisting that in domestic productions, "the old practice of using 'voice doubles'... has been completely abandoned" (48). For Lewin (43), "ordinary dubbing" is entirely reputable, and it is only when dubbing is used for "foreign versions" that it becomes phony or fake – a form of duplicitous "doubling" (38).

Here, Lewin (1931: 38) seeks to defend the practice of sound engineering against claims of artifice and manipulation by projecting this issue onto the inter-lingual. However, common sense suggests that dubbed "foreign versions" are not nearly as duplicitous as domestic voice doubling that serves no translational function and is more easily disguised via seamless lip-sync. Despite Lewin's repeated assurances to the contrary, his dissection of dubbing ultimately indicates how artifice lies at the very basis of film's sound/image constructions. Although he promises that the duplicitous potential of motion picture sound recording is only that – a now "abandoned" possibility – and one that he and his fellow sound engineers will not misuse, deploying it for good not evil, the damage appears already done. By describing in detail the manifold ways in which film sound recording technologies enable and even demand manipulation, artifice and the hazardous mix of synchronous, post-synchronous, direct and indirect recording, Lewin cannot help but underline the uncanny dimensions of film sound, despite his plea that cinemagoers put their faith in the authenticity of this illusion.

In contrast to Lewin, *Singin'* focuses on voice substitution and "fakery" as precisely a *domestic* concern, ignoring its inter-lingual ramifications. In domestic contexts, revoicing processes often go undisclosed as occurs initially with *Singin'*s Lina/Kathy meld and, more definitively, with star Debbie Reynolds. Countless other examples of such practices occur in Hollywood musicals, increasing significantly during the 1950s when *Singin'* was made. Even when openly acknowledged and credited, song ghosting in domestic contexts still provokes audience anxiety, as when Marnie Nixon dubbed Audrey Hepburn's singing in *My Fair Lady* (Cukor 1964), a decision that is thought to have cost Hepburn an Academy Award nomination (see Siefert 1995: 57; Smith 2003: 77). In contrast, when dubbing is deployed as a means of inter-lingual translation, the audience is generally in on the trick, fully aware that revoicing is involved. By focusing on the scandal of same-language dubbing, therefore, *Singin'* eschews Lewin's efforts to deflect attention away from the local towards the foreign, indicating that the destabilising ontological issues engendered by film sound are *always already* there.

Moreover, in *Singin'*, playback techniques deployed during song-and-dance numbers challenge its surface deconstruction of dubbing. For even as the narrative seeks to de-mystify dubbing through scenes that set out the various behind-the-scenes steps involved in this process (see Figure 3), *Singin'* fails to disclose its own extra-diegetic dependence upon vocal substitution, trick effects and miscreditation. Reynolds (Reynolds and Columbus 1988: 94) explains:

> In the picture, my character was supposed to dub the 'squeaky' voice of Jean's character while she sang. Jean's real voice, however, was lovely and she dubbed herself.
>   I sang 'You Are My Lucky Star' with Gene Kelly. But it was a very rangy song and done in his key. My part did not come out well, so my singing voice was dubbed in by Betty Royce after the picture was finished.[6]

On screen, we watch Kathy dubbing Lina. Behind the scenes, Hagen dubs Reynolds dubbing Hagan. Moreover, in other scenes, song ghosting occurs. Betty Royce, whose name does not appear in the credits, provides the melodious singing voice for Reynolds in the "You Are My Lucky Star" duet with Kelly and possibly in other songs throughout the film such as "Would You." As Clover (1995: 725) discusses, accounts vary considerably as to the specifics of who dubs who within this film, and in which sections. Although Reynolds and Hugh Fordin (1984: 358) credit *Royce* as ghost singer, Rudy Behlmer (1982: 267) credits a Betty *Noyes* instead. For Clover

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6.   Co-director Stanley Donen (quoted in Fordin 1984: 358) confirms Reynolds account of these revoicings: "We used Jean Hagen dubbing Debbie dubbing Jean... Jean's voice is quite remarkable, and it was supposed to be cultured speech – and Debbie had that terrible western noise."

Figure 3. Behind-the-scenes dubbing processes in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), © MGM

(1995: 725; 743–4) such discrepancies point to larger issues lurking beneath the surface of voice doubling: labour, credit, copyright, appropriation and exploitation. Ghost singers like Royce/Noyes are often written out of the picture to such a degree that even when subject to revisionist rescue, their "proper" names remain obscured. In this way, *Singin'* subverts its own message of resolution. Behind-the-scenes, it maintains exactly the deception that is exposed and ultimately "put right" in the narrative. Read in conjunction, these on-screen/off-screen dynamics provide a forceful demonstration of the deconstructive dynamic brought into play via dubbing

Sounding foreign

So far, I have demonstrated how practices now primarily associated with foreign-language translation cannot be disentangled from techniques and technologies fundamental to audiovisual media in general. Indeed, translation requirements and methods do not constitute an aside to the main business of screen production and reception. They are central and formative, and have been since cinema's inception. In this section, I turn attention towards the specifics of language difference and conversion during the transition period. Specifically, I examine how the wide-scale adoption of sound served to highlight issues of language transfer and conversion, providing them with new urgency, and how the inter-lingual pushes to the limit the pitfalls and possibilities of sound.

During the transition, cinema's newly developing relationship to sound had dramatic consequences for many in the industry, particularly silent stars like *Singin'*'s Lina Lamont who found themselves betrayed by the grain, tone, pitch, regionalism or class-inflection of their voice. Such trials were minimal, however, in comparison to those of foreign actors, whose accented voices could not help but bring audiences

face-to-face with inter-lingual difference. Whereas Norma Talmadge's voice might have proved unsuited to her screen persona (Fox 1972: 35) and audiences may have found Gilbert's vocal delivery jarring at times, such obstacles were not necessarily insurmountable, as indicated by the prevalence of elocution coaches and the like in Hollywood during this period (again, parodied in *Singin'*). The situation was very different for the numerous foreign stars that "frequently moved from one country to another to make their films" during the early and mid-1920s (Higson 2010: 71). If foreign actors did manage to remain in Hollywood instead of returning to their home countries, they were normally relegated to secondary characters and bit parts (see Lunde 2004: 30–31). While there were exceptions, such as Garbo, many foreign stars including Vilma Banky, Karl Dane and Pola Negri proved unable to successfully survive the industry's transition to sound (see Fox 1972: 39; Lunde 2004: 24–32).

Rather than offering a sense of unified wholeness, the audibility of on-screen actors' voices served to expose the many boundaries and divisions marked by language. Additionally, accents and turns-of-phrase tended to nullify the universality and timelessness of a film. As the talkies soon demonstrated, sound served to fortify if not construct outright definitive geographic and temporal borders, firmly locating narratives in precise locales, just as voices became anchored to singular bodies and *vice versa*. Such boundaries produced a new set of problems for early sound cinema whilst further cementing the industry's reliance upon techniques of translation. The issue of accents was particularly complicated. Although they often ruled out foreign stars for particular parts, accents could also be approached carefully and creatively to illustrate the colourful potential of sound, almost becoming a commodity (Lunde 2004; Rossholm 2006: 62,140). Conventions arose as to the use of accents as symbol or shorthand for ethnic diversity. Rather than having characters speaking in foreign languages, as occurred in polyglot productions, actors with accents could symbolise the presence of the foreign without actually rendering it linguistically (Rossholm 2006: 139).

One new area of production that *was* open to foreign stars was the foreign language remake or Multiple Language Version (MLV), which became the dominant strategy of language transfer from 1929 to 1933, dominating European and US imports and exports. Production declined dramatically after 1933, although MLVs continued to be made sporadically throughout subsequent eras and remained popular in certain countries including Germany until the late 1930s (Ďurovičová 1992: 139, 150; Garncarz 1999; Vincendeau 1988: 29, 33). MLVs differed considerably from most remake productions in that they were made simultaneously with the native language version and often in a number of different languages at once, usually anywhere from three to fourteen (Ďurovičová 1992: 143). While dubbing experiments and innovations continued throughout these years, MLVs proved the most successful strategy for popular cinema, despite being regarded as a freak or

failed experiment by many film historians (139). The MLV presents a particularly important milestone in the historical trajectory of language transfer in the cinema and directly relates to dubbing developments. A little-acknowledged fact in MLV research is the extent to which these films sometimes incorporated post-synchronised dubbing, as Higson's (2010) research on *Melodie des Herzens* (Schwarz 1929) reveals. Understanding the MLV as an attempt both to transcend the very need for translation by preserving a sense of "original" voice/body unity and, *concurrently*, to extend dubbing to its outermost limits – dubbing the entire body of the actor – provides a vital key to understanding screen translation developments.

It is interesting that just as the indispensability of translation to the film industry as a whole was heightened via the wide-scale adoption of post-synchronised sound and speech, the MLV format surfaced to rekindle the ever-present dream of "non-translation" (see Sallis 2002). In many respects, MLVs seek to do away altogether with translation by producing multiple originals (though, ironically, the primary charge against them was precisely their *lack* of originality and production-line feel). Although innovators had been experimenting with sound and post-synchronisation since the cinema's beginnings, for a period during the transition era both revoicing and titling appeared increasingly problematic as forms of inter-lingual translation, enabling MLVs to rise to prominence in their place. While subtitles appeared at odds with the promotion of cinema as a complete sensory experience, serving to highlight rather than minimise linguistic limitations, the level of anxiety produced by synchronisation technologies underpinning *all* sound film was greatly exacerbated by inter-lingual dubbing. Hence, the MLVs bypassing of conventional dubbing and subtitling methods needs to be understood as a response to the crisis of authenticity brought about by sound recording technologies as much as language difference.

MLVs were not simply made using translated scripts. Rather, different language versions were localised in numerous ways, changing dialogue as well as storylines, locations and music, for instance, in order to maximise appeal to different language audiences. Ginette Vincendeau (1988: 35) notes that discrepancies in scene lengths and treatment were commonplace, and Joseph Garncarz (1999: 261–2) discovers that storylines and endings in particular were subject to change. MLVs both rehearsed earlier modes of adaptation prevalent in the silent era when inter-title translation often involved story alteration (Vasey 1997: 64) and played a role in dubbing developments. By dubbing the body as well as the voice (Vincendeau 1988: 34), MLVs drew attention to language *context* as well as *content*, prefiguring the strategies of localisation so important to the "star dubbing" phenomenon common to animated features (McNamara 2005). Interestingly however, despite the care taken to eliminate synchronisation discrepancies and minimise inter-cultural disjunction, MLVs were beleaguered by language and cultural mismatch. Additionally, they

tended to be plagued by stilted dialogue and acting, as with *Melodie des Herzens* (see Wahl 2007: 14). Others were compromised by a lack of cultural synchrony, as with Paramount's *Vi Två* (Brunius 1930), the Swedish-language version of *The Lady Lies* (Henley 1929). Retaining a US setting, this MLV featured Swedish actors playing decidedly non-Swedish types with American mannerisms (Ďurovičová 1992: 146). As Durovicová notes, the paradoxical effect is that the American-ness of the film becomes "slightly perverse, odder and finally more noticeably alien, counteracting the entire effort of the FLV [foreign language version] enterprise" (147).

In some parts of Europe, cultural tensions added further complexity to issues of translation. In linguistically-diverse territories like Poland and Czechoslovakia, for instance, where German was widely understood, audiences demonstrated forcibly against German-language sound films and German subtitling (Garncarz 1999: 255; Vincendeau 1988: 28n7). As a result, many German and Austrian sound films were shown as silents with Polish or Czech intertitles or, alternatively, in French-language versions with Polish or Czech subtitles (Ďurovičová 1992: 264n25; Garncarz 1999: 254; Skaff 2008: 130–1). Consequently, this period is characterised by innovative and diverse approaches to language difference, including MLVs, polyglots, live translation and dubbing experimentation. The MLV needs to be contextualized within this heterogeneous field of translation exploration, as it often borrowed from and overlapped with other forms and strategies. In part, the MLV's success was due to this very heterogeneity, reflecting the fact that sound film and translation conventions were not yet firmly established (see Williams 1999: 238; Chion 1999: 131). With film yet to enter its classical period, rules governing off-screen space and sounds, shot-reverse-shot alterations and various suturing effects remained fluid and audiences often found image/sound combinations unnatural and disconcerting. In translation, disjunction was felt all the more keenly becoming doubly audible and all too visible. In this way, inter-lingual language issues serve to amplify pre-existent cracks within sound/image sync. As *Singin'* highlights, dubbing brought to the surface sound's potential for manipulation, distortion and deceit.

MLVs were complemented by a variety of other strategies of translation and adaptation. On the other end of the spectrum were polyglots, films that accentuate language difference by incorporating a variety of languages into their dialogue and setting. *Allo Berlin? Ici Paris! / Hallo Hello! Hier Spricht Berlin!* (Duvivier 1932) incorporates both French and German dialogue and was released in both markets without the aid of subtitles (Garncarz 1999: 256; Vincendeau 1988: 27). The plot concerns a love story between telephonists in Berlin and Paris, who must both struggle to be understood in one another's tongue. In this instance, the film's diegesis eliminates the need for translation, as language difference is present in the narrative. Both polyglots and MLVs at times incorporated a range of additional

translation strategies from subtitling to experimental dubbing techniques like the Rhythmograph and Vivigraph methods (Ďurovičová 2003; Wahl 2007: 13). The Rhythmograph method imparted dubbing with a new degree of mechanisation by segregating speech into phonetic parts whereas the Vivigraph strategy saw actors mouthing words in foreign languages that were later dubbed by native speakers in an effort to achieve greater lip-sync accuracy. Interestingly, "Optical Versions" appear to have combined elements of both, and were touted as an MLV variant. Producer Erich Pommer at UFA's Babelsberg Studios had his actors "learn their lines phonetically for every single foreign language version" of *Melodie des Herzens*, assisted by stopwatches and metronomes, before having their performances dubbed (Wahl 2007: 12–13) (see Figure 4). Hence, the need to approach the MLV not simply as anomalous experiment but as an integrated component of a heterogeneous response to language transfer that, as a whole, testifies to the drama of the early sound era's encounter with the inter-lingual.

Figure 4. Dita Parlo and Willy Fritz in *Melodie des Herzens* (1929), © UFA

The later demise of MLVs occurred in response to a variety of complex, much debated factors, with economics often presumed to be the primary consideration. Douglas Gomery (1985: 27) argues that their profitability was challenged by the reduced costs and improved technologies of dubbing (see also, Ďurovičová 1992: 261n2). However, according to Garncarz (1999: 259) and Chion (1999: 131), people's attitudes to dubbing have changed more over the years than dubbing technologies themselves. Garncarz (1999: 268) views dubbing and subtitling as acquired tastes developed through processes of habituation, arguing that in the shift towards globalisation, national cultures and sensibilities have grown more uniform, paving the way for the re-establishment of an international star system. The economics of MLV production altered in response to changes in cultural attitudes, with audiences no longer seeming to require such levels of cultural customisation and local differentiation.

Conclusion

From the silent era onwards, language – whether written, spoken or translated – has played a primary role in constructing and circulating screen experiences. This primacy is epitomized by the fact that even silent films were subject to myriad forms of translation including inter-titles, live interpretation and behind-the-screen dubbing. Translation and localisation practices have underwritten screen media's transnational distribution and enabled it to adapt to diverse audiences. These processes have also indelibly shaped film production (see Vasey 1997: 54–64; O'Brien 2005: 52). The anxieties traced by early film commentators, scholars, fans and industry personnel around re/voicing can be attributed not to the sudden audibility of language, as *Singin'* claims, but rather to a jolting encounter with the *centrality* of language difference and linguistic mediation to film production, distribution and reception. Subtitling, dubbing and alternative modes of screen translation inevitably instil awareness of language variability and consequently, of film's mutability. Inter-lingual translation processes bring screen audiences face to face with the foreignness of their *own* language – with its limits, irreducible specificity *and* transferability. Additionally, as scholars like Yampolsky (1993) and Chion (1999; 2009) argue, the historic devaluation of screen translation was as much a response to the disquieting effects of new technologies as any encounter with the inter-lingual. Subtitling and dubbing unsettled audiences by drawing attention to the artifice of cinematic fabrication itself, demonstrating the tenuousness of its illusionary unification of the senses. Such an effect is only exaggerated when interlingual translation methods fail and err. As analysis of *Singin'* demonstrates, the voice/language issues engendered by dubbing are actually internal to screen technologies and modes of address. Even same-language systems of live and recorded synchronization cannot be entirely removed from the implications of the inter-lingual.

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CHAPTER 2

When the *Thief of Bagdad*
tried to steal the show

The short-lived dubbing of Hollywood films
into Arabic in the 1940s

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Between 1946 and 1951, U.S. distributors began dubbing a small number of films in Arabic for the North African and Middle Eastern markets. This experiment seems to have been motivated by an economic interest to penetrate those foreign markets and also in response to rising nationalism. Two models of dubbed versions existed at the time: the colonially-imposed French versions and the economically-motivated Persian versions. Battling against the former, and taking inspiration from the latter, U.S. distributors found themselves facing insurmountable political difficulties and eventually abandoned the practice of dubbing in Arabic. This case study foregrounds dubbing as a specific distribution strategy and highlights the political dimensions of this practice.

Keywords: dubbing, film distribution, Hollywood, Arab world, Iran, film industry, film policy, legislations, colonialism, Arab nationalism

Significant scholarly attention has been given to the linguistic and aesthetic challenges posed by dubbing. Only rarely, however, has this practice been considered from an economic perspective. Film distributors, whose decisions about whether to dub or subtitle a project are motivated primarily by commercial viability, tend to take into account various factors including:

– potential market – whether the territory is large enough to justify the expense of dubbing;
– linguistic consistency – whether there is one common language over a large territory, be it a region or a number of countries around the world;
– regulatory environment – whether there is legislation which regulates the language in which films are allowed to circulate in a given territory.

In order to properly understand why a distributor might choose to dub a film then, it is important to take account of elements such as the financial status and priorities of the company, the context in which the film will be distributed, including the demographics and culture of the local population, and the political aims of the local government. The complex nature of these decisions is more clearly brought to light in regions characterised by linguistic diversity, such as was the case in North Africa and the Middle East between the 1930s and the 1950s.

During the period of colonial rule, the demography of the region was extremely diverse. In North Africa, for example, in addition to the local Arabic population, there was a mix of French colonial elite, as well as Spanish, Italian and Maltese immigrants (Chevalier 1947: 22–24). Thus it was important for distributors to devise strategies that would enable films to reach these linguistically diverse populations. Very early on, a paradox emerged. In its entry on Morocco, *The 1938 Film Daily Yearbook of Motion Pictures* notes that "The predominant language of the country is Arabic, but there has been no attempt to dub films in that language which would present considerable difficulty." Within a decade, however, a number of films had indeed been dubbed in Arabic, including *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* (W. Disney, 1937), *The Thief of Bagdad* (L. Berger, M. Powell, T. Whelan, 1940) and *Samson and Delilah* (C.B. DeMille, 1949). This apparently proved challenging from economic, linguistic, technical and political perspectives and by the early 1950s, U.S. distributors decided to abandon this strategy. This early failed attempt constitutes an instructive case study for examining the economic, political and cultural factors that lead to the adoption or the rejection of dubbing.

Researching dubbing practices in North Africa and the Middle East during the colonial era poses quite a challenge for the film historian. Few articles have mentioned the issue (Vitalis 2000; Gamal 2009) although some references exist on the non-Arabic speaking nation of Iran (Issari 1989; Naficy 2011). This paper is thus based mainly on primary sources: the archives of the U.S. State Department (NARA), the French diplomatic archives in Nantes, and various motion picture directories and almanacs. Due to the lack of oral history sources and memoirs, a macro-historical perspective has been adopted. Issues such as the identity and challenges of translators, or the detailed reception by the audience (Munday 2014) are outside the scope of the current paper. What the case study does show is the "linguiscape" – or linguistic landscape – in which Hollywood films circulated between the late 1930s and early 1950s in North Africa and the Middle East. It explores the different linguistic strategies used by distributors in this area of the world and gives particular attention to two versions of dubbing which circulated at the time: French and Persian. In conclusion, it identifies and analyses the reasons for the eventual demise of the Arabic-dubbing distribution strategy.

Mapping dubbing and subtitling in 1930s-1950s Arabic-Speaking Countries

Country	Film version distributed
Aden	Original versions without translation. Some films subtitled in French
Algeria	French-dubbed versions
Egypt	Side screens with texts in French, Greek, Italian and Arabic
	After 1946, Arabic subtitles compulsory on the film print
Iraq	1934: Presence of Arabic translation made compulsory by the Mayor of Baghdad
	Side screen with Arabic translation of the spoken text, provided by the exhibitors
	1952: Arabic and French subtitles
Jordan	Arabic subtitles
	Egyptian films subtitled in English and French
Lebanon	1931: French-dubbed versions imposed by the French authorities
	1938: By law, films not dubbed must have French and Arabic subtitles.
	1939: By law, films not dubbed must have French subtitles.
	1947: Subtitles in Arabic made compulsory by a decree of the Interior Ministry of the newly independent state
	Late 1940s: Films subtitled both in French and Arabic on the same print; Italian and other non-French films subtitled in French
Morocco	Spanish Morocco: Spanish-dubbed versions
	Tangier: Some U.S. films subtitled in French or Spanish; most dubbed in French or Spanish.
	French Morocco: French-dubbed versions
Palestine	Side screens with dialogues in Hebrew and Arabic
Tunisia	French-dubbed versions
Syria	1931: French-dubbed versions imposed by the French authorities
	1938: By law, films not dubbed must have French and Arabic subtitles.
	1939: By law, films not dubbed must have French subtitles.
	1943: French-dubbed films no longer popular; all U.S. films shown with French superimposed subtitles
	1947: Arabic subtitles required by law

Figure 1. Language of distribution of U.S. films in Arab-Speaking Countries in the 1940s[1]

The table presents the versions in which U.S. films were distributed in Arabic-Speaking Countries in North Africa and the Middle East in the 1940s. When translation is provided, it can take the form of subtitling, dubbing, or side-screens. As the information is compiled from a large number of sources (film almanac, diplomatic correspondence), it is more detailed for certain countries. When dates of specific decisions and legislations were found, they are given in the table. Countries are presented in alphabetical order.

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1. Sources: Thompson 2010, 187; "Egypt," Pascal 1947; "Iraq," *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*; "Jordanie," Pascal 1952; Thompson 2000: 201; "Lebanon" *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*; "Lebanon," *The 1939 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*;

Figure 1 offers an overview of the different linguistic strategies adopted by U.S. distributors in Arab-speaking countries from the late 1930s to the early 1950s. The first feature to stand out is the very diversity of strategies, from French dubbed versions, to translations on side-screens, to subtitles on film prints. It is also apparent that two different spaces co-existed: "dubbing countries" (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia; Lebanon and Syria in the 1930s) and "non-dubbing countries", which relied on written translations (Aden, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine; Lebanon and Syria after 1946). This difference in translation strategies can be correlated with the colonial map of the time. Following the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement, France and Great Britain were officially given authority over the Middle East. Lebanon and Syria came into the hands of France, while Iraq, Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Egypt came to be dominated by Great Britain. These two colonial zones each had different dominant languages and accordingly two different distribution strategies were employed.

The British area of influence corresponded to the "non-dubbing countries." The language of Hollywood films was already the language of the colonizer and the elite. Dubbing was thus deemed unnecessary, but a solution nevertheless had to be found to accommodate the large variety of populations present in these territories at the time. Egypt, although under British rule, had a large French and Italian-speaking population (Gamal 2009: 2).[2] Up until the mid-1940s, "side-screens with text in French, Greek, Italian and Arabic" were considered the most effective strategy to cater to audiences of British and French origin and also to "Arabic-speaking elites and Levantines (Italian, Greek, Jewish)" (Thompson 2010: 187). In late 1930s Palestine, the diversity of languages spoken led to the adoption of a similar strategy. Although the official languages were British, Arabic and Hebrew, many Jews immigrating from Europe spoke none of these languages.[3] By 1950, side-screens could hold translations in a large number of languages, such as Hebrew, Romanian, Yiddish, French, German, Bulgarian, and Polish (Sadoul 1962: 493). Side-screen

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"Liban," Unesco 1949; "Liban," Pascal 1952; "Morocco," *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*; "Palestine," *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*; "Syria," *The 1936 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*; American Consulate Aden to DOS, July 2, 1943, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Arabia, 890b.4061, box 5796; Iraq to DOS, July 19, 1934, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Mesopotamia, 890g.4061, T1180, roll9; AmEmbassy Baghdad to DOS, June 26, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iraq, 887.452, box 5476; James T. Scott, "Motion Pictures (Syria and the Lebanon)," April 14, 1943, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Lebanon, 890e.4061, T1178, roll5; AmLegationDamascus to State, April 21, 1947, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 890d.4061, box 7199; Tunis to DOS, January 22, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

2. "Egypt," *The 1939 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*.

3. "Palestine," *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*.

translations thus provided a practical solution, enabling distributors to preserve the dominance of the English language whilst accommodating written translation in more than one language. The technical and linguistic aspect of translation was left up to local exhibitors.

On the other hand, in countries where the colonial language was not English, dubbing tended to be the preferred distribution strategy. A case in point is Morocco. The 1912 Treaty of Fez divided the country into three areas of influence: the port of Tangier, presiding over the Strait of Gibraltar, was given an international status, while North Morocco became a Spanish protectorate and South Morocco a French protectorate. As can be seen in Figure 1, U.S. films were released dubbed in Spanish in the territories under Spanish domination. In French-dominated territories, they were shown in French-dubbed versions. In the international zone, films were dubbed in either Spanish or French. The use of French- and Spanish-dubbed versions can be linked to the distribution circuit of the time. Recognizing the strong presence of French and Spanish speakers, U.S. film distributors serviced Morocco through their "film agencies located in either Spain or France."[4] For example, Spanish-language films for Tangier were obtained from Seville.[5] Prints for French Morocco could be obtained from France, Algeria and Belgium.[6] U.S. distributors thus clearly based their linguistic strategy and print circuits on the colonial map. The presence of French-dubbed versions was visible in all of the Gallic-dominated territories: the three French Departments in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon and Syria. French-dubbed versions were indeed a significant aspect of colonization.

The language of the colonizer: French-dubbed U.S. films

While most of the population of Syria and Algeria spoke Arabic, and the situation was similar in Morocco, it has nevertheless been noted that "French (was) the language of the talking films."[7] The colonial language functioned as a hierarchical marker. Mastering the language of the colonizer signified being part of the elite. It thus became a sign of status to watch French-language films at the cinema (original

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4. "Morocco," *The 1938 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*.

5. Amlegation Tangier to SecState, June 6, 1944, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Morocco, 881.4061, box 5766.

6. Amlegation Casablanca to DOS, December 28, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Morocco, 871.452, box 5354.

7. "Syria," *The 1936 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures*. AmConGen Algiers to DOS, July 24, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country Files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 5008.

or dubbed). In 1937 Tunisia, young female bourgeois Tunisians showed off in cinemas by discussing Charles Boyer and Greta Garbo in a mix of Arabic and French (Corriou 2011: 261). Furthermore, French-language films and films in other languages were not present in the same social spaces. While French films and big-budget French-dubbed films were released in luxury first-run theatres to a distinguished audience, films in other languages were relegated to second- and third-run theatres. In 1950s Fes, elite spectators were offered A-films in French versions at the Empire, a spacious and comfortable theatre equipped with a large screen and Todd-AO screen format, while Italian-language films were released in the Arc-En-Ciel, a smaller cinema dedicated to Spanish and Italian audiences. Arabic-only-speakers were offered Egyptian films in small third-run theatres situated near or in the medina, such as the Apollo or the Boujeloud (Grouix, Haloui, and Rivet 2013: 41, 47).

The determination of the French government to impose its language on the colonies was also visible in the legislations adopted in the 1930s and 1940s. A 1932 decree set up a quota on the importation of French-dubbed films and made it mandatory that the dubbing take place in France (Cornu 2014: 57–59). In mainland France, the key issue was protection of the national film industry, while in the colonies, emphasis was on the dissemination of the French language. As Thompson notes "[i]n 1931, seeking protection against U.S. competition, Paris ordered French film distributors to market only French-language films in the colonies and asked U.S. companies to dub their films into French" (Thompson 2000: 201). These measures included North Africa as well as Syria and Lebanon. French-dubbed U.S. films were consequently present in all types of cinema. Besides the A-list films released in first-run theatres, a swarm of B-movies, from Laurel and Hardy to Tarzan films, were also released in French-dubbed versions in second- and third-run cinemas. This provided a platform for French language to spread to all film spaces, from the exclusively French-language first run cinemas to the smaller mixed-language third-run cinemas. As Danan has noted, "Within France and in its African colonies, no other language was allowed to compete with French, a supposedly superior *universal* language" (Danan 1991: 612).

English was not the only targeted competing language. In Tunisia, the French administration was in fact less preoccupied by U.S. films than by Italian and Egyptian films. Following the Blum-Byrnes agreements, the French General Resident in Tunis decreed that distribution visas for Tunisia could only be delivered to "French-language films, or to films dubbed or subtitled in that language, and to Arabic-language films dubbed or subtitled in French."[8] Corriou notes that this

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8. Arrêté du 31 décembre 1946 portant réglementation de l'industrie cinématographique en Tunisie, article 8, quoted in Corriou 2011: 648. All translations from sources in French are my own.

measure "primarily affect(ed) Italian- and Arabic-speaking audiences in a country where English was hardly spoken (including by British citizens who originated mostly from Malta)" (Corriou 2011: 371).

French-dubbed U.S. films thus found themselves enmeshed in the colonial linguistic agenda. They came to be used by the French authorities as a Trojan horse for acculturation. When Vichy France decreed the ban of all U.S. films in 1942, the General Resident in Morocco wrote a letter of protest to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, arguing that the presence of U.S. B-movies was vital to the French agenda: (a) by watching dubbed films, the local population was "imperceptibly" taught the French language, (b) U.S. films attracted local population into cinemas, where they would be shown French propaganda news. The Resident thus emphasized:

> The American cinema itself constitutes an element of national propaganda, as, more often than not, the Natives believe the films to be French, and, as they enjoy them, they are grateful to us, and attend more often to see new programmes where the same images and atmosphere are repeated, which binds them to us.[9]

The first language of dubbing in North Africa and the Middle East was thus a language imposed by a colonizing country. By 1952, French authorities had managed to promulgate the idea amongst local populations that the French language was superior. This is evidenced in a U.S. diplomatic telegram from the period, which states that "Versions 'dubbed' in French are considered 'normal' to Algerians as they do not normally like originals in a foreign language."[10] The case of French-dubbed versions thus demonstrates the potential for dubbing to be used as an ideological tool, but also the extent to which the acceptability of dubbing in a given language is constructed. Given the complete acceptance of French-dubbed versions in the French speaking territories, and the seamless inclusion of these territories in their distribution circuit, the question arises as to why the U.S. majors ever contemplated introducing Arabic-dubbed versions.

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9. French Residency in Morocco to Ministère des Affaires étrangères, September 19, 1942, Nantes diplomatic archives, Morocco, 1 MA/200/187, 1942–1949.

10. AmConGen Algiers to DOS, July 24, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 5008.

Dubbing into Arabic: An effort to expand Hollywood's market

U.S. distributors at the time were very much aware of the significance of language to the successful distribution of films, pointing out that "[b]oth French and Egyptian films (…) ha[d] a special linguistic advantage over American films",[11] and that "American films are generally well received provided they are dubbed in the French language."[12] One can trace discussion on dubbing into Arabic as far back as 1938.[13] By the mid-1940s, U.S. distributors were seriously considering the "exhibition potential of films made or processed in the Arabic language."[14] By the early 1950s, the issue of whether there were "objections to dubbing" had become point 1c of the standard form in the annual and semi-annual film market diplomatic report to the State Department.[15]

One factor that may have increased U.S. distributors' interest in Arabic dubbing is the emergence of nationalist discourses and policies in the region. Although Egypt had been officially independent since 1922, it remained under British influence and, by the late 1930s, a strong nationalist movement had developed. In 1937, as the country regained its economic independence, it put an end to preferential treatment for British companies, and imposed quotas of Egyptian personnel in companies such as the Suez Canal. King Farouk, who came to the throne in 1938, was a clear supporter of Pan-Arabism (Cloarec and Laurens 2003: 52, 73, 64). In this pro-Arab anti-colonial context, two circulars – dated April 1939 and 1940 – made it compulsory to insert Arabic subtitles on film prints.[16] Arab nationalists, who had resented the silencing of their language by European colonizers, thus began to consider film as a potential means of re-establishing their pride and sovereignty. The war delayed implementation of this initiative, however, and the presence of Arabic subtitles did not become law until June 15, 1946 (Pascal 1947: 18). Egypt

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11. AmLegation Beirut to DOS, March 19, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Lebanon, 883a.452, box 5448.

12. "Syria," *The 1938 Film Daily Yearbook.*

13. This first reference was found in the Mesopotamia entry of *The* 1938 *Film Daily Yearbook*

14. Letter from de Wolf to Milliken, August 17, 1944, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.406, box 5781.

15. AmConGen Algiers to DOS, July 24, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 5008. Amman to DOS, February 27, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Jordan, 885.452, box 5466.

16. DOS to AmLegation Cairo, May 19, 1940, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 5781. AmLegation Cairo to SecState, May 26, 1945, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

was not the only Middle Eastern country to make Arabic subtitles compulsory. In Iraq, a similar requirement was decreed in late 1939.[17] The country, which had gained independence in 1932, and was aiming to become the leader of the Arab world, had been the breeding-ground for the theory of the Arab nation since the 1920s. For thinker Sati' al-Husri the Arabic language was to be a key factor of unity (Cloarec and Laurens 2003: 77, 62). Syria and Lebanon were also influenced by the development of pan-Arabian discourses. In 1947, shortly after gaining independence, the two countries made Arabic subtitles compulsory.[18]

At first, U.S. distributors in the region strongly opposed these decrees, in all likelihood for economic reasons. The use of side-screens had offered two main advantages for U.S. distributors: the same English-language film print could circulate in a variety of countries, and the local translation was the responsibility of exhibitors. Adding Arabic subtitles to the print meant that the operation would now be the responsibility of the distributors and that the subtitled prints could circulate only in Arabic-speaking territories. Such considerations probably explain the flat refusal by U.S. distributors to the demands of Iraqi authorities. In 1939, Mr Lee, the local representative of MGM, pointed out the high cost of subtitling for such a small market before threatening to withdraw U.S. films completely.[19]

In Egypt, the U.S. majors negotiated with the Censorship office and in 1940 managed to obtain the postponement of the measure until three months after the end of the war.[20] In 1945, they once again negotiated a postponement until 9 months after the termination of the war in the Pacific.[21] By the late 1940s, however, U.S. distributors were obliged to comply with these decrees. Subtitles in Arabic were thus superimposed on the film prints for the Egyptian market, and these prints then circulated throughout the Middle East, whether legislations were in place or not.[22]

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17. Legation of the USA Baghdad to SecState, November 29, 1939, NARA, RG 59, RG 59, Country files, Mesopotamia, 890g.4061, T1180, roll9.

18. "Liban," Unesco, 191. DOS to AmLegation Damascus, April 21, 1947, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 890d.4061, box 7199.

19. Legation of the USA Baghdad to SecState, November 29, 1939, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Mesopotamia, 890g. 4061, T1180, roll9.

20. Letter from de Wolf to Milliken, May 25, 1945, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156. AmLegation Cairo to SexState, May 26, 1945, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

21. Letter from de Wolf to Milliken, June 7, 1945, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

22. AmLegation Beirut to DOS, March 19, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Lebanon, 883a.452, box 5448.

Subtitling proved quite unsatisfactory, however, when it came to conquering the heart of local audiences. Reports mention the poor linguistic and technical quality of subtitles, which put audiences off.[23] One diplomat notes: "The subtitles now being used are added in Egypt or Beirut and are described as difficult to read, grammatically inaccurate, and too fragmentary. If it were possible to dub films, it would of course be much preferred."[24] Another issue was the audience's inability to read subtitles. Illiteracy repeatedly appears as an obstacle to the development of the market from Aden to Egypt (Kamalipour and Mowlana 1994: 68).[25] Whilst literacy rates in 1952 Baghdad were 80%, for instance, just 10 to 15% of the adult population throughout the rest of Iraq were considered literate at that time.[26]

Paradoxically, the legal requirement regarding subtitles seems to have attracted U.S. distributors' attention to the market and its large Arab-speaking audience. Even if subtitles were improved, a large portion of the potential market was being left out. In territories influenced by France, French-dubbed versions also proved of limited value when it came to expanding the market to locals patronizing second- and third-rate theatres. The only U.S. movies released in these theatres were cheap adventure films, since most of the local population did not master enough French to understand complex dialogues.[27] In order to expand their market, the U.S. distributors thus needed to make different movies accessible to the large Arabic-speaking audience.

This proved all the more important as the local audience was being wooed at the time by the rising of Egyptian cinema. Triggered by the creation of Misr Studio in 1935, Egyptian cinema had spread over Arab countries during World War II and, by the end of the war, Egyptian films were supplanting Western films (Sadoul 1962: 486–87). In Iraq, U.S. and British films had featured on two thirds of the country's screens before the war. By 1946, Egyptian cinema dominated. *The 1946–47 Middle East Motion Pictures Almanac* noted that "[e]xcept in Baghdad where three cinemas show American and British films, the rest of the country never sees European productions with the exception of serials which form the first part of

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23. "Lebanon", U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of International Trade, World Trade commodities, August 1949.

24. AmLegation Damascus to DOS, May, 8, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439.

25. Timberlake, Clare H., 'Motion picture', Aden, July 2, 1943, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Arabia, 890b.4061, box 5796. "Digest of International Development – Iraq," Department of Commerce, September 1949.

26. AmEmbassy Baghdad to DOS, June 26, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iraq, 887.452, box 5489.

27. French Residency in Morocco to Ministère des Affaires étrangères, September 19, 1942, Nantes diplomatic archives, Morocco, 1 MA/200/187 (1942–1949)

the village cinema programme" (Pascal 1947: 51). In 1951, 60% of Iraqi spectators attended Egyptian films, and just 35% attended U.S. films (Pascal 1952: 259). The link between language and genre is clear. Non-Egyptian films featured limited dialogue and ample action to attract Arabic spectators, whereas Egyptian films of any genre were immediately accessible – and well-received (Pascal 1947: 51–52). The success of Egyptian cinema extended to Jordan and Lebanon, as well as to North Africa ("Liban," Pascal 1952).[28] Arabic-language soundtracks had thus become a trade asset for the Egyptian cinema and, simultaneously, a trade barrier for U.S. distributors (Vitalis 2000: 276). With the large potential market in mind, "[t]rade circles believe[d] that dubbing in Arabic (would) be highly successful and render United States films competitive with Egyptian films."[29]

Between 1946 and 1951, the U.S. majors thus dubbed a number of films into Arabic, as can be seen in Figure 2 below.[30]

Arabian Nights (J. Rawlins, 1942, United States, Universal)

Caravan (A. Crabtree, 1946, Great Britain, Gainsborough Pictures)

Jungle Book (Z. Korda, 1942, Great Britain/United States, Alexander Korda Films, distributed by United Artists)

Samson and Delilah (C. B. DeMille, 1949, United States, Paramount)

Sinbad, the Sailor (R. Wallace, 1947, United States, RKO)

Snow White and the Seven Dwarves (W. Cottrell, D. Hand, 1937, United State, Walt Disney, distributed by RKO)

The Thief of Bagdad (L. Berger, M. Powell, T. Whelan, 1940, Great Britain, Alexander Korda Films, distributed by United Artists)

Figure 2. Hollywood-distributed English-language films that were dubbed into Arabic (1946–1951)[31]

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28. Amman to DOS, February 27, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Jordan, 885.452, box 5466.

29. Beirut to DOS, May 8, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Lebanon, 883a.452, box 5448.

30. Archival sources show that at least seven films were dubbed in Arabic. The list indicates the director, year of production, nationality, production company and, when different, distribution company. While all were distributed by U.S. companies, some were British. Films are classified in alphabetical order since there is no specific indication about their date of release in the Middle East and North Africa.

31. Sources: Rachty and Sabat 1981: 17; Zeind 2013; AmConGen Algiers to DOS, May 19, 1960, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 2570; AmLegation Damascus to DOS, August 15, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439; AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 2, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156; Damascus to DOS, May, 8, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439; Foreign Service Tunis to DOS, February 21, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

Interestingly, the film quoted as the ground-breaking experiment was a Hollywood-distributed British production, *The Thief of Bagdad*. As Figure 2 shows, the U.S. distributors focused their experiment on two types of films: films targeted at children (*Snow White, Jungle Book*), and films inspired by Middle Eastern literary sources. While *The Thief of Bagdad* and *Sinbad* are based on tales from the *Arabian Nights*, *Samson and Delilah* is loosely adapted from the Bible. These films would appear to have been dubbed in Misr Studio in Cairo and circulated all over the Middle East and North Africa.[32] Diplomatic sources noted the "incontestable success" of *The Thief of Bagdad* in Tunisia[33] and its warm reception in Syria.[34] *Samson and Delilah* also met with general success in Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan,[35] and had "particular appeal" in Algeria.[36] In Jordan, Arabic-dubbed U.S. films in general were popular.[37] U.S. distributors had carefully planned their experiment, localizing films both through dubbing, and also choosing stories from and about the region. In *Samson and Delilah*, for example, God was called Allah. U.S. distributors rejoiced that the dubbing used "phrases that will sound familiar to those who know the Moslem prayers."[38] These early experiments bode well for the future of Arabic-dubbed Hollywood films.[39] U.S. distributors' confidence in their strategy of dubbing into Arabic was further reinforced by the fact that a similar experiment was proving profitable in the leading non-Arab country of the region, Iran.

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32. Amman to State, February 27, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Jordan, 885.452, box 5466. AmConGen Algiers to DOS, May 19, 1960, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 2570. AmLegation Damascus to DOS, August 14, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439. AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 2, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156. Amman to DOS, September 4, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Jordan, 885.452, box 5466. Foreign Service Tunis to DOS, February 21, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

33. Foreign Service Tunisia to DOS, February 21, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

34. Damascus to DOS, May, 8, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439.

35. Damascus to State, August 14, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439.

36. The success was attributed to the battles with lions and not to the Arabic dubbing. AmConGen Algiers to State, May 19, 1960, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Algeria, 851s.452, box 2570.

37. Amman to DOS, September 4, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Jordan, 885.452, box 5466.

38. AmLegation Damascus to DOS, August 15, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Syria, 883.452, box 5439.

39. Foreign Service Tunis to DOS, February 21, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

The success of Persian-dubbed films

In the 1940s, in the absence of local production, the Iranian market was dominated by foreign productions (Thoraval 2000: 25). In 1941, 60% of the films released in Iran were American, 20% German, 5% French and 5% Russian (Naficy and Leaman 2001: 134). By the end of World War II, U.S. pictures monopolized 70% of the Iranian market, with the remainder of the market consisting of films from Egypt (8%), Russia (7%) and India (6%) (Pascal 1947: 43). Film translation was thus very much an issue. The solution adopted in the country from 1930 onwards was neither subtitles nor side-screens, but cut-in translations, that is "the film is interrupted at frequent intervals while Persian subtitles are shown on the screen" (Issari 1989: 70–71).[40] This practice was still employed in the early 1950s, with translations appearing in Persian as well as Russian (Pascal 1952: 260). The technique, however, was not terribly satisfying for the audience: it led to "frequent and often quite exasperating interruptions"[41] and was useless for the large number of spectators who could not read.[42] As Issari notes, "soon it became customary for all the literate members of the audience to read the translations aloud so the unfortunate illiterate people could understand" (1989: 70). In terms of film distribution and exhibition, this technique was also relatively expensive, as films had to be re-edited and the resulting prints could not be circulated in other markets (Pascal 1952: 260).

The first dubbing studio in Tehran, Iran-No Film, began operations in 1943. However, dubbing really only took off after World War II, when Iranians established in Europe started purchasing inexpensive European B-movies and dubbing them in order to compete against Hollywood films on the Iranian market (Issari 1989: 121). The French film *Premier Rendez-vous* (*Dokhtare Farari*), a romantic comedy with French star Danielle Darieux, was thus released in a dubbed version in Iran in 1946 (Issari 1989: 121; Pascal 1947: 43). The film, which had been dubbed in Turkey, was a great success. It was followed by other experiments, such as the Persian-dubbed version of Egyptian film *Scheherazade* in Egypt and of French film *Ruys Blas* in France, to lesser success (Pascal 1952: 261). In the late 1940s, a full-scale dubbing industry began to develop. Dariush Film Studio (1953) operated from Italy, dubbing Italian films for Iran. Notwithstanding, most

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40. Annual Survey of Motion Picture industry in Iran 1940, U.S Department of Commerce, March 1941.

41. AmEmbassy Tehran to DOS, August 18, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iran, 888.452, box 5516.

42. Up to 90% of the population was illiterate in 1951. AmEmbassy Tehran to DOS, August 18, 1951, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iran, 888.452, box 5516.

of the dubbing studios were established in Iran itself, such as Aria Film Studio (1949) and Central Film Studio (1954) (Naficy 2011: 2, 253). In Tehran, Mitra Films dubbed *The Wicked Lady* (L. Arliss, 1945, Great Britain, Gainsborough Pictures, 1945), *The Seventh Veil* (C. Bennett, 1945, Great Britain, Ortus Films), and *Tarass Boulba* (A. Granowsky, 1936, France/Great Britain, GG Films) (Pascal 1947: 43). An interesting development came about with the founding of Borna Studio in 1948 by Abolghasem Rezaie and Steve Nyman, a U.S. film distributor for Twentieth-Century Fox in Iran (Issari 1989: 121). The first U.S. film to be dubbed in Persian would appear to have been a Laurel and Hardy comedy, *Swiss Miss*, released in 1949 (J.G. Blystone, 1938, Hal Roach Studios). Although the films proved very popular, the quality of the local dubbing was not entirely satisfactory and the cost for the exhibitor too high at the time.[43] By the early 1950s, with improvements in the quality of dubbing, more Persian-dubbed U.S. films were released, including the *Song of Scheherazade* (W. Reisch, 1947, Universal).[44] Issari notes that "[b]y the early 1950s, dubbing had proven to be a lucrative business," leading to the establishment of more dubbing studios (1989: 123). By the early 1960s, dubbed films had become the norm, and "all foreign films exhibited in public cinemas in Iran were dubbed in Persian" (Issari 1989: 125). The most successful dubbing companies were Demavand Studio (dubbing for MGM, Fox, Walt Disney), Studio Shahab (Warner Bros., J. Arthur Rank, Columbia Pictures) and Studio Moulin Rouge (United Artists, Paramount) (Issari 1989: 126).

Dubbing was a particularly effective means of making films feel indigenous to local audiences. In preparing its first Italian film – *Fereydoun e-Binava* (*Le Meravigliose Avventure di Guerrin Meschino*, P. Francisci, 1952, Oro Film) – for the Persian market, for instance, Rome-based Dariush Film changed all the names into Persian names (Issari 1989: 123; Sadr 2006: 68). The dubbing process was also used to censor any aspect of the film which might be against Iranian customs and morality (Sadr 2006: 68). U.S. distributors would edit their films before submitting them and modify the stories, sometimes radically, to fit the market. A case in point is *The Thomas Crown Affair* (N. Jewison, 1968, United States, Mirish Corporation): in the revised ending the hero repents.[45] In the 1950s, dubbing was indeed favoured by the authorities. Not only did it make censorship easier, it also "served the causes

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43. Foreign Service Tehran to DOS, April 14, 1950, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iran, 888.452, box 5516.

44. AmEmbassy Tehran to DOS, September 17, 1952, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Iran, 888.452, box 5516.

45. "Print Piracy, Censorship Problems in Iran, a $3-mil mkt for U.S. Majors", *Variety*, 12 November 1969.

of Iranian nationalism by encouraging linguistic homogeneity" (Naficy 2011: 2, 258). By 1956, dubbing into Persian had become compulsory (Thoraval 2000: 29).

Dubbing was approved by the authorities, sustained by a large group of companies, and adopted by the audience. It was thus a leading factor in the development of a cinema-going habit in Iran, making the previously closed market quite lucrative for distributors (Issari 1989: 126). The U.S. majors recognized the opportunity and, from the late 1950s onwards, ended their indirect distribution contracts to open their own offices. Columbia established an arm in Tehran in 1956, MGM in 1959, United Artists in 1961, and Twentieth Century Fox in 1964.[46] By the late 1960s, Iran had become "an important market for American motion picture films."[47] The growing success of dubbed U.S. films in Iran may thus have acted as a model for U.S. distributors as they were considering dubbing films into Arabic in the late 1940s. The development of dubbing in Iran, however, was the result of a specific combination of factors. In the absence of a strong local industry, dubbed foreign films were preferred by the audience. Dubbing developed into a solid industry practice and was in the hands of local teams (Issari 1989: 124). Films from a number of countries, notably Italy and India (Issari 1989: 68), were dubbed. The dubbing industry reached a critical size, making the practice economically feasible: in the early 1960s, major Iranian dubbing studios would dub between five to seven films a month (Issari 1989: 126). Finally, dubbing was a practice concurrent with the Iranian authorities' political objectives. The U.S. distributors thus followed the trend. While the Iranian-led development of dubbing proved a success, the U.S.-led efforts at Arabic dubbing tapered off.

The demise of the Arabic dubbing strategy

U.S. distributors quite quickly encountered a strong linguistic obstacle. Since Farsi is an Indo-European language, lip synchronization proved relatively easy in the dubbed version for Iran (Issari 1989: 124). Arabic on the other hand is an Afro-Asiatic language. As early as 1938, the *Film Daily Year Book* notes this difficulty: "There would be no objection to American films being dubbed in Arabic; however, it is believed that technical difficulties would arise because of the guttural quality of the Arabic language." Lip synchronization was a small obstacle, however,

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46. *The 1957 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures; The 1960 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures; The 1962 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures; The 1965 Film Daily Year Book of Motion Pictures.*

47. AmEmbassy Tehran to DOS, March 9, 1967, NARA, RG 59, INCO Motion Pictures Iran, box 1128.

compared to the larger issue of choosing which of the numerous Arabic dialects should be used for dubbing. How might a region as large as North Africa and the Middle East be covered when "Arabs do not all use the same dialect in everyday speech and, in some cases, the differences are such that the vernacular is almost incomprehensible or significantly alien to people from different Arab countries" (Maluf n/a, 3). This difficulty was detailed by the U.S. ambassador in Tunisia in 1951:

> The feasibility of "dubbing" American and European films in Arabic raises a number of thorny questions. Should the variety of Arabic used be the colloquial language of Tunisia, which differs considerably from the language as spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tripolitania, or Egypt? And would this limit the commercial value of the "dubbed" film? Or should "literary" Arabic be used, given that, although only partly intelligible to a large illiterate segment of the native population of Tunisia, it would nevertheless appeal to all Arabs, in this and other countries. On the other hand, it does not appear reasonable to suppose that by "dubbing" a film in Arabic rather than French its box-office value would be improved, since the larger attendance of native patrons would be more than offset by the practical exclusion of French and Italian movie fans. The present system of "dubbing" in French in France appears to be the most logical under existing circumstances.[48]

These remarks bring to the fore two main arguments against dubbing for North African markets. In the absence of a commonly accepted and understood language, localization[49] – one of dubbing's main assets – became impossible and audience satisfaction could not be met. In addition, the expansion of the Arabic-speaking audience was necessarily accompanied by a decrease in the established French audience in the first-run theatres and Italian audience in the second-run theatres. Thus, dubbing did not lead to audience expansion as intended. On the other hand, continuing with French dubbing did allow distributors to retain the existing audience (French-speaking spectators of A-movies and non-French-speaking spectators of B-movies) without any additional translation costs. In light of this cost-benefit analysis, French-dubbed versions remained the most profitable option for North Africa.

Once it became clear that it would not make commercial sense to generate Arabic-dubbed versions for North Africa, where a strong French-dubbed film culture existed, the potential market for Arabic-dubbed films diminished dramatically. It could still have been an option for the Middle Eastern countries. Egypt, as the

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48. Tunis to DOS, September 1, 1951NARA, RG 59, Country files, Tunisia, 872.452, box 5361.

49. Danan (1991: 612) notes that "Dubbing is an attempt to hide the foreign nature of a film by creating the illusion that actors are speaking the viewer's language. Dubbed movies become, in a way, local productions".

regional film centre, was the logical place to have films dubbed, particularly as the circulation of Egyptian cinema all over the Arab world had made the Egyptian dialect familiar (Maluf n/a, 3). Accordingly, U.S. films such as *The Thief of Bagdad* were dubbed at Misr Studio. However, contrary to Iran, where a local dubbing industry was flourishing, the Egyptian film community was less keen on dubbing foreign films than on producing their own cinema. While Misr studio was open to dubbing U.S. films if its facilities were under-utilised or at times when there was a dearth of titles to distribute, certain Egyptian producers were concerned about competition from Hollywood (Vitalis 2000: 276). The striking success of *The Thief of Bagdad* "with complete sell-outs for every performance and with advance bookings for evening performances sold out two weeks in advance"[50] led to a strong backlash. On February 29, 1948, Egyptian film pioneer Yusuf Wahbi led a strike by technicians and artists against the exhibition of dubbed versions. Arguing that Arabic-dubbed Hollywood films represented too much competition, Wahbi warned that dubbing was "the first nail in the coffin of the Egyptian film industry" (Vitalis 2000: 276).[51] This was not the first time that demands had been made for protection against the U.S. film industry. In 1945, "local producers had used their political clout to force the owners of each of the seven – and mostly foreign-owned – largest Cairo theaters to screen one Arabic film per year" (Vitalis 2000: 277). Following the 1948 protest, King Farouk's pro-pan-Arab government opened negotiations with the U.S. majors to limit the entry of Arabic-dubbed versions. The U.S. distributors strongly opposed the Ministry of Social Affairs' proposition to limit dubbing to just three entertainment films a year. Keenly aware of the commercial potential of Arabic-dubbed versions, the local heads of U.S. distribution agencies made a counter-proposition: that each of the 8 U.S. major production companies should have one authorization per year.[52] In response to the concerns raised by the Egyptian film industry about Hollywood competition, U.S. distributors developed three main arguments:

1. Hollywood films did not seek domination: since not enough Egyptian films were produced to meet the theatres' demand, Hollywood films could act as complementary products. Not all U.S. films would be dubbed in Arabic but only a selection of films particularly suited to the Egyptian market. There would be no increase in the number of U.S. films imported.

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50. AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 2, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

51. AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 2, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

52. AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 8, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

2. Protectionism was counter-productive while competition was healthy. Distributors opposed the model of the protectionist British measures, leading to the disastrous "quota quickies", to the healthy all-dubbed Italian market. Competition actually meant expansion of a movie market.
3. It would be beneficial for the Egyptian films studios: U.S. films would be dubbed in Egypt.[53]

U.S. arguments went unheeded, however, and soon afterwards the Egyptian market became heavily protected: a quota made it compulsory for theatres dedicated to European films to show Egyptian films at least 4 weeks per year, and the number of dubbed pictures was limited to three films chosen by the Ministry of Social Affairs for one year's circulation (Pascal 1952: 241).[54] U.S. distributors had no option but to accept this "gentleman's agreement."[55]

Egypt's political decision sounded the death knell for the practice of Arabic dubbing of Hollywood films. The threshhold of three films per year made it impossible to reach the critical mass at which dubbing into Arabic would have become commercially viable. Furthermore, the decision decreased the actual size of the potential market to minor territories such as Syria, Lebanon or Iraq. Egypt was not only an important market, it was also the distribution centre for the entire Middle East (Mingant 2015). Since films had to be subtitled for Egypt, the prints subsequently circulating in the rest of the zone would be subtitled. Thus Egyptian cinema "established the norm for film translation in the entire Arab world" (Gamal 2009: 8).

Conclusion

The issue of dubbing or subtitling may at first appear innocuous, a simple matter of viewer preference. However, the attempt to dub Hollywood films into Arabic in the 1940s clearly foregrounds the political stakes in the adoption or rejection of dubbing as a commercial strategy. Although technical and linguistic difficulties certainly played a part in the demise of Arabic-dubbed versions at the time, the Iranian case suggests that such impediments could have been resolved had the local political and

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53. Foreign Service Cairo to DOS, April 1, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

54. Department of Commerce, Motion Picture Digest of International Development– Egypt, January 1949.

55. AmEmbassy Cairo to DOS, March 8, 1948, NARA, RG 59, Country files, Egypt, 883.4061, box 7156.

industrial context been favourable. Instead, dubbing became a political minefield in the battle for identity: the imposition of the colonizer's language and culture for the French, the homogenization of a country for the Shah, the claim for independence for the Arab nations. Political objectives thus influenced the film market, and what came to be accepted as the norm was actually politically constructed. Today's practice, with U.S. films circulating in French-dubbed versions in North Africa and in Arabic-subtitled versions in the Middle East, is a legacy of the negotiations and practices that were established in the 1940s and 1950s. The issues at stake in the negotiations over identity became conflated with cinematic identification, that is, how the characters on screen resonated with the audience. The French-dubbed versions were a clear attempt to have the Arab population identify with mainland France. Egyptian opposition to Arabic dubbing was an attempt to prevent the all too easy acceptance by Arabic audiences that U.S. stars could speak their language. Localizing the language meant opening the door to adoption of new habits and customs. Similar issues of identification could be explored today. The presence of U.S. films dubbed for the French market in North Africa calls into question the routine reception of films dubbed into a language other than your own, that is with two levels of linguistic separation. Today the question of constructed norms in film language is more closely related to the economic dominance of U.S. films. The language of film, as perceived by the audience, is now American English, to the point that French distributors are also beginning to dub their films in English to conquer the United Arab Emirates market (Benchenna, Caillé, and Mingant 2016: 214).

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CHAPTER 3

Locked into dubbing

Retracing the origins, establishment and fortune of Italy's mainstream AVT practice

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In this contribution I will look at a selection of archival documents which help us gain a better understanding of the reasons behind the introduction of dubbing in Italy during the early 1930s and its establishment as the country's mainstream AVT practice in the decades that followed. Commercial, political, cultural and linguistic issues were at stake, and they affected the way foreign-language films were translated and circulated in Italy for mass consumption. These particular historical circumstances triggered a long-standing cultural and commercial habit and had enduring consequences for the development and diversification of the AVT industry in Italy.

Keywords: archival research, AVT industry, AVT history, dubbing, foreign languages, Hollywood, Italian, subtitling

Introduction

My contribution considers dubbing both as a way to translate, adapt and post-synchronise the human voice in films (and in other audio-visual materials) and as a commercial and industrial practice of overlooked cultural standing. To approach the study of dubbing in its complexities is to delve into a rich and fascinating history where linguistic aspects, cultural politics, commercial interests and advances in sound recording and translation technology intertwine closely. Fortunately, in recent years the huge variety of sources and resources at the disposal of the AVT historian (in audio, written, printed, film, video and digital format) has become more searchable and accessible and can be cross-examined to investigate this ever-expanding interdisciplinary field of research.

In the following pages I will present and analyse existing archival evidence such as state records (e.g., inter-ministerial correspondence, censorship files, census

data), national legislation, industry records (e.g., production, distribution and exhibition files), dubbed films, press materials (e.g., editorials, reviews and publicity) and specialised secondary literature. These sources will help us retrace the historical circumstances which favoured the introduction and the establishment of dubbing in Italy between the early 1930s and the mid-1960s.

1. No country for subtitles: The silencing of foreign-language talkies (1929–1933)

The start of the production of sound and talking films between the late 1920s and the early 1930s coincided, in Italy, with a series of governmental initiatives launched in support of the *rinascita* (rebirth) of the national film industry (Redi 1986; Manetti 2012). Between 1928 and 1931 the *Federazione Nazionale Fascista degli Industriali dello Spettacolo* (Fascist National Federation of the Industrialists of the Performing Arts) held several meetings with the government to discuss the crisis in Italian cinema (and theatre) since the end of the First World War, and the various strategies that ought to be enacted to relaunch domestic production, sustain the entertainment industry and withstand foreign competition.[1] These talks culminated with a decree allocating economic aids to the industry for the period 1930–31, which would translate into law 198 in June 1931. This draft is relevant to our present analysis because, among other things, it aimed to "incite national producers, and eventually the foreign ones, to produce in Italy" and "to prevent, from a certain point, the screening in Italian cinemas of films which contain scenes spoken in a foreign language".[2]

From November 1929 onwards, the Italian film censorship office, at the time based within the Ministry of the Interior, began to grant screening authorisation to imported films only under the condition that any scene dialogued or otherwise spoken in a foreign language was deleted ("*Togliere ogni scena dialogata o comunque parlata in lingua straniera*"). In other words, Italian exhibitors were asked to programme talking films in a silenced version, leaving/adding music and sound effects and replacing the muted dialogues with Italian intertitles. By August 1933 the film censorship office had silenced 486 foreign sound/talking films including short, medium and feature-length films and newsreels foreign-language films imported into Italy, at a point when the domestic market was already mostly supplied

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1.   Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Presidenza Consiglio dei Ministri (PCM), 1928–30, b. 3.2–12, f. 8706, "Provvidenze relative all'industria del Teatro, Cinematografo ed affini".

2.   ACS, PCM, 1928–30, b. 3.1–7, f. 372.4426, sf. 4, "Costituzione Ente Rinascita Cinematografia Italiana".

with dubbed films.[3] During the transition period, while the domestic exhibition sector adjusted to programming sound and talking films – the necessary technical equipment was put in place during the first half of the 1930s (Freddi 1994: 117; Quaglietti 1974: 289–331) – the Americans were also still circulating silent films in the Italian market.

In February 1930, Nicola De Pirro, at the time general secretary of the *Federazione dello Spettacolo*, addressed the censoring work carried out behind the scenes at the Ministry of the Interior in the Italian monthly film trade paper *Lo spettacolo italiano*. De Pirro suggested that the censorship office should allow sound films with only sporadic dialogue to be screened in their original form, at least temporarily, so as not to compromise the state of the exhibition sector "with restrictive measures of excessive rigour" (1930: 32). Nevertheless, De Pirro's request was ignored, as were the subsequent attempts by the paper's editorial team who continued to challenge the ban in October 1930 and March 1931.[4]

Whereas the silencing of foreign-language dialogues had probably been regarded as a temporary solution (the public was already accustomed to watching intertitled silent films), the operation could not be accepted for long, given, for example, the increased demand for sound and talking films and the developing narrative role of dialogues in films. On 16 September 1931, an extensive end-of-summer report sent by the Federation to the Presidency of the Corporation of the Performing Arts at the Ministry of Corporations lamented the "exceptionally uncomfortable conditions" of the theatrical exhibition sector, listing the reduction in box-office sales and the closing down of 350 cinemas in the previous four months.[5] Among other requests, the exhibitors asked again for the re-examination and modification of the government's current censorship of films: "It might be necessary, for example, to allow the projection of the 'international versions' of foreign films, which, even if containing dialogues and songs in a foreign language, are supplied with titles and captions in Italian that allow viewers to follow the films' narrative". Nevertheless, the ban was not lifted until the summer of 1933 and subtitled films were never allowed circulation in the commercial theatrical circuit under the regime.

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3. In detail, I have calculated: 1 in 1929; 161 in 1930; 167 in 1931; 122 in 1932; 35 in 1933. Quargnolo calculated the silencing of 419 feature-length films between November 1929 and August 1933 (1986: 21). Raffaelli instead gave 480 films, 420 of which feature-length (1992: 193).

4. See for example "La Censura cinematografica e il mercato delle pellicole in Italia" *Lo spettacolo italiano*, October 1930, 222–223; and "I films parlati e la propaganda italiana all'estero (a proposito della censura italiana)" *Lo spettacolo italiano*, March 1931, 101–102.

5. ACS, PCM, 1931–1933, b. 18.2–1410, f. 6410, sf. E.2148, "Esercizio cinematografico".

2. Italians do it better: The production of Italian talkies abroad and the move to Rome

Two main strategies were implemented by the US majors to target the Italian-speaking market in the early 1930s: the production of Italian-language versions, based on films which had previously been shot in another language with another cast (and often a different direction and production crew), and the dubbing of the film dialogues in Italian. Archival documents consulted so far show that Paramount and MGM were the first to provide the Italian market with versions and dubbings, with Fox following close after (Mereu Keating 2019).

In early 1930 Paramount started production of multiple language versions in the French film complex located in Joinville, outside of Paris, which had been recently reconverted into six sound studios (Waldman 1998: viii). In Joinville, Paramount could benefit from the close availability of established and emerging European actors, directors, technicians, dialogue writers and others. 300 or so films (feature, medium and short-length) spoken in French, Spanish, German, Swedish, Italian, Polish, Czech, Portuguese, Hungarian, Dutch and Romanian (listed here according to their numerical importance), were released during this three-year filmmaking experiment (Waldman 1998: ix-x).

As far as Italy was concerned, Paramount had also planned to release silent and sound films which together with the spoken versions could potentially reach a vast Italian-speaking market: 41 million people resided in Italy in the early 1930s, and over a million people of Italian origin also resided in the US, in South America and Europe (Mereu Keating 2019: 157). However, only seven Italian features were produced in Joinville (six of which being melodramas with a previous English version that Paramount had shot in Hollywood and Astoria and which had already been released in the US): *Perchè no?* (Amleto Palermi, 1930), *Il segreto del dottore* (Jack Salvatori, 1930), *Il richiamo del cuore* (Jack Salvatori, 1930), *La donna bianca* (Jack Salvatori, 1930), *La riva dei bruti* (Mario Camerini, 1930), *La vacanza del diavolo* (Jack Salvatori, 1931), and *La televisione/Canzone del mondo* (Charles de Rochefort, 1931). Italian actors also featured in *Paramount Revue* (Lothar Mendes *et al.*), a one-hour all-star musical revue registered in Italy on 31 December 1930.

Initially, the Italian film press gave wide publicity to the activities of Paramount and looked with great anticipation at the Italians' work in Joinville. However, as soon as the versions started to come out, it was clear that Paramount's Italian films did not meet the expectations (Mereu Keating 2019: 158–162). By the second half of 1932, Paramount stopped most of its multiple language production in Joinville, its operations being shifted to dubbing (Vincendeau 1999: 214). Unfortunately, the scarce archival findings on the subject do not shed clear light on the Studios' transition from versioning to dubbing nor help us understand which films were dubbed in Italian

in Joinville. Quargnolo states that Paramount's Italian dubbing unit was directed by Baron Saint Just, the dubbings by Pier Luigi Melani, and that the unit started to dub films in Joinville in late 1931 and continued for a few months during 1932 (1967: 71). However, considering that Paramount's last Italian-language feature was distributed in Italy in May 1931, the dubbing unit might have already been set up before the date suggested by the Italian historian (Mereu Keating 2019: 162–163).

MGM also experimented with versioning. The first Italian-language version was entitled *Luigi la Volpe* or *Monsieur La Volpe* (Hal Roach, 1930). The film was authorised for distribution in Italy on 31 October 1930 (*Italia Taglia*, No. 26071) but received generally negative reviews.[6] *Chi non cerca trova*, released in Italy in early 1931, was the Italian version of *Free and Easy* (Edward Sedgwick, 1930), the talking debut of the popular slapstick comedian Buster Keaton. Keaton acted in Italian, but contemporary reviews attest that the rest of the cast was dubbed.[7]

According to Quargnolo, Carlo Boeuf was employed by MGM to direct the Italian dubbing unit in the studios of Culver City. Scripts were translated and adapted by Giovanni Del Lungo who was then joined by Maria Carolina Antinori (1967: 70). *The Big House* (George W. Hill, 1930; *Carcere* in Italian) was one of the first films which MGM dubbed in California to receive unanimously positive reviews in Italy (Mereu Keating 2019: 167). The film was dubbed from the Spanish-language version *El Presidio* and was registered in Italy on 30 April 1931.

Fox produced one Italian-language version and several dubbings in Hollywood during 1931 and 1932. *Il grande sentiero*, the Italian version of *The Big Trail* (Raoul Walsh 1930), was directed by Louis Loeffler and registered in Italy on 28 February 1931. Once again, the Italian press reviewers did not appear particularly impressed by the verbal qualities of the film.[8] Fox's Hollywood dubbings were not popular either and received mixed press reviews once the films were released in Italy (Mereu Keating 2019: 168–173). The main problem for Fox was the choice of actors and the quality of the Italian adaptations. Only few dubbers were native speakers of Italian (mostly employed in main roles), and most actors spoke with a more or less marked American pronunciation. Because of this, accents and diction varied significantly. The translation of the dialogues showed similar inconsistencies. The structure and vocabulary choices of the Italian translations were marked by the influence of the original syntax and lexis, which produced frequent calques and mistranslations. Lexical choices which belong to a more formal register often appeared during informal dialogue exchanges. This led to a sometimes bewildering

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6. See for example "Rivista agli schermi." *Cinematografo*, December 1930, 35.

7. See for example Raul Quattrocchi, "Prime visioni." *Kines*, April 1931, 4.

8. See for example "Prime visioni." *Kines*, March 1931, 3.

co-existence of standard and non-standard Italian (pronounced with a regional Italian or Italian-American accent), colloquial and formal registers, idiomatic accuracy and unnatural or calqued expressions influenced by the English version. Attempts to synch lip movements as closely as possible produced generally poor results, but close-up shots of actors were largely avoided during dialogue exchanges, preferably framed in medium, medium-long and full figure shots. This adjustment minimised the aesthetic unpleasantness of asynchronous revoicing (Mereu Keating 2019: 168–173).

These Italian-talking films, aimed at mass cultural consumption, were not target-oriented enough to fulfil the requirements of a domestic market which was increasingly regulated and controlled by the ethnocentric language and cultural policies of Mussolini's administration (Klein 1986; Raffaelli 1979, 1983). Yet, by the end of 1931, the main concern for the Italian establishment, beyond any ideological standpoint relating to language standardisation, regional fragmentation and immigration, was the strong commercial competition exercised by the US majors which started flooding Italian cinemas with their Californian dubs.

During 1932, foreign-language films (mostly German and French) also started to be dubbed at Stefano Pittaluga's Cines studios in Rome, under the direction of Mario Almirante, and gradually in other Roman dubbing studios such as Fono Roma and Itala Acustica. In the meantime, the US majors were planning to relocate their dubbing units to Italy: MGM inaugurated its own dubbing studios in via Maria Cristina in Rome in April 1933;[9] Fox announced they would relocate dubbing activities in the Fono Roma studios in July 1933.[10] Hence, the majors were ready to dub in Rome before the government nationalised this burgeoning branch of the film industry with royal decree 1414 of 5 October 1933, entitled "Provvidenze a favore dell'industria cinematografica nazionale" (provisions in favour of the national film industry). The majors had probably suspected the Italians' move, also because a similar relocation had already been prescribed by Germany and France on 1 and 21 July 1932 respectively (Cornu 2014: 55–56; Thompson 1985: 212).

As well as allocating further incentives to domestic production, royal decree 1414 (converted to law 320 in March 1934) specifically addressed the theatrical mode of reproduction for foreign-language films in Italy, forbidding the projection of films which had been dubbed abroad (art. 1), prescribing that films should be dubbed in Italian studios by an all-Italian personnel (art. 2), and instituting a dubbing tax of 25,000 lire to be paid by the distributor for each foreign-language film dubbed and authorised by the Italian censorship office (art. 5). The tax would also

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9. "Dove e come i film stranieri vengono tradotti." *Eco del Cinema*, April 1933, 18–19.

10. "Fox Will Dub Foreign Versions in Italy, Spain." *Motion Pictures Herald*, July 1933, 18.

be destined to further increase during the later years of Mussolini's administration (Mereu Keating 2016: 106–107). Despite the fact that this protectionist legislation was intended to support the national film industry, not only in terms of domestic production but also in providing work for local actors, sound directors and technicians, the law was short-sighted because it increased, instead of limiting, the Italian market's long-term dependence on American cinema.

The dubbing industry, at the time based exclusively in Rome, could expand in an uncontrolled and unregulated fashion (Mereu Keating 2016: 116–118). By 1935 eight dubbing studios were functioning in Rome: Caesar, Fono Films, Fono Roma, Fotovox, Itala Acustica, MGM, Palatino, and Titanus; from 1937 films were also dubbed in Cinecittà. From the late 1930s onwards, Italians would also start to post-synchronise domestically-produced films, recording sound and dialogue tracks in the studios. In 1939, when most US majors withdrew from the Italian market as a consequence of the Monopoly laws, dubbing studios were dubbing Italian films and all the other foreign-language films, mainly German but also from smaller US film companies, which were distributed through ENIC (*Ente nazionale industrie cinematografiche*) and, from the beginning of 1940, through ENAIPE (*Ente nazionale acquisti importazioni pellicole estere*) (Quaglietti 1991: 313).

3.   Some like it subbed: The press and the public voice their opinion

According to the fascist-aligned film magazine *Lo Schermo*, on 27 December 1935, high-ranking politicians, members of the aristocracy, diplomats and renowned personalities of the Roman film, literary and artistic world gathered together in via Marco Minghetti in central Rome (near via del Corso) for the inauguration of the *Nuovo Cinema alla Quirinetta*.[11] Quirinetta was an elegant locale which consisted of a two-hundred-seat cinema hall, a restaurant, a bar and six lounge rooms, and offered foreign-language film screenings as well as cabaret and live jazz music entertainment (Marinelli and Realino 2011). It is as surprising to find out that the initiative of the Quirinetta was supported by the Ministry of Press and Propaganda and by the General Directorate for Tourism as it is to note how little attention the press paid to this unique opportunity (Mereu Keating 2016: 112–114). In fact, the regime's Press Office ordered the press to avoid reviewing the foreign-language films that were programmed at this cinema (Raffaelli 1997: 37). Apart from the Quirinetta in Rome, and excluding the international film festival in Venice (inaugurated in August 1932), there was not any other officially authorised

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11.   "Nuovo cinema alla Quirinetta." *Lo Schermo*, April 1936, 51.

opportunity for the general public to watch films in their original language version. Between 1930 and 1932 a few small cine-clubs opened in Rome, Florence and Venice (Tosi 1999: 15–17). However, these initiatives, which followed in the footsteps of the ciné-clubs/film societies in Paris and London, were not meant for the general public. Once Luigi Freddi was appointed at the General Directorate for Cinema, these cine-clubs were replaced by Cineguf, cinema groups born within the Fascist University Youth (Tosi 1999: 17; Freddi 1994: 224–225). The Cineguf sections, which soon spread all across Italy, were the sole associations authorised by the regime to organise private screenings of films (also in their original versions and without the previous authorisation of the film office) and were able to promote a series of other educational film activities which would be very formative for the future indigenous generation of filmmakers, critics and scholars (Brunetta 1979: 341–359). Once more, these initiatives were not meant to reach the general public and were only enjoyed by a limited part of the young population who could afford academic studies.

During the 1930s journalists and critics contemporary with the regime frequently debated the issue of dubbing, particularly during the second half of the decade (Mereu Keating 2016: 109–151). Many film critics considered dubbing the most appropriate way to translate films because it guaranteed a very accessible translation of a foreign film which could consequently be consumed easily by everyone in the audience. These critics argued that subtitled films demanded a greater visual attention and a more developed reading competence than the heterogeneous Italian audiences possessed at the time. Some of them negatively ostracised and labelled subtitled cinema as highbrow entertainment "only suitable to middle-class snobs".[12] Many articles and editorials raised the issue of the non-authenticity of dubbed films and the "untranslatability" of cinema, questioning the artistic and aesthetic significance of film translation and discussing the best strategy to adopt in adapting a foreign film to a domestic audience.[13] Some articles dealt with the characteristics of the Italian language in dubbed films, emphasising both the incompetence of the film translators and highlighting evidence of linguistic interference of the original language in the Italian versions.[14] Many interventions underlined the urgent need for more responsibility in the field of film translation, and criticised the lack of professionalism and the commercial and industrial aspects related to

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12. See for example L'Uomo Ombra, "Preferisco i fagioli." *Lo Schermo*, October 1936, 23.

13. See for example Luigi Chiarini, "Intraducibilità del film." *Lo Schermo*, August 1936, 30; 32.

14. See for example Ettore Allodoli, "Cinema e lingua italiana." *Bianco e Nero*, January 1937, 4–11.

dubbing;[15] others discussed the dubbing procedure on a technical level and defended the role of the professionals involved in the process.[16]

The popular assumption that the Italian public 'preferred' dubbing was eventually questioned by Michelangelo Antonioni in a survey open to the public, entitled "Inchiesta sul doppiato" and published in the weekly film magazine *Cinema* between December 1940 and April 1941. This survey provides interesting insights into Italians' reception of film translation practices during the later years of the regime. Not only film critics, directors, editors, journalists and sound engineers intervened, but also university professors and students (including many members of Cinegufs), secondary school teachers and students, accountants, lawyers, clerks, housewives, technicians, musicians, doctors, translators and foreigners residing in Italy, among others, making a total of 237 participants (Mereu Keating 2016: 138–151). This allowed for a vast range of opinions from people outside of the film trade. Moreover, although the majority of the respondents wrote from Rome and other large cities, the participants were spread across the peninsula, which makes the debate a small representative testimony of what Italians thought of dubbing and film translation in general at the time. The faction against dubbing won with a very slight margin: 119 votes were against (12 of which conditionally) and 113 in favour (25 conditionally). The majority of the conditional votes often indicated a favourable position for both dubbing and subtitling, suggesting that in larger urban areas cinemas might screen films in both the dubbed version and the original edition with or without subtitles and/or a plot summary, to allow spectators to make their choice.

4. Old habits die hard:[17] The dubbing monopoly under democracy

If fascist cultural autarchy is to blame for the sole imposition of dubbing, why were foreign-language films with subtitles not shown in commercial cinemas after the fall of the regime? Who were the agents who benefitted from the monopoly of dubbing? Was anybody still interested in the circulation of subtitled films?

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15. See for example Raffaello Patuelli, "Il dipartimento dell'educazione, ovvero: il gergo dei film tradotti." *Lo Schermo*, May 1936, 28–31.

16. See for example Paolo Uccello, "La tecnica e l'arte del doppiato." *Bianco e Nero*, May 1937, 40–55.

17. Miika Blinn first discussed habituation mechanisms and the economic theory of path dependence in relation to dubbing in 2009 in "Dubbed or Duped? Path Dependence in The German Film Market. An Inquiry into the Origins, Persistence and Effects of the Dubbing Standard in Germany." PhD diss., Free University of Berlin.

After the end of the Nazi occupation in Rome, the Allied Forces' Psychological Warfare Branch (PWB) took control of the Italian film office (Di Nolfo 1977). Between June 1944 and October 1945, under the PWB authorisation, the majors were able to release in Italian cinemas a considerable number of films, produced during the late 1930s and the early 1940s, some of which had been dubbed or subtitled in the US. In October 1945, with decree No. 678, the Americans managed to have the temporary Italian government abolish all the restricting norms on film distribution, including the ban on dubbing foreign films abroad and the dubbing tax, which allowed US distributors to circulate films freely and in great numbers (Quaglietti 1991).

When the fascist laws were repealed, it became possible to give Italian audiences a freer choice in their cinema viewing. However, because after the liberation the majors invaded the market with films which had been dubbed or subtitled in the US, the public saw a return to the transitional, unstable and confusing situation experienced in the early 1930s.[18] For their more easily comprehensible meaning and language, dubbed films were most likely preferred by commercial film distributors and exhibitors, worried that the general public, unaccustomed to reading at the cinema, would stay away from screenings of foreign films whose dialogue exchanges were conveyed through fast-disappearing On early subtitling techniques and characteristics see O'Sullivan (2019: 267–290). Dubbed films were easier to follow and could give audiences an escapist break from the memories of the past and present reality. American distributors found themselves in an inter-dependent relation with Italian dubbing studios, the latter guaranteeing the majors a product which had proved popular with Italian spectators before the war.

The years after the full resumption of work in Italy saw internal changes affecting the Italian dubbing sector (Di Cola 2004). American companies had decided not to control their dubbing subsidiaries in Italy directly, but to entrust the Italian editions to the former dub directors of the 1930s, such as Franco Schirato, responsible for MGM films; Nicola Fausto Neroni for Warner Bros; Luigi Savini for Paramount; Sandro Salvini for Fox. These and the popular voices of the 1930s (such as Giulio Panicali, Emilio Cigoli, Lydia Simoneschi, Lauro Gazzolo, Tina Lattanzi, and others) organised themselves as early as 1 August 1944 into a powerful Roman-based all-stars association, the *Cooperativa Doppiatori Cinematografici*, known as the CDC, which would guarantee them a strong exclusivity in the dubbing of imported films for the years to come, as well as stable and continuous work (Di Cola 2004: 76–81). Another important organisation was ODI, *Organizzazione Doppiaggio Italiano*,

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18. Ongoing research aims to provide a more detailed description of this second transition phase. In the meantime, a brief yet fascinating account of contemporary screenings of dubbed and subtitled US films in the immediate post-war years can be found in Menarini (1955: 147–148).

born not long after the CDC to counteract the dubbing monopoly exercised by the cooperative (2004: 95–111). In the first half of the 1950s, other associations were founded such as the *Attori Riuniti Sincronizzatori* ARS (born in 1952 out of part of the CDC and ODI) and the *Cooperativa Italiana Doppiatori* CID (1953, associated with ARS in 1954, specialising in European and Italian dubbings). As Di Cola discusses, the dubbing industry, from its "golden age" of the 1930s (2004: 41), was moving towards a new generation of dubbers who would gradually replace the old guard of renowned historical voices. Since the mid-1940s, not only did these few cooperatives of actors dub a considerable number of imported films (with the CDC exercising a dominant position in the dubbing of US films until the late 1960s), but they were also more and more regularly at work with the post-synchronisation of domestic films. Many home-grown film directors, such as for example Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica, Michelangelo Antonioni himself, and Federico Fellini, increasingly availed themselves of the Italian dubbing facilities to post-synchronise the soundtracks of their films. The dubbing of Italian films was initially practised for a series of reasons, principally because it was cheaper to record dialogue in studio than directly during external shooting. Dubbing was also performed to adjust and standardize, as much as possible, the quality of sound in cases where the film production had been able to afford to record sound and dialogue tracks directly, but the quality of these recordings had been compromised by outdoor background noises and/or by non-professional acting.[19] Once the critical economic phase of the inter-war and post-war years was overcome, Italian films continued to be post-synchronised because it had become common practice.

Even if the "*questione sociale*" (criticised by Michelangelo Antonioni in *Cinema* a few years before) could now be gradually resolved, i.e., the dubbing personnel would not lose their jobs because they were employed to post-synchronise Italian dialogue tracks, at this time no critic seemed prepared or willing to raise their voice against the dubbing monopoly. Searching through the pages of popular film magazines published between 1944 and 1948, one can gather only a few negative comments in relation to post-war US dubbings (Mereu 2013: 159). There appears to be a general critical disinterest in the dubbing of foreign-language films, a subject which was so consistently criticised and opposed in the late phase of the regime.

At the end of the 1940s the Christian Democrat (DC) government held back questions related to the hegemonic presence of American distribution in Italian cinemas. Law No. 448, dated 26 July 1949, entitled "Costituzione di un fondo speciale per il credito cinematografico e disciplina della circolazione dei film esteri parlati in lingua italiana" (institution of a special cinema fund and regulation concerning the

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19. Several examples of post-synchronisation of Italian Neorealist films are discussed in Wagstaff (2007).

circulation of foreign films spoken in Italian) reserved the right for the government to vary the modality and percentage of films that could be projected on national screens each year (art. 10). Distributors, importers and exhibitors of American films were temporarily satisfied, as the law did not directly restrict the presence of US films in Italian cinemas. However, this regulation specifically re-introduced a dubbing tax of 5,500,000 lire in Italy, to be paid for each foreign-language film to obtain the screening authorisation (art. 1).[20] This tax on dubbing, also renamed *prestito forzoso*, was envisioned as a forced loan to be reimbursed after ten years by investment profits from the fund *Fondo Speciale della Cinematografia, Sezione per il Credito Cinematografico* at *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro* (artt. 3, 6). The re-introduction of the dubbing tax in 1949 is very significant. The DC government also envisioned the dubbing of foreign films as a funding operation that supported indigenous production, now with the institution of the special fund. Notwithstanding the immediate economic advantages resulting from the tax, the problems at the root of this state funding scheme were that the *Fondo* itself relied heavily on capital deriving from foreign film imports and alimented a speculative, short-lived system of film production, which in turn survived thanks to state sponsorship. It should also be noted that the funds resulting from the payment of the dubbing tax would not only give incentives to production, but also increasingly benefitted the expansion of the Italian dubbing/post-synchronisation sector. The information given by the *Annuario del cinema italiano* for the year 1949–50 confirms how important the dubbing sector was within the Italian film industry. For example, according to the data, during the season 1949–1950 there existed in Italy more post-synchronisation studios (19), which predominantly dubbed American films, than Italian film production companies (13) (1950: 20).

The re-introduction of the dubbing tax did not upset the US majors, even if they were generally hostile to it. They had already preferred to have their films dubbed in the Italian territory because this localised operation met the expectations of the film censorship office and of the other powerful pressure groups (e.g., the Catholics). Dubbed films also permitted habitual audiences to identify with their favourite Hollywood stars without any linguistic effort and assured large profits in the commercial cinema circuit. In addition, the dubbing tax/loan could be eventually redeemed and reinvested in film production in Italy (e.g., see American production at *Cinecittà* during the 1950s).

The abolition of the tax was eventually endorsed by the government on 5 March 1963, following the agreement between the Motion Picture Association of America and Eitel Monaco for the national film association ANICA (*Associazione Nazionale*

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20. Law 26 July 1949, No. 448. "Costituzione di un fondo speciale per il credito cinematografico e disciplina della circolazione dei film esteri parlati in lingua italiana."

Industrie Cinematografiche e Affini), in a meeting which was also attended by Alberto Folchi, as Minister of Tourism and Performing Arts, and the then director of the film office Nicola De Pirro (Quaglietti 1980: 216). The abolition was officially registered on 4 November 1965 with the law No. 1213, *Nuovo ordinamento dei provvedimenti a favore della cinematografia*, a new scheme that radically reformed state funding of the film industry and disentangled domestic production from its dependency on foreign importation.

5.   Concluding remarks

These pages aimed to highlight how historical research into the introduction, establishment and further developments of dubbing is relevant to, and can help us gain new perspectives and enrich our analysis of, contemporary AVT practices. In this particular case we have seen how commercial interests, both foreign and national, combined with a short-sighted ethnocentrism, played a fundamental role in the establishment of dubbing as Italy's mainstream film translation practice and paved the way for its successful journey within the Italian commercial cinema circuit. There was an interest in foreign-language films during the regime which was repressed by the government's restrictive policies, and which was satisfied only thanks to the late development in Italy of the *circoli del cinema* and art house cinemas (referred to in Italy with the French expression *cinema d'essai*). These cultural institutions started appearing in Rome and in other Italian urban centres and provinces between the late 1940s and the 1960s, a few decades later than in other European countries such as France and the United Kingdom (Tosi 1999).

With the abolition of the dubbing tax in the first half of the 1960s and the amendments to the film censorship system (e.g., law 161/1962 and its applications), an era of institutional involvement in regulating the translation and circulation of foreign-language cinema seems to have come to an end. The changes in the dubbing industry between the mid-1960s and the 1990s deserve a dedicated investigation. Against the backdrop of an ever-changing socio-political landscape, the role of state television and privately-owned commercial television networks (and the opening of new dubbing studios in Milan), the crisis of cinema as the primary source of mass entertainment, and the differentiation of viewing habits and patterns of consumption should be all accounted for. Ultimately, the technological conversion to video, digital and online circulation and the increasing presence of alternative translation practices on Italian screens (e.g., subtitling and fansubbing) should be brought to the fore in order to give sense to the present and future development of dubbing in Italy.

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Auteur dubbing

Translation, performance and authorial control in the dubbed versions of Stanley Kubrick's films

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Stanley Kubrick was one of the few film directors who took an active role in the creation of foreign-language versions. From *A Clockwork Orange* onwards, he personally chose the dubbing director for all the dubbed versions and had an active part in the voice casting (Chiaro 2007, Nornes 2007). By looking at a variety of sources, this chapter aims to illustrate the genesis of the dubbed versions of Kubrick's films, focusing on the film director's role and degree of intervention in the production process. It will be argued that, by overseeing all aspects of the dubbing process, Kubrick conferred a special status on the foreign-language releases of his films, which are to be regarded as authorized versions on which an unusually evident authorial imprint was imposed.

Keywords: dubbing, film translation, authorial control, Stanley Kubrick, archival research

1.   Introduction[1]

Stanley Kubrick's reputation as a cinematic auteur "wholly absorbed in his work" (Ciment 2001: 41) is often coupled with the image of the obsessive perfectionist "highly involved in all stages of film production" (McDougal 2003: 62). However, while the director's commitment to maintaining an "autocratic control over the work in hand" (Ciment 2001: 41) is part of the Kubrick legend, his involvement in the production of the foreign versions of his films is rarely if ever remarked upon

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by Kubrick scholars. It must be noted that these two aspects of Kubrick's artistic modus operandi – his perfectionism on the one hand and his concern about the fate of his films in translation on the other – are interestingly connected in a number of articles that have appeared in the international press over time. Writing in *Le Nouvel Observateur* on the occasion of the French release of *Full Metal Jacket*, in October 1987, Alain Riou noted:

> Everyone knows Kubrick's legend – a demon of beauty, as it were, just as there are demons of crime, who reigns, hidden in a secret bunker, over an army of agents swarming around the world to ensure good-quality projection for his movies. A perfectionist, a maniac who tends to the slightest detail, and whose latest film, finally delivered after seven years of silence, pushes precision to the borders of madness. All this is true and false at the same time. What is certain is that the director of "A Clockwork Orange" seeks to control the distribution of his works as much as possible, looking after them like a father with his children, to the point of entrusting directors who are esteemed in their own country with the delicate task of overseeing the foreign-language versions.
>
> (Riou 1987: 53–54, my translation)

As a film director who exerted control over all aspects of production and post-production, Kubrick also played a determinative role in the distribution of his films abroad and had an active role in the translation of the filmic dialogues. In the words of Michel Ciment, "the painstaking care he [brought] to the release of his films simply reflects his concern to see them presented in the best possible conditions without their being compromised by a bad print, faulty projection or flat dubbing" (2001: 42), which is the reason why he personally supervised all dubbed versions (Ciment 2001: 41). As Kubrick's Spanish translator of choice, Vicente Molina Foix, pointed out, the director's involvement extended beyond the production process as he was very active also in the marketing and distribution stages:

> I do not think the general public knows that this director, who has a justified reputation as a perfectionist, was such not only when filming and editing his films, but also at the time of packaging and distribution. Kubrick was in control of the whole process, sometimes imposing his will drastically on Hollywood studios, and demanded that his films be released, in all the countries of the world where dubbing is the norm, in versions that he himself supervised beyond conventional limits, from the translation to the dubbing director and the voice of each main actor.
>
> (Molina Foix 1999, my translation)

All aspects of his films in translation "were personally and painstakingly overseen by the director" (Molina Foix 2005, in Pérez-González 2014: 191). Kubrick would pay close attention to "even minor linguistic details" (Molina Foix 2005) by having the translated dialogues and subtitles either retranslated into English or carefully

revised by language experts. As McQuiston (2013: 8) notes, "[d]espite Kubrick's seeming distrust of language across his films, he nevertheless ensured that their foreign-language versions did not omit anything essential", which is "a testament to his concern about linguistic clarity and meaning" but also an indication of the importance Kubrick attached to film translation as a crucial factor for ensuring international critical and box office success.

Kubrick's concern went well beyond ensuring that dubbing scripts and subtitles succeeded in providing a faithful representation of the original dialogues – from *A Clockwork Orange* onwards, he personally chose the dubbing director for all the dubbed versions and made decisions on voice casting. As Molina Foix recounted, Kubrick "would arrange to have recorded samples of actors' voices sent for his consideration" and personally selected "a specific voice for each part" (Molina Foix 2005, in Pérez-González 2014: 191). Recollections such as this are not uncommon among Kubrick's translators and collaborators, and seem to be quite consistent in explicitly framing Kubrick's involvement in the translation process within the context of his obsessive perfectionism. While the myth of the film director jealously protective of his work has been questioned by recent scholarship, which has tended to emphasize the collaborative dimension of Kubrick's working method (McAvoy 2015), there is no doubt that his approach to film translation was quite unique. The aim of this chapter is precisely to shed some new light on this underexplored aspect of the film director's work. By looking at a variety of documents from the Stanley Kubrick Archive in London,[2] this paper seeks to illustrate what archival materials can reveal about Kubrick's role and degree of intervention in the dubbing process as well as his working method when it came to foreign-language versions.

As I will try to illustrate, although the degree of the director's personal involvement in the translation process would vary from film to film, and from foreign version to foreign version, most of the dubbed versions of Kubrick's films can be said to bear, to a greater or lesser extent, an auteurial imprint.

2.   Stanley Kubrick and foreign-language versions

As Mark Betz (2009: 50) notes,

> The case against dubbing includes imperfect lip and audio synchronicity between voice and body, flatness of performances and acoustics, and alteration or elimination of the original film's sound track and design. The quality of the acting is

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2.   The Archive is located in the University Archives and Special Collections Centre, University of the Arts, London (UAL).

frequently noted as suffering in dubbed films as the vocal qualities, tones, and rhythms of specific languages, combined with the gestures and facial expressions that mark national characters and acting styles, are lost in translation. Most critics of dubbing thus see it as less authentic than subtitling because of the alterations it makes to the filmed performances and the destruction it enacts to the film's sound track.

In order to grant access to his films under the best possible conditions, Kubrick put great care into all aspects of the dubbing process, from translation to voice casting and performance – a fact that points to his awareness of the power of film translation in directing reception. Not surprisingly, the "obsessive care" Kubrick devoted to the dubbed versions of his films was a recurring motif in the French press, where statements such as "Stanley Kubrick tended with manic care to the dubbing of his films" (my translation)[3] were not uncommon. In 1987, talking to *Le Monde* journalist Danièle Heymann, Kubrick explained the method he had been perfecting over the years to handle foreign versions:

> **You also follow the dubbing and subtitling of your films very closely?**
>
> That's true for the dubbing. I choose good directors for all four of the languages concerned: Spanish, Italian, German, and French. I listen to the tests for the voices they propose. I let them record the soundtrack, and then we bring it back here to mix it. The mix is crucial to get some sort of balance in the final result. Studio-recorded sound is always too rich, too clean, compared to the original sound, which was recorded outdoors. So a lot of the time, we have to water it down, cut out certain frequencies, reduce the quality so that it sounds more authentic.
>
> (Heymann 2005: 477)

Here Kubrick seems to be downplaying his "interventionist" approach to foreign versions by representing his action as confined to the choice of dubbing directors, voice casting and mixing. Located in the Stanley Kubrick Archive is a copy of the original typescript of this interview, with suggested changes and deleted passages in Kubrick's handwriting.[4] The interview, which was published upon the release of *Full Metal Jacket*, touched on several topics including translation. Some very interesting remarks are found in passages that were not included in the final published text. For example, when Heymann asks Kubrick whether he had been happy with the dubbed versions he had got from French directors, he says "Absolutely" in the published version, while he sounded far less enthusiastic in the original interview:

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3. "Cannes 1999", *La Croix*, 20 May 1999, https://www.la-croix.com/Archives/1999-05-20/Cannes-1999-_NP_-1999-05-20-475391 (last accessed November 3, 2017).

4. SK/1/2/8/5.

"Oh yes... I've been happy with the versions, all the versions of my films, that I have been involved...chosen the director and the translator... [...] And making sure they have enough money to hire good actors" (p. 47). But when it came to the French version of *Full Metal Jacket*, Kubrick was quite elusive, as the person who had started it, namely French film director Henri Verneuil, had been replaced at some point during the production by someone else, namely Michel Deville, who had supervised the French version of *The Shining*. When asked about dubbed versions in general, Kubrick stated quite eloquently: "It's like making another movie" (p. 46) and then went on to explain the whole process in great detail. In Kubrick's view, "two things [can] go wrong with the foreign versions, first of all they can be very badly translated, then they can be very badly acted". He argued that, since the custom was to have the mixing done in the target-language country, people who did not really know the film managed the whole process and very often, due to time pressure, the job was done very quickly, which had a huge impact on the final outcome. As a result, the mixing was often done in such a way "that the dialogue was very loud, everything else was safely out of the way" (p. 48). After *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Kubrick's approach to dubbed versions changed, as he understood that one way out of this was to have the same mixers who had mixed the English film take care of the foreign versions too.

This passage of the interview reveals unprecedented insights into the making of Kubrick's dubbed films, showing how centralized, structured, and carefully managed his approach to working on foreign-language versions was. Of particular interest here is Kubrick's acknowledgement that he owed the idea of using the same mixers to mix both the English and the foreign dubbed versions to MGM, which he thought of as the only way to ensure sound quality in all versions. In Kubrick's case, however, authorial intervention went well beyond the level of sound engineering, leaving his personal stamp on every aspect of the dubbed versions of his films.

3.   Auteur dubbing

As Abé Mark Nornes (2007: 14) observes, filmmakers are reluctant to get involved in translation and prefer to leave it to the distributors to take care of the language transfer:

> most screenwriters and directors never participate in the translation of their work. The film's producers take responsibility for supervision, when it happens at all. In the majority of translations, the distributors (who generally see films and television more as product than art) and their translators take total control and typically cut, censor and revise the original text to suit local cultural whims and mores.

This is precisely what Kubrick strenuously attempted to avoid, as he was one of the few film directors who understood film translation "as an integral part in the process of the artistic creation of a film and not as a mere appendix subject to market forces" (Díaz Cintas 2001: 207). Steve Southgate, who was in charge of European technical operations for Warner Brothers and worked on all Kubrick pictures from *A Clockwork Orange* onwards, remembered the director's concern about, and personal involvement in, the distribution of his films abroad:

> He was one person in the film industry who knew how the film industry worked – in every country in the world. *He knew all of the dubbing people, the dubbing directors, the actors, he had relationships with foreign directors who would supervise his work because he couldn't be there to supervise himself.* We had to go around to every cinema to make sure the projection lights were right, the sound was correct, the ratios were right, the screens were clean.
>
> <div align="right">(in Bogdanovich 1999, my emphasis)</div>

In countries such as France, Italy, Germany and Spain, which routinely dub imported films, the emergence of a solid dubbing industry, with specialist studios employing a small body of highly specialized professionals, led to the development of a set of highly standardized practices and conventions. It was specifically to escape the routines and shortcomings of industrial dubbing that "in time directors such as Stanley Kubrick and Steven Spielberg chose to work with specific dubbing directors" (Mira 2010: 106), or decided to become personally involved in the creation of a foreign language version, as was the case with the DVD version of Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), directly supervised by both the director and the scriptwriter (Nornes 2007: 14). As Alberto Mira (2010: 106) points out, "[s]uch auteurist dubbing brings issues of its own, as it seems a central condition of dubbing that it is "invisible" and audiences will consistently reject dubbing that calls attention to itself ". This was the case with the Spanish dubbed version of *The Shining*.

Molina Foix explains that Kubrick was particularly concerned with the Spanish versions, for which he personally selected film directors that he admired:

> Kubrick, whose daughter knows Spanish well and advised him, put special care into the Spanish version of his films. Carlos Saura, Jaime de Armiñán, Mario Camus (he also thought about Víctor Erice, who was unavailable at that time) are the Spanish directors that Kubrick chose, out of admiration for their work, to oversee the Spanish versions outside the routine of the dubbing studios. They can testify how demanding he could be, sometimes bordering on mania.
>
> <div align="right">(Molina Foix 1999, my translation)</div>

Kubrick did not want the dubbed versions to sound like dubbed films, therefore he insisted on hiring dubbing directors who were film directors themselves and on associating himself with translators that he could trust.

As Molina Foix (2005) points out, Kubrick adopted the same approach to all his films, "applying his usual loving care" to all aspects, from print quality to translation, requiring "scrupulous fidelity to the original dialogue" (my translation) and a different approach from that of ordinary dubbing. The Spanish versions were directly and constantly supervised by the film director, who paid attention to the minutiae in both the translation and the dubbing actors' performances: "all of them were directly and constantly supervised by Kubrick in their smallest linguistic or vocal details (the director received the voice tests of different actors for each of the roles of the film, and chose them himself)" (Molina Foix 2005, my translation). Given Kubrick's direct involvement in the process, the dubbed versions of his films can be described as bearing the imprint of the auteur's hand. I therefore propose the term *auteur dubbing*[5] to describe an approach to dubbing that incorporates the film director's vision as an effect of the translator's collaboration with the artist.[6]

3.1   Shooting with a view to foreign-language versions

Kubrick's concern for ensuring spectatorial involvement in the foreign-language versions of his films is epitomized in the famous scene of Jack's manuscript in *The Shining*. This is a key moment of the film which marks the beginning of Jack's descent into madness. His wife Wendy discovers that he has been typing nothing but the same sentence for weeks ("All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy"), a symptom of his increasing alienation. Kubrick understood that this scene was a turning-point which would lack impact if translated via subtitles, and therefore different versions of the insert shot with the sentence translated into the four dubbing languages were filmed (see Hooton 2015). Various sets of typewritten stacks of paper bearing the French, German, Italian and Spanish versions of the pages that appear on screen as Wendy leafs through Jack's manuscript are in fact stored in the Stanley Kubrick Archive (SK/15/3/4/2). Interestingly, not only does the visual layout of the pages change in each version, but also different associations are activated by each translation, as the aim is to convey Jack's state of mind rather than the meaning of the proverb.

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5.   My definition of "auteur dubbing" is indebted to Szarkowska's definition of "auteur description", an approach that "incorporates the director's creative vision in the AD script […] and thus gives the audio describer the artistic license to depart from the dictate of objectivism" (2013: 383). See Hodson 2017 for a discussion of auteur concepts.

6.   As Nornes (2007: 221) reminds us, in the case of dubbing, the "translator" is to be intended as "the team of technicians, translators and actors" rather than as an individual and the whole dubbing process as realized by multiple agents.

The use of insert shots in multiple languages is not unique to Kubrick's films (see O'Sullivan 2013), but it does speak to the director's concern for the fate of his work in translation and, more importantly perhaps, to his understanding of the illusionistic effect of dubbing as contributing to the illusionistic effect of cinema. Reflecting upon the hypnotic quality of film, Kubrick once affirmed:

> I think an audience watching a film or a play is in a state very similar to dreaming, and that the dramatic experience becomes a kind of controlled dream […]. But the important point here is that the film communicates on a subconscious level, and the audience responds to the basic shape of the story on a subconscious level, as it responds to a dream.   (in Weinraub 1972: 26)

Kubrick was aware of the impact that translation, and dubbing in particular, has on the reception of films and the way it contributes towards creating the cinematic illusion, hence he paid particular attention to the material nature of the representation process behind that illusion and decided to become directly involved in the translation process.

3.2   Choosing the dubbing director

The major task of the dubbing director is to guide the interpretive work of the dubbing actors:

> Like the director of a theatre play or film, the dubbing director is responsible for prompting, stimulating and instructing the actors to put on their best performances. He can demand that lines be read differently, re-directing emphasis and shifting expression. Suggestions and criticism pertaining to intonation, expression and voice-projection are also made by the director. Before each take, the director might add a remark or two sketching in missing context for the benefit of the dubbing actor: where the character is, what the character feels, what message is intended to be imparted.   (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 82)

The dubbing directors Kubrick chose to work with were selected, in most cases, by virtue of their being outsiders to the local dubbing industry and also very good at directing the actors. For instance, Kubrick claimed he approached Spanish director Carlos Saura to supervise the Spanish version of *A Clockwork Orange* not only because he thought he was "an extremely brilliant director", but especially for "the marvelous use he makes of his actors" (in Molina Foix 1980).

In recalling how she came to direct the French dubbing of *Eyes Wide Shut*, film director Pascale Ferran observed that, while the vast majority of dubbings are directed by dubbing professionals, with film directors like Kubrick and Fellini this was hardly the case:

The vast majority of dubbed films are directed by professional dubbing directors. Kubrick and Fellini are well-known exceptions, as they were both very attentive to the dubbing of their films, for which they usually chose film directors. […] For Kubrick, the line of conduct was clear: more often than not, he chose to work with film directors, except in countries where he worked with a trusted dubbing director, as was the case in Italy. This had long been the case in France too, until he offered the dubbing of *The Shining* to Michel Deville. For *Eyes Wide Shut*, the Spanish version was directed by Carlos Saura and the German version by Edgar Reitz, director of *Heimat.*   (in Millon and Renouard 1999, my translation)

The practice of hiring film directors for supervising foreign-language dubbing was not unique to Stanley Kubrick. As suggested by Renouard (1999: 47),

Among the French filmmakers who have served foreign ones, we may list Louis Malle, who supervised the French version of Coppola's *The Godfather*, Alain Resnais, who worked on Altman's *Quintet*, Michel Deville, who was engaged twice by Stanley Kubrick (for *The Shining* in 1979 and *Full Metal Jacket* in 1987), Patrice Chéreau, who dubbed Fellini's *Casanova* in 1976. […] For their part, French distributors seem to have understood the importance of dubbing in foreign markets such as the United States, hence Mel Brooks was asked to oversee the US version of *Les Visiteurs*.   (my translation)

Kubrick wrote to Carlos Saura in 1971 complaining that he always had a hard time trying to have his films dubbed successfully. He expressed his admiration for Saura's work and asked him to direct the Spanish version of *A Clockwork Orange*, stating that he was not inclined to hire a dubbing professional. He also asked for advice on good translators, who had to be proficient in English and also good writers in their own language:

Dear Mr. Saura,

(…) I am also writing to you because I hope you can help me solve a problem in connection with the Spanish version of the film I am working on now. It is called "A Clockwork Orange" and it is based on the novel by Anthony Burgess. I am in the final stages of editing it and the film will open, in its English version, at Christmas. The French, German, Italian and Spanish foreign dubbing will take place sometime between December and January.

I have never had success with the post-synchronization into the languages of any of my films. At best the jobs that have been done have not ruined the film. At worst, they have ruined the film.

I was so impressed with the work you did on "Peppermint Frappe" that I would be extremely grateful if you would consider super-vising the dubbing into Spanish of my film. I realise that this is not a very exciting proposition and that it is not normally the kind of work that you would do, but I hope you will forgive me if I ask anyway.

> If you are totally opposed to this idea in principle or if your schedule will not allow it, I wonder if you could recommend somebody you think would be good enough and whose work is not limited exclusively to being a Director of foreign dubbed versions.
>
> I would also appreciate any suggestions you might have in connection with translators who are good Spanish writers and who are also fluent in English.[7]

Around the same time, Kubrick contacted François Truffaut with a similar request, asking for advice concerning dubbing directors and translators in France.[8] Truffaut replied saying that he agreed with Kubrick that the French versions of English-language films "should be done more carefully" and recommended Maurice Dorléac as a possible candidate for directing the dubbed version of *A Clockwork Orange* and Maurice Kahane as a competent translator and dialogue writer. Truffaut also advised Kubrick to pay special attention to the translation of the title, as the English-title strategy had thus far proved quite unsuccessful in France.[9] In the same year and using a similar approach, Kubrick also contacted Federico Fellini for advice on a good dubbing director. Fellini recommended Mario Maldesi, a specialist in the post-synchronization of feature films who had worked with Luchino Visconti, Vittorio De Sica and Fellini himself among others (Maldesi in Rota 1999). Curiously enough, several years later Fellini contacted Kubrick with a similar request. According to Mike Hodges, "Fellini rang up Stanley Kubrick and said he always had a terrible time dubbing his films into English. The results never pleased him. Stanley recommended that he get a name director to do the dubbing. That's what he did in each country where his films were released" (in Adams 2001: 53–54).[10]

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7.   Letter to Carlos Saura, 23 August 1971 (SK/13/4/14/3/11).

8.   Letter from François Truffaut, 23 September 1971 (SK 13/8/5/14/1).

9.   A few years later, Kubrick approached Bertrand Tavernier to supervise the French dubbing of *The Shining* and of *Full Metal Jacket* but Tavernier refused (Raspiengeas 2001: 137).

10.   The following letter is quite illustrative of the importance cinematographic auteurs like Fellini attached to dubbing:

> Dear Mr. Kubrick, Forgive me for distracting you from your work with a request for advice, but I don't know who to turn to. It's about this: I have to dub my latest picture (E la nave va) into English. The film has been shot for the most part in English with British actors, but I really can't take the responsibility of taking care of the final version in a language which I know only very approximately. Could you maybe indicate me someone who could take charge of following the dubbing of my film, choosing the writer for the translation, adapting the "lipsing" for the Italian lines, choosing voices and directing the actors? That is to say, someone that disposing of time and means could do this work in a decent way?"   (in Tornabuoni 1995: 97)

This is precisely what happened for the Brazilian version of *The Shining*, the direction of which was given to Nelson Pereira dos Santos, whose films Kubrick "admired greatly" (McAvoy 2015: 302). Quite similarly, he personally selected Edgar Reitz for directing the German dubbing of *Eyes Wide Shut*. Reitz, who had virtually no experience in the making of foreign-language versions, recalled that "Kubrick had previously seen *Heimat*. In 1984, the film ran in a London movie theatre and received much praise. Kubrick liked it very much and contacted me. Just like that, "This is Stanley Kubrick calling?" (Reitz 2004: 244). According to Reitz, "Stanley Kubrick wanted the directors he most revered to supervise the dubbing of *Eyes Wide Shut* for the most important countries in Europe. For France, he picked Patrice Chéreau; for Spain, Carlos Saura; for Italy, Bernardo Bertolucci" (244). Reitz's words seem to confirm that the rule Kubrick followed with foreign language versions was to hire outsiders to the highly professionalized world of dubbing.

The spirit with which the appointed directors approached the dubbing of a Kubrick film becomes apparent in the words of Carlos Saura, who wrote:

> When Stanley Kubrick suggested that I direct the Spanish dubbing of "Barry Lyndon" I had serious doubts about it [...]. The fundamental reason for these doubts was the belief that dubbing is always a betrayal of the original work. But when I saw "Barry Lyndon" most of these doubts were dispelled. I found an argument to accept Stanley Kubrick's offer. I said to myself: the picture is beautiful, is magnificent...... someone has to do the dubbing, so why not me?[11]

3.3   Finding good translators

Kubrick oversaw all aspects of the dubbing process, including the selection of translators. The correspondence stored in his archive speaks of the importance he placed on translation, which becomes apparent in the energy he invested in finding good translators. Normally "translators are selected by the dubbing studio, which is responsible, after the approval of their client, for the whole process, from the translation to the final revision and recording" (Zabalbeascoa, Izard and Santamaria 2001: 107). This was hardly the case with Kubrick. For the Japanese dubbed version of *Full Metal Jacket*, for instance, he rejected the translation carried out by Toda Natsuko, "the superstar translator of the Japanese film world", who had attempted to dilute the obscenity of the dialogues, and asked Twentieth Century Fox to recruit "someone who knew cinema intimately as a producer and also spoke English fluently" (Nornes 2007: 216–217). The choice fell on Harada Masato, a

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11. Typescript in English accompanying the original Spanish text (SK/14/5/3/7).

film director who had translation experience and had supervised other dubbing projects. As Lachat Leal (2012: 9) observes:

> it is revealing that, in contrast to literary translation, where a translator normally specialises in a particular author, such specialisation tends to be the exception in audiovisual translation. The only exception we are aware of is Vicente Molina Foix, specifically selected by the film director Stanley Kubrick, who was well known for his perfectionism and placed such a high value on the dubbing of his films that he intervened personally in the selection process for dubbing directors, actors and translators.

Vicente Molina Foix explains that Kubrick enjoyed the rare privilege of having the final say not only on the film's shape on artistic terms, but also on who was to do the translation of the dialogues, his preference being for outsiders to the audiovisual translation industry:

> between 1971 and 1975, the year of production of his next film, *Barry Lyndon*, Kubrick was accorded one of the many privileges that characterized his career as a demanding perfectionist, tolerated by the Hollywood moguls thanks to his immense tug at the box office. The privilege in question was that of imposing on Warner Brothers that his films be translated by writers or literary translators into each of the languages in which they were to be distributed, and, in countries where dubbing was indispensable, that the direction be entrusted to a prestigious filmmaker that Kubrick himself would select. (Molina Foix 2005, my translation)

Vicente Molina Foix was engaged to revise the Spanish translation of the dialogues of *A Clockwork Orange*, which Saura considered inadequate:

> Kubrick admired Saura [...] and in 1975 he offered him to direct the Spanish dubbing of *Barry Lyndon*. On that occasion Saura accepted the dialogue translation that had been provided to him, but when he set to work on the dubbing of *A Clockwork Orange*, following Geraldine Chaplin's advice, he rejected the translation, which had been apparently carried out in some office of the American studios. (Molina Foix 2005, my translation)

In a letter dated 23 November 1977, Jan Harlan wrote to Frank Pierce of Warner Bros. London that "a number of Spanish people who would be able to judge have said that the Spanish dubbing script by Lopez Rubio, while it is extremely well done, is a bit academic and does not reflect the mood of the picture" and expressed Kubrick's wish to appoint Molina Foix for revising the script.[12]

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12. Carbon copy, SK/13/4/14/3/11.

3.4   Controlling the translations

Kubrick would make strenuous efforts to ensure that his films did well in translation. Thus, it is all the more revealing that numerous copies of the translations that were made in all languages, either for dubbing or subtitling, are found in the Stanley Kubrick Archive, along with other relevant documents pertaining to the distribution of Kubrick's films in foreign-language markets. With languages such as Japanese, the procedure was to have a "four-column, *en-face* script performed by a second independent translator" displaying the proposed Japanese translation, a transliteration into *romaji*, a word-for-word translation, and back translation into English (Nornes 2007: 216–217). The translation was then annotated and queries were sent back to the translator. Back translations were also commissioned for European languages. For example, one of the files contains a back translation into English of Tony Navarro's Spanish translation for the dubbed version of *A Clockwork Orange* to be distributed in Latin America.[13]

Kubrick was consulted at every step as the production of the foreign version progressed and language experts were consulted for all languages involved. For example, film scholar Jean-Loup Bourger acted as a consultant for the French version of *Barry Lyndon* (SK/14/5/7/61), while Donald Keene, an eminent scholar and translator of Japanese literature, was consulted to revise the Japanese subtitles for *Dr. Strangelove*.[14]

3.5   Voice casting

As a film director, "Kubrick attend[ed] to the sounds of spoken words as much as to the words themselves" (McQuiston 2013: 11). And he did the same with the dubbed versions, taking an active role in the voice casting and paying great attention to both vocal quality and delivery. Recollections of contemporaries as well as archival evidence suggest that Kubrick selected dubbing voices that closely matched the original ones. For instance, it was Kubrick himself who chose Spanish actress Verónica Forqué to dub Shelley Duvall in *The Shining*. Forqué recalls that she was selected not so much by virtue of her actorial skills but thanks to her voice:

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13. The typescript is located in the folders pertaining to the distribution in Latin America (SK/13/4/14/3/11).

14. Keene was professor at Columbia University and author of numerous books on Japanese literature and culture, including an *Anthology of Japanese Literature: from the earliest era to the mid-nineteenth century* (1956). He translated both modern and classical works. The correspondence between Keene and Kubrick's assistant Ray Lovejoy is stored among the *Dr. Strangelove* files in the Stanley Kubrick archive (SK/11/4/3).

> He did not choose me because he liked me as an actress, but because my voice was very similar to that of Shelley Duvall. The dubbing director, Carlos Saura, sent the voices of several actresses and Kubrick chose my voice. When I entered the dubbing room and they gave me the first take, I felt a huge responsibility, but I think Kubrick was very happy in the end.   (in Aris 2011, my translation)

Described as "one of the most engaging comic presences in Spanish cinema during the 1980s and early 1990s", Verónica Forqué was known for her distinctive "cartoonish voice" (Mira 2010: 135). According to Mira, this was a major casting mistake since "her unmistakable voice was overly recognizable" (Mira 2010), thus contributing towards what is regarded as "one of the most disastrous cases of dubbing in Spain" (Whittaker 2012: 303). Molina Foix (1999) stated quite clearly that Kubrick was responsible for the casting choices that were made of the Spanish dubbed version:

> some annoying cinephiles who know of my connection [with Kubrick] have criticized me (and indirectly Saura, the dubbing director) for the voices of the protagonists of *The Shini*ng, which they found bizarre. I always say that these were the voices that, among those of many other film or theatre actors (not dubbing actors), were selected by Kubrick himself from London, in this case Verónica Forqué and Joaquín Hinojosa, whose voices – so rare and far from clichéd – he felt were perfect to convey the English spoken by Shelley Duvall and Jack Nicholson.
>
> (my translation)

He also points to Kubrick's insistence on having film or theatre actors rather than dubbing actors, an account echoed by others involved in the foreign-language dubbing of Kubrick's movies. Michel Deville recalled, for instance, that Kubrick rejected the voices originally selected for the character played by Jack Nicholson in the French version of *The Shining*, including Nicholson's official voice in France. He wanted an actor "crazy and talented as is Trintignant",[15] who was in fact scripted for the role. According to Trintignant, he was selected solely on the basis of voice tests, as Kubrick did not know who he really was.[16]

   According to Carlos Saura, one of the main issues with regard to the dubbed version of *Barry Lyndon* was finding the right voice actors. Kubrick always made a point of working "with the best actors": "[He] checked every voice, and was interested in every detail. His concern for his work is almost an obsession. I think

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15. Interview contained in the bonus track of the French edition of *Eyes Wide Shut* (my translation).

16. "I had to pass some voice tests and Kubrick chose me for the sound of my voice, without knowing who I was, reported Jean-Louis. I never met him but Michel Deville, who supervised the dubbing, talked with him every night by phone" (in Durant 2017: 153, my translation).

this is the way it should be, because I only saw myself as the intermediary between his ideas, his film and its transcription into Spanish" (Carlos Saura, typescript, SK/14/5/3/7). Kubrick was indeed very pleased with the choices Saura had made for *Barry Lyndon*, as evidenced by a typescript bearing notes apparently jotted down under dictation for the use of the Spanish director:[17]

> SK regards and appreciation to su saura and compliments on excellent choices [...] Mr K is totally dependent on sauras judgment of the actors he has approved very few have matching voices and sk's spanish isnt good enough to tell whether he is has any doubts about any of the actors who sk has accepted based on the tests.[18]

Interestingly, even in the absence of the film director, the same principles were followed in the making of the German version of *Eyes Wide Shut*. As Edgar Reitz (2004: 246–247) recalled, particular attention was devoted to finding matching voices and every detail in the performance was carefully taken care of. "Our work on *Eyes Wide Shut* was an exception", Reitz said in an interview (2004: 247), as "I tried to do things differently from ordinary dubbing" (245).

3.6 Mixing

One of the ways in which Kubrick managed to remain in control of the soundscape of his films in translation was by having the recordings done locally but doing the mixing in London, as he told Danièle Heymann. Mario Maldesi, who supervised the Italian dubbed versions of Kubrick's major films, recounted that he initially rejected the offer of directing the Italian version of *A Clockwork Orange* because Kubrick asked him to limit himself to delivering the raw recordings and Maldesi objected to the idea of not remaining in control of the whole process:

> At first I rejected the offer because I was asked not to do the mixing and to deliver only the raw recordings. My work ends when the mixing is done and I felt I could not be excluded from this. Kubrick wrote a letter to Warner Italy that was handed to me, in which he tried to make me change my mind: it was typewritten, unlike like those I received on completion of the job for each movie. Kubrick said he fully understood my reasons and was pleased to hear how much I cared about my work; yet he was used to dealing personally with the mixing, it had nothing personal to do with me, and he assured me jokingly that he would not ruin my work. Hence, I always sent the Italian tapes to London, where they were to be mixed by Kubrick.
>
> (in Rota 1999, my translation)

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17. Original spelling is left unchanged in all quoted archival material.

18. Typewritten letter, n.d., SK/14/5/22.

By intervening in the last stage of the dubbing process the film director was able to maintain control, and ultimately leave an imprint on, the final outcome. Working on a Kubrick film was nevertheless a highly collaborative endeavour in which the work of the dubbing directors was closely supervised by Kubrick himself, who had the last word on the voice actors and personally managed the final stage of sound mixing, thus shaping the final dubbed versions. By overseeing all aspects of the dubbing process, including minor linguistic details in the translations, Kubrick conferred a special status on the foreign-language versions of his films. It is my contention that these should be regarded as authorized versions in which an unusually evident auteurial imprint was imposed.

3.7   Authorial choices

Authorial choices involved what look like apparent inconsistencies, such as having Peter Sellers dubbed by the same dubbing actor in *Lolita*, where he plays a character (Clare Quilty) impersonating someone else (Dr. Zempf), and having him dubbed by three different actors in *Dr Strangelove*, where he played three different, autonomous roles. A letter by Erich Müller, General Director of the German branch of Columbia Pictures, reveals that there were negotiations about the way the German dubbed version was to be performed. Müller wrote:

> we noted that you prefer to have Peter Sellers dubbed by three different German actors. Our dubbers as well as we are of the unanimous opinion that Peter Sellers should be dubbed by one actor as this method would guarantee the artistic uniformity whereas a dubbing by three various voices would reduce the artistic image of this picture.[19]

It is important to recall that Columbia Pictures insisted that Peter Sellers be cast for at least four major roles. Sellers ended up playing three of the four roles written for him, which pushed the film "further into the realm of satire" (Hughes 2000: 111). Each of the three characters portrayed by Sellers have completely different accents and personalities: Mandrake, who is Group Captain of the UK Royal Air Force, speaks with a British accent; President Mauffley speaks with a Midwestern American accent; while Dr. Strangelove's speech is characterized by a thick German accent. Following Kubrick's instructions, in both the Italian and the Spanish dubbed version, Peter Sellers was dubbed by three different voice actors (Cap. Lionel Mandrake: Giuseppe Rinaldi/Julio Lucena; Pres. Merkin Muffley: Carlo Romano/Francisco Colmenero; Dr. Strangelove: Oreste Lionello/Fernando

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19.   Letter from Erich Müller to SK dated February 26, 1964 (SK/11/4/5, Box 2).

Rivas Salazar). Curiously enough, the French version of *Lolita* followed a different approach by having Sellers dubbed by two different actors (Michel Roux as Clare Quilty and Roger Carel as Dr Zempf), while the same voice actor was used for all three roles in *Dr Strangelove*.

4. Kubrick and dubbing

According to Mario Maldesi, Kubrick "wanted dubbing, which he considered a creative moment of great importance" (Maldesi 2007). Kubrick was not new to using dubbing to make up for actorial performances that he found not particularly successful. For example, he directed Anthony Hopkins in the dubbing of Lawrence Olivier's lines in the "oysters and snails" scene for the restored version of *Spartacus* (1991) and he did so by fax. In the version released in 1960, Kubrick had been forced to delete the scene in which Crassus (Olivier) attempts to seduce Antoninus (Curtis) and reveals his homosexuality by asking whether he prefers eating oysters or snails. As Kubrick explained to Hopkins, Olivier's performance "had a troubled and somewhat remote edge to it [..]. There was nothing suggestive or camp about Larry" (in Phillips and Hill 2002: 149), thus he asked Hopkins to recover the scene's original intention. In a similar fashion, he often asked Maldesi to make small adjustments to the original actors' performances:

> Kubrick would often ask us to make small changes in the dubbed version, mainly corrections concerning the original actors' performance. I remember a request he made to us about Ryan O'Neal, who had apparently failed to interpret Kubrick's original intention. [...] Since the voice cast included Giancarlo Giannini, a much better actor than Ryan O'Neal, Kubrick asked me to recover the intention that the English version had failed to convey. He was enthusiastic about the dubbed version, which he personally mixed. He felt a mixture of amazement and satisfaction, as when watching two beautiful, same-looking and yet different twins, and seeing each one standing on its own feet, each having a life of its own, albeit similar to that of the other twin.   (in Ulivieri 2002, my translation)

The opposite view is stated by Kubrick's long-time collaborator Jan Harlan. In his view, "Kubrick didn't like dubbing, although we tried very, very hard to get it right. But it is something you cannot get right. It's always flawed. Remember him saying that the Germans took revenge for having lost the war by dubbing his films".[20] According to Harlan, Kubrick regarded the advent of the DVD format as a means

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20. http://www.dvdtalk.com/janharlaninterview.html.

for finally "getting rid of this nasty dubbed track and going back to the original version" (in Ulivieri 2002).

However, by looking at the archival material in our possession and at the testimonies of the dubbing professionals he worked with, it soon becomes apparent that Kubrick did more than just "try to get it right". Conversely, not only did he choose to become involved in the dubbing process, but he seemed to regard dubbing as a second chance to bring his works to perfection. On the occasion of the 1997 edition of the Venice Film Festival, where a retrospective of his films was held, he insisted that his films be shown in their Italian dubbed versions rather than in English with Italian subtitles. According to the director of the Venice Festival, Felice Laudadio, Kubrick affirmed: "I do films with images […] and I have personally supervised the Italian versions of my films. I want viewers to see the images and to listen to the dialogues without being distracted by the subtitles".[21] This anecdote seems to suggest that Kubrick understood dubbing as a means to create an immersive experience of the picture film. As Ascheid (1997: 33) puts it:

> the dubbed version and the original are much more closely linked in terms of their effect on their home audiences, analogous to that of two multiple language versions of the same narrative, while the subtitled version contains a number of reflexive elements which hold a much larger potential to break cinematic identification, the suspension of disbelief and a continuous experience of unruptured pleasure.[22]

Kubrick's approach to dubbing is to be understood, I think, in light of his aesthetic. As Michel Ciment points out, "Kubrick's intention is to concentrate the viewer's attention on the film, since vision is the only pure act, all else being impoverished, falsified, attenuated" (2001: 233). This, in my view, is precisely the motive underpinning his concern for, and involvement in, the dubbed versions.

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21. "Kubrick was a bad-tempered genius, punctilious to the point of sounding arrogant. For example, on the occasion of the 54th edition of the Venice Film Festival, I organized a retrospective of his films and he insisted that his films be shown in their Italian dubbed versions rather than in the original version with subtitles. Even then his decision was as paradoxical as it was indisputable: I do films with images, he wrote, and I have personally supervised the Italian versions of my films. I want viewers to see the images and to listen to the dialogues, which are closely interwoven with the images, without being distracted by the subtitles. So please screen my films in Italian, otherwise I will not grant approval to the retrospective" (Laudadio 1999, my translation).

22. See Di Giovanni and Romero Fresco in this volume.

5.   Conclusions

In this chapter, the notion of "auteur dubbing" has been introduced to describe the dubbing of a feature film directly supervised by the film director, as was the case with the majority of Stanley Kubrick's films. Our knowledge of film directors' actual involvement in the translation of their films is still very limited, but as I have attempted to demonstrate by looking at the Stanley Kubrick case, the use of archival methods and resources can help to shed light on this still largely unknown aspect of film distribution.

Kubrick considered the translation and dubbing of the film as part of the artistic side of the production process. For this very reason, he worked very hard to ensure that the reception of his films in translation would not be affected by the language transfer and he took an active role in the whole process, often leaving an unmistakable authorial imprint on the final product. The material in the Stanley Kubrick archive is a testimony to the work that went into all of this – from hiring good translators and dubbing directors, preferably from outside the dubbing industry, to working in close collaboration with them, from selecting the voice actors, to taking care of every detail of the distribution, including artwork and publicity material, right down to checking the quality of projectors.

Archival evidence seems to indicate that, for Kubrick, remaining in control of the audible soundscape was as important as remaining in control of the translated words. As he stated in his 1987 interview with Heymann, he considered dubbing to be, essentially, a reshooting of the film. By weaving subversion of industrial norms and authorial control into the very fabric of dubbing, Kubrick provided a vivid example of the benefits of an authorial approach to dubbing and translation in general can have on the quality and artistic integrity of auteur films.

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PART II

New trends in dubbing research and practice

Audiovisual translation in the age of digital transformation
Industrial and social implications

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This chapter presents three different, though intertwined, implications of digital transformation in the various processes of audiovisual translation. Firstly, the relevance that technological developments have had on audiovisual translation and localization will be dealt with. Having chosen technological progress as a key point in describing audiovisual translation and localization, the possibilities offered by technology to foster international communication and to make an impact on international audiences will be analyzed. Secondly, the role of these new audiences, and their unexpected empowerment due to the democratization brought about by technology, will also be analyzed. Finally, and following this downstream thread, instances of audiovisual translation used as political weapons will be tackled; these will illustrate how translators, eventually, can use audiovisual translation to make themselves visible, in order to convey political and ideological ideas, and ultimately, take action.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, digital transformation, technology, active audiences, politics

1. The new world of audiovisual media and localization

Digitization refers to the technical *conversion* of analogue information into digital form, that is, the conversion of images, sounds and objects into bits. *Digitalization*, on the other hand, refers to the actual *process of change* in industries such as banking, telecommunications, healthcare, and media, among others. *Digital transformation* refers to the actual *effect* of digitization and digitalization on society. These are the operational definitions used in this chapter to refer to the impact of digitalization. New generations are brought up with digital technology, therefore they develop a digital competence from the very first years of childhood. This competence

is reinforced by the constant daily use of new digital devices, which, in the end, enable new forms of innovation and creativity.

In other domains, digital transformation has implied the widespread introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in companies, institutions and markets. In the field of media communication, digitalization facilitates the creation, production, distribution and potential manipulation of new audiovisual contents. Digital technology has lastly been playing a pivotal role in both the shifts of the audiovisual market as well as those of the booming market of localization practices. Here the term 'localization' is intended as a hypernym for any kind of *audiovisual translation* – dubbing, subtitling, voice-over, subtitling for the deaf and the hard of hearing, audiodescription, surtitling, respeaking, etc. – and any kind of *media adaptation* – format licensing, adaptations, transcreations and remakes. Digitalization has also led to the multiplication of audiovisual distribution platforms and devices (TV stations, video-on-demand platforms, streaming services, mobile telephones, etc.), which are on the whole cheap and user-friendly. We are living in the so-called age of convergence, where almost everything can be accessed via smartphones, tablets and laptop computers, where an audiovisual product can be broadcast across multiple platforms and formats thanks to the use of current digital technologies.

The huge amount of audiovisual content being localized on a daily basis, and the speed with which this happens, implies a wider choice for audiences as well as a growing diversity in audiovisual content consumption and in the use of different translation practices. This crucial role of digital technology is the primary cause for the current bloom of new forms of production and consumption of audiovisual products, for the optimized use of new devices (laptops, tablets, smartphones) and for new communication forms (social networks, crowdsourcing). These changes in technology also bring about new audiovisual transfer modes, or a combination of audiovisual transfer modes. In addition, traditional audiovisual translation (AVT) modes are sometimes so strictly defined, that it is difficult to apply the same definition to new ways of transferring an audiovisual product. Audiovisual content crosses linguistic and cultural borders thanks to audiovisual translation; at the same time AVT keeps stretching its own borders to accommodate new ways of exporting products.

Research in Audiovisual Translation has increased considerably during the last three decades. Focus was earlier placed on subtitling and dubbing, and more recently on subtitling for the deaf and the hard of hearing, audiodescription for the blind and the visually impaired and, lastly, on videogame localization. These, among other emergent modes and genres, are becoming an important feature in the AVT panorama.

However, localization, in its broader meaning, is not restricted to these established modes of AVT. We definitely need to view AVT in its wider scope in order to encompass newer practices which, due to digitalization, are merging with, or

complementing, traditional AVT modes. Research on TV formats, for instance, shows how the origins, flow and pattern of internationally-distributed formats are systematically localized (remade) for other markets, thus becoming another kind of 'translation'. The coexisting global and local nature of these localized products create a tour-de-force between source culture and target culture ideologies and political agendas. Research on TV formats is interested in analyzing how an adapted franchise differs from its original counterpart, how several adaptations differ from one another, and also to what extent these differences influence the audience when it comes to watching and consuming a different product. Despite the powerful shift towards convergent media and multiplatform distribution in the global market of audiovisual contents, the different national regulations and blatant cultural differences, as well as the intentional or unintentional agendas of translators and, most likely, of other agents involved in the process, will be the underlying cause of all forms of localization, and consequently, of any clashes and confrontations between original and domestic(ated) products.

These clashes are, over and above, enhanced by all forms of semiotic adaptation and manipulation, as in the case of transcreations, where most – if not all – semiotic layers of the original product can also be localized, that is, manipulated. Gone are the times when the translator could solely adapt the dialogues – the linguistic code – of an audiovisual product. In dubbing, we are used to watching localizations of paralinguistic features, such as alternants or differentiators, localization of songs in classic and animated films, and even of certain special effects. Traditionally, only those signs belonging to acoustic codes (linguistic, paralinguistc, musical, and special effects) have been localized. However, nowadays, images, lighting, movement, clothing, and types of shots can also be – and certainly are – manipulated in order to shape a domesticated product that, allegedly, satisfies a specific target audience. This process is called transcreation.

Last but not least, remakes – particularly transnational remakes – can also be considered as a kind of localization. Evans (2014) argues that film remakes have often been neglected by translation studies in favour of other forms of audiovisual translation such as subtitling and dubbing. He believes that remakes can also fall within the category of film translation, since they reveal a multimodal, adaptive process of translation: the multiple modes of the film being remade are translated, and the source text reworked, therefore, as such, they can be studied under the large umbrella of audiovisual translation. The same opinion is shared by Esser, Bernal-Merino and Smith (2016: 2) who consider transnational remakes as "the most enhanced form of localization", clearly a sample of global cultural borrowing.

The present chapter discusses three different, though intertwined, implications of digital transformation in the different processes of localization. Firstly, the impact that technological developments have impinged on audiovisual translation and localization will be tackled. Having focused on technological progress as a key

point in describing AVT and localization, the possibilities offered by technology to foster international communication and to make an impact on international audiences will be discussed. Secondly, the role of new audiences, and their process of empowerment due to the democratization brought about by technology, will also be dealt with. Finally, and following this downstream thread, instances of audiovisual translation used as political weapons will be analyzed; these will illustrate how translators, eventually, can use audiovisual translation to make themselves visible, in order to convey political and ideological ideas, and ultimately, take action.

2. Technological shifts in the world of audiovisual translation

The explosion of technological changes and new current social ways of communicating have given rise to new AVT modes, have remoulded already existing ones and have obliged scholars to expand the concept of audiovisual translation and of translation itself. Videogame localization, transcreation, transmedia projects, the adaptation of television franchises and transnational remakes, among other new interesting and emerging forms of localization, such as non-professional subtitling, are shaping a new AVT model, quite different from the one we were accustomed to only ten years ago.

The possibilities offered by international communication, by the worldwide web, by the new habits of new active audiences and, most of all, by digitization and digitalization, result in a constant change within the traditional ways of consuming and interacting with audiovisual products: "The resulting constant changing framework allows Audiovisual Translation to reflect on its relation to Translation Studies, the practice of translation and the industry in order to understand the current relations among producers, translators, translated material and audiences" (Orrego-Carmona 2013: 317).

This new framework can be depicted as follows:

– new generations have grown with digital technology; hence they have developed a digital competence from the very first years of childhood;
– new audiences are constantly connected to the Internet and among themselves, boosting their capability to take action in the production, distribution and translation of audiovisual products, especially the ones not distributed via the official media;
– the age of media convergence implies that the borders among producers and consumers are now blurred, and also that all digital audiovisual products can be accessed via any device, be it a computer, a TV set, a mobile or a tablet;

– the popularized use of new devices, laptops, smartphones, iPods, tablets, etc., allow new audiences to consume whatever they want at any time, or even in a different way (3D glasses, etc.);

– the consolidation of some ludic forms, that have become popular over the last couple of decades, carries with it the localization and even gag dubbings and subtitlings of new genres such as videogames, webtoons and webseries, musical clips...;

– there is an increase in the consumption of all forms of AVT; the possibility to choose the (preferred) AVT mode (unlike in the past, when audiences were obliged to consume dubbed products in dubbing countries, subtitled products in subtitling countries and voiced-over products in voice-over countries); and sometimes, the consumption of two or more AVT modes simultaneously: dubbing, subtitling, audiodescription, subtitling for the deaf and the hard of hearing, narration, voice-over, fandubbing, fansubbing, surtitling, free-commentary, simultaneous interpreting, respeaking;

– crowdsourcing and community translation, the non-professional translation of audiovisual texts, fansubs and fandubs have increased exponentially;

– fundubs (funny dubbings) and new forms of free-commentary, such as the literal video versions, also known as literal music videos have also increased exponentially: parodies of official music video clips in which the original lyrics have been substituted by new ones that provide a literal description of the visuals. This technique is normally applied to music videos in which the imagery seems to be illogical and disconnected from the lyrics;

– the birth and consolidation of transmedia projects has changed the AVT panorama. Transmedia storytelling is the technique of telling a single story or story experience across multiple platforms and formats using current digital technologies. Generally, in balanced transmedia narratives, there is a main story and other sub-stories, the so-called extensions, produced and distributed in other formats and media. Thanks to digital technology new active audiences have the possibility to contribute to the extension of a transmedia project, or simply to interact with producers and distributors (or film directors and actors), or to manipulate audiovisual products, something which ten years ago was perhaps unconceivable;

– there is an outburst of some enhanced forms of localization, such as transcreation, which involve not only the translation of the linguistic and paralinguistic codes of the original text, but also the localization of all other acoustic codes (music and special effects) as well as the visual codes (changes in iconography, lighting, types of shots, kinesics, graphic codes, editing and so on), as is the case of some commercials or cartoons;

- the adaptation of TV series, comics, and cartoons in another language and culture, i.e. media franchises and their relation with industrial practices, can now be easily integrated in the realm of localization. Research in this topic usually adopts a polysystemic approach that analyzes the impact of original domestic products on adapted foreign products, in other words, how existing domestic products belonging to the same genre influence the process of adaptation of a foreign product (Cattrysse 2014); likewise, the impact of the political and ideological agendas of the agents involved in the adaptation process on the nature of the newly adapted product, that has to fit in the new target culture;
- transnational remakes also constitute a clear process of localization: a cultural production based on an earlier production usually utilizing the same medium, for example, an old film remade into a new version, (this time) in another language and culture (or sometimes in the same language but in another culture), a process which is usually studied together with the role of media brands, cross-cultural adaptation and international media flows.

3. New habits after digitalization: Focus on dubbing

This new landscape of digital production, digital distribution, digital consumption and digital manipulation, which sometimes leads to a new distribution of manipulated products, has a considerable impact on new audiovisual translation practices all over the world. The fact that traditionally dubbing-oriented countries are consuming more and more subtitled products is a result of digitalization and, even more so, of digital transformation. Another – perhaps surprising – outcome is the increasing use of dubbing. While the market trend towards more subtitling may not come as a surprise, perhaps the parallel growing tendency observed in dubbing is less expected. For instance, despite the fact that Portugal has an outstanding subtitling tradition, the audience share for dubbed products is on the rise. In a recent study, Chorao (2013) reveals that dubbed foreign productions on Portuguese screens have outnumbered subtitled ones. TV shows, such as *Hannah Montana* (Correll, O'Brien, and Poryes 2006) are increasingly being dubbed into Portuguese, and the recent establishment of dubbing studios in Lisbon seems to confirm that this trend is here to stay.

Other primarily-subtitling countries, such as Denmark, have experimented with dubbed films for younger audiences, as is the case of *The Nutty Professor* (Shadyac, 1996), in order to discover if in such films dubbing is able to effectively retain the original's comedic nature or sense of humour. The motivation is primarily financial; some comedy films, when subtitled, were not as successful as the distributors would have wanted. As far as Norway is concerned, Tveit (2009) discovers

that some teen-oriented television series and teen films have also been dubbed to ensure their commercial success. These experiments are taking hold on television screens and, in all likelihood, predict a permanent presence of dubbing in these countries, though restricted to specific television genres and audiences. The number of dubbed products has also increased in Russia, where, traditionally, voice-over was opted for when translating foreign fictional productions.

A further significant trend can be noticed in subtitling countries such as Greece, Morocco, Egypt, Jordan and other North African countries which are now dubbing Latin American and Turkish soap operas. In Greece, as well as in Arab-speaking countries, the first dubbed versions of this highly popular genre immediately made these specific soap operas spring to the top of audience share ratings, thus revealing that dubbing, perhaps, has an economic future in these countries.

Similarly, commercials continue to be dubbed and voiced-over in both dubbing and subtitling countries. Advertisements for Kinder chocolates, for example, originally filmed in Italian, are dubbed into many languages all over the world.

Furthermore, in Iran, there is a trend of reverse dubbing, that is, the industry has started to dub Persian products into English and Arabic. Also, satellite channels are now broadcasting Turkish soap operas in their Persian-dubbed versions, however with amateur voice-acting and sometimes incoherent dialogue exchanges. US music clips, on the other hand, are being broadcast with interlingual subtitles in Persian.

In Japan, films are dubbed on TV, though the same TV stations also broadcast subtitled films in the late evening. These are generally called "mini theatre" films, which, as opposed to box-office successes, appeal mostly to a smaller audience due to their artistic qualities. In dubbing, comedians and celebrities do the voice-acting to attract larger audiences.

In Africa, there have also been some instances of dubbing in the Nollywood scene. Ugochukwu (2013) mentions a joint project held in 2003 between the European Union, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Francophony Agency to support the distribution of African films in Africa. "This project involved dubbing a number of Nollywood films mainly into French but also into other languages, including English and Swahili. Dubbing for those films seems to have taken place not in Nigeria but in Cameroon, Gabon and Ghana where there are better facilities" (Fuentes Luque 2017).

Videogames are dubbed even in cultures where dubbing was only restricted to cartoons for the younger kids (Denmark is a case in point); teen pics and soap operas are dubbed in Greece and Portugal (traditional subtitling countries), and reality shows are voiced-over in many European countries, a (cheaper) practice that has benefited from digitalization.

Digitalization can also contribute to a better distribution and understanding of otherwise unknown cinemas and cultures. And, what concerns us mostly, is that

it can even mould audiences' tastes, since cultures that are accustomed to dubbing are now also getting acquainted with subtitling, and cultures that are accustomed to subtitling are now getting acquainted with dubbing.

Apart from changes in audiovisual translation practices, such as those mentioned above, some technological advances have also brought about radical changes in the way AVT is actually carried out, when compared to ten years ago. The irruption of machine translation, combined with the use of memory tools, has dramatically revolutionized the industrial process of subtitling. Cloud computing technologies and new ways of interacting in the cloud, together with social networks, have also moulded the possibilities, scope and even conventions of subtitling. In the dubbing sphere, there are two – still incipient – developments that could possibly change the way dubbing has been carried out traditionally (dubbing understood as a post-production process that first requires a draft translation, then an adaptation (dialogue writing), then the performance or voicing of the newly-adapted dialogues in the target language, and finally re-editing). These two developments can be summarised as follows:

a.   Technologies favouring the adaptation of words to the visuals (*Word to Image*). Research is being focused on how to automatically produce words in a language that match the onscreen actors' lip movements. Some audiovisual products, essentially cartoons, are first drawn without taking into account the actual words that the characters will be uttering when the final product is edited. In principle, these technologies are then envisaged to help scriptwriters: they traditionally watched a cartoon, got acquainted with the story, paid attention to lip movements and then produced dialogue lines in accordance to both the plot and the characters' mouth movements. New software is being developed to automatically detect the onscreen characters' mouth movements and then produce a whole list of words, phrases and sentences that match those movements. Taylor, Theobald and Matthews (2015) introduced a method for automatic redubbing of video that exploits the many-to-many mapping of phoneme sequences to lip movements modelled as dynamic visemes. A viseme is any of several speech sounds that look the same, for example when lip reading (Fisher 1968). These authors introduce the concept of *dynamic visemes*: phoneme groups which present the same articulatory configuration from a visual perspective. For example, the consonants -p-, -b-, and -m-, from a dubbing translator or dialogue writer's perspective, seem to have the same articulatory configuration (although, phonetically, they have different features); likewise, the consonants -f- and -v- also seem to be articulated the same way from a visual viewpoint (although one is voiceless and the other voiced), among other examples. The software they have been developing proposes sequences of visually-consistent alternative words in accordance with the visual articulatory

configuration resulting from the onscreen characters' mouth movements. This indeed can find immediate applications in translation operations. Though primarily envisaged for the fast and massive production of scripts in the original language, this software can also be developed using target language word lists that visually match the onscreen characters' mouth movements.

b. Technologies favouring the adaptation of images to the words (*Image to Word*). This seems to put an end to the dialogue writers' nightmares when trying to find target language words and phrases that match the actors' lip articulatory movements in the original version. The application of advanced lip-sync animation technology to games lessens the classic lip-sync constraints and achieves impressive results in some cases, as in the games *Mass Effect 2* and *Heavenly Sword*, for example. Facial modelling technology used in *Mass Effect 2* allows the facial animation to match the audio based on the actor's voice stress and inflection (Lewinski 2010). In a nutshell, favouring the adaptation of images to the words means that a software manipulates the onscreen actors' mouth movements in order for them to match the actual (draft, non-adapted) translation. This means that the process of adaptation can be avoided, since no matter what the translation presents, in terms of length (isochrony) or phonetic synchrony, it will anyway match the onscreen mouth movements, because the images will be manipulated in such a way that the characters will seem to be uttering the translated words. For this very reason, the videogame *Final Fantasy XIII* on Steam is 50 GB: in the target English version, images have been manipulated so that onscreen characters' mouths seem to articulate the English words they are uttering in translation, rather than the Japanese original words. The lip-synching of the English version varies from the Japanese one, and not only in the audio parts, but also in the cut scenes and full motion video. Interactive movies, videogames that present the gameplay of either animated or live-action footage in a cinematic, scripted manner, are now benefitting from this technology. This can be simply exported to cartoons, TV series and movies – initially animated ones – and may result in a totally different way of understanding the industrial process of dubbing, the role of agents (especially the role of dialogue writers) and the teaching of dubbing in professional schools and higher education institutions.

Other new sound digital technologies are heading in the same direction. Adobe has created a software (Project Vocal) that enables recorded speech to be edited, so that users can alter what a person has said, or can produce an entirely new sentence using the same voice. It could be referred to as *photoshop for audio*. The software presents the user with a text box showing the spoken content of the audio clip in the original language. Users can then move words around, delete fragments, or type in entirely new words. The software either retrieves those words from

the original audio track, or if the word hasn't been uttered, it is constructed from scratch, out of raw phonemes (the software requires at least a 20-minute speech sample uttered by the same speaker). Though the software can be used for intralingual free-commentaries, i.e. to create really funny celebrity audio clips, or even to edit podcasts, from the point of view of dubbing, it can be easily applied to create and edit voiceovers and dubbings in different target languages.

Assael, Shillingford, Whiteson and de Freitas (2017) have developed software at Oxford University capable of reading the lips of a human face. According to the authors

> lipreading is a notoriously difficult task for humans, especially in the absence of context. Most lipreading actuations, besides the lips and sometimes tongue and teeth, are latent and difficult to disambiguate without context […]. For example, Fisher (1968) gives 5 categories of visual phonemes (called visemes), out of a list of 23 initial consonant phonemes, that are commonly confused by people when viewing a speaker's mouth.

Therefore, these researchers have developed a software programme, called LipNet, which *automates lipreading* at a sentence level. These authors claim that their software attains a 95.2% sentence-level word accuracy (compared to the 10–20% attained by deaf and hard-of-hearing communities, Easton and Basala 1982). The software maps sequences of image frames of a speaker's mouth to entire sentences. The application to dubbing seems logical: if the software is fed with target language words and sentences, the software would be able to produce sentences in the target language that perfectly match the onscreen characters' mouths movements. The software could potentially become another Hal-9000, the supercomputer in Kubrick's well-known film that was able to read the astronauts' (Bowman and Poole) lips when they were hidden in a small capsule, while fearing Hal's intentions. They did not succeed in their mission since Hal could read their lips, hence learning their intentions. Nevertheless, some of the developments mentioned earlier, such as altering utterances without it being noticeable seems to have great deal more ominous potential.

Technology now also favours faster dubbings. A new trend called *collaborative dubbings* is being practised in Europe and America. These refer to a single dubbed work recorded in various companies and countries and eventually edited in one company. This process is opted for when the dubbing director, or distributor, wants to engage voice talents living in different countries, or when a particular actor or actress is based in another city or country, hence far from the studios where the recording is taking place. Actors receive the adapted translation (not just the rough translation, but the translation following the dialogue writing process, segmented into takes or loops, including time codes and sometimes dubbing symbols, and most importantly, encompassing lip-sync), dub the lines in their city or country

and then send the audio files to the engineer in charge of editing, who thereafter edits and mixes all sound tracks in the new target language version. According to Scandura (2015), this process is increasingly common in Latin America, where companies based in more than one country (Etcétera Group, The Kitchen Inc.) record the lines of various actors and actresses living or temporarily working in one of these countries (Caracas, Venezuela, and Miami, for example) and send the audio files to the company entrusted with the final cut. This was, according to the author, the case of the dubbing of *Big Time Rush* (Fellows 2009–2013).

An enhanced type of dubbing and audiovisual translation mode in general is *transcreation*, as mentioned above, which is also a result of digitalization. Transcreation is in fact a combination of globalization and localization, a process referred to as *glocalization*. Glocalization is the process whereby a global product is transformed and reshaped in order to suit the needs of local consumers. As Fowler and Chozick (2007) stated in the *Wall Street Journal*: "Once, American entertainment companies exporting characters just dubbed them into other languages. But in recent years, Asia has become the testing ground for character re-invention, a process called 'transcreation.'" Therefore, we face a time when local audiences consume (dubbed and subtitled) foreign products as they are, like blockbusters or videogames, local products from their target cultures in their target languages and also adapted products like transcreations, i.e. adaptations of global products which show some characteristics of their foreign origin integrated with some others from the target culture. This is the case of the comic book *Spider-Man: India* (Devarajan, Seetharaman, and Kang 2004), originally published in India by Gotham Entertainment Group in 2004, retelling the story of Marvel Comics' Spider-Man in an Indian setting. It ran for four issues, which were later also published in the United States in 2005 and collected into a trade paperback. In this series, the Indian Spiderman, called Pavitr Prabhakar – a phonetic distortion of Peter Parker –, a humble Indian boy from a remote village, is granted the powers of a spider by an ancient yogi, and wears the well-known Spidey tight suit combined with a traditional loincloth and Indian harem trousers. In the age of transmedia products, nowadays Pavitr Prabhakar is playable among other Spiders in the *Spider-Man Unlimited* video game.

According to the same authors (2004):

> when Craig McCracken created the Powerpuff Girls show, he deliberately gave it what he thought was a "Japanese look." But when the show first aired in Japan in 2001, it failed to attract a wide audience. So Cartoon Network decided to reinvent the characters to boost its appeal in Japan, an idea Mr. McCracken welcomed. In their transcreation, Blossom, Buttercup and Bubbles got Japanese names and the lives of typical Japanese junior-high-school students. Since Japanese kids like to dress up like their favorite characters, the girls got more realistic outfits, with miniskirts, matching vests and hip-hugging belts.   (Fowler and Chozick 2007)

These are just two examples among several others, such as the Japanese Spiderman – Yamashiro Takuya –, whose adventures can take place near Mount Fuji and whose characters can participate in traditional kabuki (theatre).

Digitalization is responsible for transcreation, for moulding the habits of local audiences and also for opening new avenues of research in audiovisual media and audiovisual translation. Research has also benefited from technology and digitalization which now provides researchers with large corpora of audiovisual material that can be scrutinized in a much easier and faster way. Researchers are no longer restricted to a single case study at a time. Doctoral and MA theses, and similar projects could be based on just one film, an episode of a TV series, or at most, on two or three films and/or episodes. Only a decade ago, researchers had to narrow their study topics in order to be able to finish their projects. Nowadays, digitalization has favoured research considerably, and just as with written text corpora years ago, we are now able to put together larger corpora of audiovisual texts which can be analyzed using dedicated software. When Toury introduced the term "norms" in Translation Studies, researchers were unable to really demonstrate the actual existence and establishment of a norm: they could only hint out at the norms possibly ruling translation operations in a given culture at a given time, based on their case studies. Now, the analysis of electronic corpora can shed light on which norms actually govern translation operations, since speaking about recurrent behaviour or recurring patterns is possible thanks to the analysis of larger digitalized corpora.

In order to illustrate this, we can mention Subtlex-GR, a Modern Greek word frequency database listing more than 23 million Modern Greek words extracted from 6000 subtitle files. According to their authors (Dimitropoulou et al. 2010) this corpus was used to test "to what extent subtitle-based frequency estimates and those taken from a written corpus of Modern Greek, account for the lexical decision performance of young Greek adults who are exposed to subtitle reading on a daily basis". Although the purpose here was an applied study, rather than a descriptive one (search for norms), the corpus has an unlimited potential to identify norms on various levels: not only microtextual norms, but also matricial norms, typographical usages, reading speed, etc.

Other studies based on technology are seriously questioning previous studies based simply on some isolated examples or on personal experience. Kruger, Szarkowska and Krejtz (2015) used an eye-tracker to demonstrate that most studies conducted to date, fail to address the actual processing of verbal information contained in subtitles, especially the way different viewers react when viewing subtitled audiovisual texts. Technology can therefore bring into question numerous assumptions that researchers have until now taken for granted. One such debatable question could be: is lip-syncing in dubbing important to the same extent with which it has been taken for granted until now? Are target audiences really paying so much

attention to lip-syncing in general, or to lip-syncing in close-ups, as the industry and the agents involved in the process continue to sustain (see Romero-Fresco and Di Giovanni in this very same volume)? Only studies using technology and large corpora can shed light on these matters that have been long-established in the profession and in the teaching of audiovisual translation at universities and private institutions.

4.   Active and passive audiences

The advent of digitalization has brought about a new culture, which could be called digital culture. Consumers' participation as co-creators in audiovisual production processes has increased significantly in the past ten years. The concept of Web 2.0, an inclusive notion for a new more interactive and dynamic Internet use, invites also users to participate in the (creation and) translation of audiovisual content, the generation of new ideas and the interaction of collective intelligence. This is linked to the concepts of empowerment and intervention. Pérez-González (2014) shows how passive consumers have become active consumers or prosumers, since these changes have allowed them to take on some of the power and responsibility that traditionally was solely in the hands of the producers.

However, manifestations of traditional passive consumption of audiovisual translation are still on the agenda of many distributors and producers. For example, in recent years, in Japan, there has been an interesting trend which calls for the insertion of intralingual subtitles in Japanese TV comedy shows with the purpose of triggering laughter in the audience. These subtitles are used when there is a gag or a funny sketch where the audience *should* laugh. Comedians and celebrities, for instance, may discuss – in Japanese – their favourite scenes from the anime *Dragon Ball*. When one of them passes a joke or makes a funny remark, a subtitle would appear on screen in order to entice the audience to laugh (for example, "Now laugh!"). Therefore, these subtitles could be a substitute of canned laughter. In a way, one can wonder whether this telecommanded or remote-controlled trigger of laughter reveals an ideological agenda which seeks to teach the audience when to laugh, what they should laugh about, what should be considered funny, together with the underlying values of such decisions, and what the agents of the process want their audiences to laugh at. Some Taiwanese and Korean TV stations are also using this kind of telecommanded patronising subtitles.

Some other audiences seem, therefore, to be fed up of consuming audiovisual products in this way. Orrego-Carmona (2015) focuses on non-professional subtitling use in Spain as an efficient way to overcome linguistic barriers, and provides a general picture of users' engagement with audiovisual content, their attitude towards subtitling and non-professional subtitling, and how they manage their

expectations and adapt to the new conditions. Both digitalization and empowerment converge in a new way of subtitling, the so-called creative subtitling – inter and intralinguistic –, which grants other functions to subtitles apart from the simply communicative one, typical of standard commercial subtitling. Subtitles as footnotes, placed anywhere on the screen, subtitles as creative titles, emerging from coffee machines or chimneys, subtitles placed next to the onscreen characters' mouths (*NCIS*, Wharmby 2003-in production), etc.

In the series *Good Behavior* (Hodge and Crouch, 2016 – in production) the opening credits include the names of the stars and the most relevant people belonging to the cast and crew, but these captions are intertwined with other captions, written in different fonts, colours and typographical usages, written on walls, doors, balls, cinemas billboards, etc. containing enigmatic sentences which forecast the story, such as these that follow:

Table 1. Examples of creative subtitles in the series Good Behavior

Type of subtitle	Text
Credits	TNT PRESENTS MICHELLE DOCKERY
Creative subtitle (Neon lights on a wall of a night club)	DO YOU LIKE YOU?
Creative subtitle (Resembling a text message)	SO, WHAT DO YOU FEEL?"
Credits	JUAN DIEGO BOTTO
Creative subtitle (Resembling a text message)	I DON'T LIKE WHAT I'M BECOMING
Creative subtitle (Neon light)	WHAT IF
Credits	TERRY KINNEY
Creative subtitle (Alleged film title displayed on the outside of a movie theatre in the sixties or seventies)	I AM THE BEST ME I CAN BE
Credits	LUSIA STRUS NYLES JULIAN STEELE
Creative subtitle (Text on a crystal ball)	I LIVE BY MY POSITIVE CHOICES
Creative subtitle (Graffito written on a closed shop roller blind)	I CAN FEEL HOW BEAUTIFUL I AM
Creative subtitle – TRANSITION TO MAIN TITLE	BE GOOD
Creative subtitle – MAIN TITLE	GOOD BEHAVIOR

The last subtitle, in fact, the main title of the series, first displays the imperative phrase "Be good", the verb then disappears while the adjective remains on screen and the word "Behavior" appears as a roll-on subtitle: "Good Behavior". This creative caption has probably determined the Spanish translation (*Buena conducta*) since having to first translate "Be good" (sé bueno, sé buena) and then maintaining the equivalent term for "Good" as part of the main title, obliges one to opt for *Buena conducta* (the adjective *bueno* can never be placed before a noun, Spanish usage obliges it to be shortened into *buen*). Therefore, other possible, maybe more natural, options like *Buen comportamiento* might have been discarded. Creative subtitles are now constantly appearing in new TV series, expanding the concept of the term 'subtitle': they do not necessarily appear at the bottom of the screen, they can be placed wherever on screen, they no longer follow any typographical conventional usage and they form an integral part of the story. In fact, the borderline between subtitles and text on screen is now totally blurred. Considering the peripheral use of creative subtitles in fansubbings, it is now evident that the industry is adopting these new creative and active behaviours and incorporating them into their new modern products.

This is clearly combinable with other aspects, like multilingual movies and translation – languages other than the main language of the film can be subtitled using creative subtitles –, or with the concept of accessible filmmaking (Romero Fresco 2013), where creative subtitles can be part of the production process thus avoiding the need of inserting postproduction subtitles. Creative subtitles have their roots in fansubs (Ferrer Simó 2006; Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz 2006; Orrego-Carmona 2015), an increasingly popular phenomenon, both because of the growing communities of people who enjoy foreign, particularly Japanese, products, and because the existing computer software for home subtitling of foreign products is readily available and can be easily used by fans all over the world. Finally, mention has to be made of voluntary subtitling, commissioned by certain non-profit associations, also known as crowd sourcing (Díaz-Cintas 2013), like TED, Universal Subtitles and Khan Academy.

Deuze (2007) claims that consumers' participation in the production process as co-creators has increased significantly in the last ten years in fields as varied as journalism, TV and film production, advertising, design and communication, among others. For example, citizen journalists reporting news through Twitter and Facebook have become a valuable source for TV news stations:

> amateur photographers have the chance to offer royalty-free photos for sale through online photo stocks; the crowdsourcing models of the fashion industry involve the consumers as part of the design process. The engagement of media consumers in media production highlights the emergence of user-generated content, not just as an addition to the industry-produced content but also as an important and necessary part of the industry's final product.   (Orrego-Carmona 2015: 11)

Undoubtedly, it is now the audience's turn. This audience empowerment has materialised in some interesting trends in our field:

1. The increasing use of *free-commentaries*, both in the form of funsubs and fundubs (i.e. humoristic subtitles and dubbings made for fun, thus being intentionally unfaithful to the original text), but also in other new experiments, like the so-called literal dub versions. A literal dub version or literal music video (see above) like the ones substituting the original lyrics of a song (*You're beautiful*, by James Blunt; *Total Eclipse of the Heart*, by Bonnie Tyler, among many others) by lyrics that ironically describe the visuals in the video;

2. The use of new apps that easily enable domestic subtitling and dubbing, the latter being totally unthinkable in the pre-digitalization era. New apps, such as *Dubsmash* and *Lipp*, among others, consist in video messaging applications for iOS and Android, which enable users to choose an audio recording or sound bite from movies, shows, music or the internet, and record a video of themselves dubbing over that piece of audio, thus empowering themselves and creating a new clip which can also be uploaded to the web and subsequently viewed by thousands of other spectators;

3. The creation of extensions of transmedia projects, i.e. the production of new cumulative plotlines or extensions of an existing popular product, as has been the case of a documentary entitled *I am your father* (Cabotà and Bestard 2016), which explores the stormy relationship between the giant of audiovisual productions, Lucasfilm, and David Prowse, a body builder and British actor, the first to embody the most famous villain in the history of cinema: Darth Vader. Two *Star Wars* saga fans, therefore passive spectators of the American major, decided to become active spectators and subsequently producers of an extension of this epic space opera franchise. Transmedia, multiplatform, or enhanced storytelling represents the future of entertainment and its economic growth; it typically exploits the power of another social good-translocal culture:

   > Films intended for global production and distribution contribute to the creation of a state of translocal intersubjectivity (shared meaning) and social knowledge, although the latter is often based on a nonreciprocal relation since it is often influenced by the anglophone target readerships/audience knowledge and apprehension of familiar and reassuring cultural markers;   (Riley 2007: 30–31)

4. The already-mentioned creation of fansubs and fandubs, the conventions of which can and are really affecting the way commercial subtitling and dubbing is professionally performed;

5. The creation of new consumption habits, for instance, audiences getting accustomed to voiced-over reality shows, audiences revealing a different tolerance threshold in terms of, for example, the accuracy of lip-syncing or reasonable

reading speed, due to the influence of new practices such as the new synching types applied in videogame localization or the new typographical usages utilized in fansubs.

The way to consume audiovisual contents has radically changed and from a traditional passive – or at most, selective – audience, we can now see a participating audience, which has transformed television and the Internet into a social experience. Distribution companies are no longer in control of everything, and though TV stations and video-on-demand platforms choose and prepare the contents, audiences have their say and decide when, where, how and what to consume. This also has a number of consequences, such as the disruptive power of some audiences, who become in a way influencers and prescriptively condition potential spectators by means of comments and statements in the web and on social networks. The producers and distributors of audiovisual contents will have to take into account the social, co-participating and unrestricted nature of this new scenario where contents have to be produced together with the audience and no more for the audience.

5. Audiovisual translation as a social and political tool

This new scenario also implies pondering on which materials were – in the past – and are – now – chosen to be translated. In general terms, and looking at what happens in the literary world (Marco Borillo 2010), we can agree that there are three ways to build audiovisual cultural capital: either (a) our domestic audiovisual classic and cult movies and TV series and cartoons can be watched and reinterpreted once again, remade, and even extended (transmedia narratives), thus giving them added value each time they are consumed; or (b) the target culture can incorporate canonical audiovisual products from foreign cultures, normally via translation, thus giving them the status of canonical texts; or (c) the target culture can produce domestic audiovisual texts imitating, incorporating, adapting foreign models (like transmedia extensions, TV franchises, transnational remakes, etc.), or otherwise produce enhanced forms of translation that, at first, would constitute a modern peripheral way to consume foreign texts, but which will eventually find its place in the target culture, consequently increasing its cultural audiovisual capital. There are new *places* where these new modern ways to increase a particular target audiovisual capital can become popular and in a way, consecrated. Reference websites, social networks, VoD platforms, etc. are the new *places* where new norms are set and new values are generated and spread more easily and faster than ever before. Aesthetic evolutions are a sign of modernity, and although these evolutions are per se unstable, some of them have a great impact on audiences and may have

an impact on canonical domestic products and on canonical translated products (professional dubbings or subtitlings, for example). Modernity is perceived differently by fansubbers, fandubbers, videogame localizers, canonical dialogue writers and professional subtitlers.

New values and norms start with the selection of the materials to be translated. In the past, distributors decided what to broadcast, what to sell to TV stations and what not to sell or distribute. Now, fansubbers and fandubbers decide what to subtitle and what to dub, just accessing the web and finding new products or products which are deemed worthy and which perhaps have status in their community. Therefore, the *habitus* can be changed and has, in fact, changed.

Creative subtitles, as shown above, are a proof of this change of habitus – thanks, always, to digitalization. And some creative uses also display ideological agendas. For example, in multilingual movies, subtitling other languages (over and above the main language of the film, the so-called L3 languages) in capital letters not only draws the audience's attention towards them, but also highlights them as strange, as not deserving the same typographical features adopted for the dialogues in the main language of the film. This is the case of the TV series *American Odyssey* (Armus, Foster, and Horton 2015) and *Crossing Lines* (Bernero 2013–2015), where dialogues in L3 have been subtitled in Spanish using capital letters.

Another example of peripheral practice that can easily be introduced in the canon would be *funads*, audiodescriptions made for fun. In these audiodescriptions the narrator makes fun of the situations and movements of the characters in the film. While respecting the turn-taking, descriptions are inserted in silences, as expected, but they can include sex-related comments, silly observations and ludicrous remarks. This is the case of a popular audiodescription of the Spanish TV Series *El Ministerio del Tiempo* (P. Olivares and J. Olivares, 2015-in production) uploaded on the web.

Another more interesting and intriguing example is that of *Glee* (Brennan, Falchuk, and Murphy 2009–2015). In the first episode of the fourth season, Rachel and Brody bump into each other when Brody exits the shower totally naked. In the (fan?)dubbed version into Latin American Spanish, Rachel is dubbed, whereas Brody (the character representing a misfit, a male escort) is subtitled. Both speak English in the original version, but in the (fan)dub version, the woman is dubbed while the man is subtitled. The choice to subtitle rather than to dub a specific character may not be totally naïf. Considering that dubbing is the norm on Latin American public and private TV stations (as opposed to the use of subtitling on cable TV stations in most Latin American countries), the fact that the woman is dubbed and the man subtitled raises questions linked to identity and social ascriptions. What seems to come across is that the man is a foreigner who needs to be subtitled in order to be understood, this emphasizing his otherness. These two

characters are sexually attracted to each other and soon start a relationship, but Rachel breaks up when she discovers that Brody is a male escort. Therefore, the *innocent* girl is dubbed and the *perverse* boy is subtitled.

The web is also flooded with fundubs of President Donald Trump's famous clips. Most of them try to make jokes about him, and try to ridicule him. Most of his dialogues are either substituted by nonsensical, parodic and culture-bound jokes or substituted by strong political pep talks which reveal his supposedly real agenda, truffled with racist, highly conservative, bigoted statements, posture and intentions. Mention has to be made to Mexican fandubs of famous Trump speeches both before and after the presidential campaign, which tackle the wall issue with an admirable sense of humour.

The same trend can be observed in subtitling. Fansubs make fun (funsubs) of political authorities and celebrities, among others. Some of the funsubs of the most famous scene of *Der Untergang* (Hirschbiegel 2004) show an Adolf Hitler really annoyed about nonsensical issues, about domestic minor questions in the target culture and about irrelevant matters, such as football. However, in every funsub (like in every fundub), fansubbers and fandubbers express their ideology, which normally goes against the tide. To mention just one Spanish funsub of this famous scene, Nazi Army Generals inform Hitler that Real Madrid, the well-known Spanish football team, has lost the Spanish league against its eternal rival, Barcelona. Hitler gets really annoyed and begins to yell as though he were possessed. Apart from the nonsensical topic triggering off Hitler's paranoid behaviour, there are other underlying implications contained in that translation: Real Madrid has been and still is associated with Spain's past military-dictator Franco, who was a fervent supporter of this team; it is also politically linked to conservative political parties and to some notorious businessmen in Spain. Therefore, in a way, the choice of displaying Hitler as a fan of Real Madrid in a translation is not random.

These examples reveal that translation is much more than simply a bridge between cultures, much more than an innocent aseptic way to transfer meaning between two separate entities. Translation, here, is culture itself; it is what constitutes culture; it is the essence of culture. Translation determines the shaping of opinions and identities and, even more so, audiovisual translation, given its huge impact, can shape opinions, give rise to certain ways of thinking, solidify beliefs, reinforce negative attitudes or foster positive judgement. Translators can truly play an active role in this creative process.

This social turn in audiovisual translation can be summarised as follows: new audiences, being conscious of the world surrounding them, consequently take action as consumers, prosumers and translators.

Acknowledgements

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Are we all together across languages?

An eye tracking study of original and dubbed films

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In one of the first attempts to apply eye-tracking technology to the area of dubbing, this chapter reports on an experiment conducted in 2016 with viewers of the original English and dubbed Italian version of Wes Anderson's *The Grand Budapest Hotel*. The study analysed the gaze behaviour of participants watching different scenes, focusing on variations in attentional synchrony and visual momentum. The results show less attentional synchrony and a higher visual momentum for the dubbing viewers. They also support the existence of the so-called dubbing effect, an unconscious eye movement strategy performed by dubbing viewers to avoid looking at mouths in dubbing, which prevails over the natural and idiosyncratic way in which they watch original films and real-life scenes.

Keywords: attentional synchrony, dubbing, dubbing effect, eye tracking, perception, reception, visual momentum

1. Introduction

As John Berger made it clear as early as 1972 in his seminal book *Ways of Seeing*, we live in an ocular age, organized around the primacy and potency of looking and seeing. If this was true 45 years ago, it is more so than ever today, as we are increasingly exposed to images. In film studies, the centrality of images and their primacy in orienting film perception and comprehension have long been explored from a host of perspectives, often leading scholars to highlight the role of vision, to the detriment of hearing when it comes to film engagement and reception (Alton 1949; Mercado 2010). However, although film is indeed "a replete visual canvas", it is also true that "every frame, every shot, is accompanied by the poetics of sound" (Rassell et al. 2016: 139). Today, as shown in Section 2, an increasing body of

work is being made available on how auditory stimuli influence and direct visual perception and the overall engagement with a film, from the perspective of music studies, psychology, anthropology, cultural studies and often adopting an interdisciplinary approach.

Studying cinema from the point of view of audiovisual translation (AVT) has clearly given prominence to the verbal element, in its aural or written form. Nonetheless, as interdisciplinarity has been making its way into AVT, a more integrated approach has been favoured over the past years, where linguistic analysis is paired with aesthetic, psychological and cultural considerations, all seeing the filmic text as a visual-verbal whole. As put by Michel Chion, watching film involves *audio viewing*, where seeing and hearing are synchronized and synthesized (1994: 221). For Chion, sound not only localizes and animates the moving image, but it registers on an emotional and embodied level for the viewer (1994).

Studies on perception by means of eye tracking have, by now, fully entered the realm of AVT studies. Although the application of eye tracking to moving instead of static images is rather recent in itself, AVT research relying on eye-tracking technologies has been featuring regularly in volumes, international conferences and research projects over the past years, fostering interdisciplinarity and a renewed, long-neglected attention to the audience. As Redmond and Batty put it (2015: online), eye-tracking research explores the eye, brain, body and ear conjunction, thus going beyond the eye/ear dichotomy and grounding film perception and comprehension in terms of a more complex human experience.

In line with this, the present study aims to explore the largely neglected area of the reception of dubbed films as compared to original versions by using eye-tracking technology and focusing on two key cognitive aspects: attentional synchrony and visual momentum. The following sections provide an overview of some of the main findings obtained so far in eye-tracking research applied to original and translated films. This is followed by a description of the experiment and a discussion of its results.

2.   Key concepts in eye-tracking research and beyond

The application of eye tracking methodologies to research on film and moving images more in general is rather recent. Since its inception, however, it has brought about significant benefits for many disciplinary fields, among them film studies and cognitive studies, but also aesthetics, anthropology and AVT.

As Dyer and Pink put it,

> In recent times there has been a growing appreciation that to understand how the human visual system and brain process complex information, the use of moving images has significant advantages since these stimuli may more accurately represent the very complex and dynamic visual environments in which we typically operate.
>
> (2015: online)

Moreover, working with moving images and audiovisual texts allows researchers to identify the extremely interesting mechanisms of anticipation (Land and Lee 1994): in film sequences, for instance, saccades (eye trajectories) reveal the visual anticipation of tasks, which is typical of the human brain when faced with a sequence of stimuli. Visual anticipation is connected with viewers' experiences and habits, thus it can also be representative of their cultural and social background (Dyer and Pink 2015). This is very relevant for the perspective of the study that we are presenting in this chapter, which is concerned with the extent to which visual perception is affected by variations in language and the socio-cultural system behind it.

With the move to research on audiovisual texts through eye tracking came the interest in sound and how it can shape visual perception over dynamic sequences. In a recently published study, Rassell et al. (2016: 139) report on an experiment to assess visual perception with an eye tracker (focusing both on fixations and saccades) over the same film sequences played with and without sound. The results show some differences, but mostly outside primary gaze locations. All in all, core visual attention remained unchanged in both versions although the study is based on responses by only six individuals. This research is inspired by a previously published study by Foulsham and Sanderson (2013), where the film clip used featured four characters engaged in a discussion. In this case, the film clip used featured four characters engaged in a discussion. By manipulating the presence of sound and deleting different portions of it, there were remarkable differences in findings related to attentional synchrony, i.e. the viewers' tendency to look at the same elements and outline similar eye trajectories. It would thus seem that the role and manipulation of sound over audiovisual texts are still not sufficiently investigated, with data from the available studies not being convergent at all.

First discussed by Smith and Henderson in 2008, attentional synchrony manifests itself particularly in audiovisual texts such as films, whereas it seems to be less salient over static images. As Tim Smith observes, "something about the dynamics of a moving scene leads to all viewers looking at the same place, at the same time" (Smith, in Thompson and Bordwell, 2011: online). Thus, attentional synchrony can be revealing of commonality in perception and cognitive processing, and it is certainly most interesting to investigate in conjunction with different language versions of a film. As Smith adds, attention synchrony, as reflected in fixations and their duration, is determined both by bottom-up and by top-down factors. Bottom-up factors involve a reaction to a stimulus, in this case the visual scene,

which captures attention automatically without volitional control. Top-down factors are directed by a voluntary control that focuses attention on something that is relevant to the observers or to their intentions, desires and, most meaningfully for us, prior experience (Smith, in Thompson and Bordwell, 2011).

Closely related to the concept of attentional synchrony and equally relevant to our study is the notion of visual momentum. It was first introduced by Hochberg in 1962 and then further explored in relation to cinema and moving images by Hochberg and Brooks in 1978. Visual momentum refers to the viewer's interest as it is maintained, or lost, across different images, or part of images, in a sequence (1978). For Hochberg and Brooks, visual momentum generally declines as the information has been obtained and the eye can concentrate on other meaning-making elements. Smith himself, in 2015, defined visual momentum as the pace at which information is acquired. It will be interesting to see if in our study, two different language versions of the same film yield different types of visual momentum and indeed what happens in sequences with on-screen text whose language is accessible only to viewers of the original version.

Finally, and temporarily leaving eye-tracking studies and cognitivism aside, one last concept that has guided our experiment on original and dubbed films is that of the suspension of disbelief. First introduced by Coleridge in 1817, it defines a willingness to suspend one's critical faculties and believe the unbelievable, thus sacrificing realism and logic for the sake of enjoyment. In AVT, Romero-Fresco (2009: 68–69) introduced the notion of suspension of linguistic disbelief to refer to "the process that allows the dubbing audience to turn a deaf ear to the possible unnaturalness of the dubbed script while enjoying the cinematic experience", which is facilitated by habit.

The concepts presented in this section have helped us define our research questions and hypotheses, which shall be illustrated in Section 4. Section 3 below offers a brief overview of eye-tracking research in AVT, which will contextualise our study within this ever-growing landscape.

3. Eye tracking and audiovisual translation

The first eye-tracking studies in AVT may be traced back to the 80s and the early 90s in Europe (d'Ydewalle et al. 1987; d'Ydewalle and Gielen 1992) and to the turn of the century in the US (Jensema et al. 2000). Since then and especially in the past 5 years they have grown exponentially, although the bulk of the research in this area is still devoted to either interlingual subtitling or subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing. The main findings obtained so far show that subtitles are perceived by the viewers both as a reactive, bottom-up process and as a reflexive, top-down one.

On the one hand, the appearance of text on screen (whether subtitles or another type of on-screen text) seems to draw the viewers' attention to it automatically, regardless of whether the subtitles are needed (d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker 2007) or understood (Bisson et al. 2014). On the other hand, the viewers read the subtitles voluntarily as soon as the characters speak in order to understand what they are saying. Experienced subtitle viewers seem to watch subtitled programmes almost effortlessly (d'Ydewalle and De Bruycker 2007), starting with the subtitles (Jensema et al. 2000), then turning to the images (de Linde and Kay 1999) and modulating their visual strategies according to the type of subtitled programme they are watching (Perego et al. 2010). However, viewers may also reveal less smooth reading patterns, shifting their gaze between the image and the subtitles in what are known as regressions or deflections (de Linde and Kay 1999). Although familiarisation with subtitles and especially the content of the film plays a major role here (Perego et al. 2016), most viewers spend more time looking at the subtitles than at the images, but the fixations on the images are longer (Perego et al. 2010). In other words, once they have finished reading the subtitles, the viewers of a subtitled film use their remaining time to focus on the key parts of the image, often faces, when they are present (Crouzet et al. 2010), for as long as possible. Thus, they seem to explore the image less than the viewers of the original film without subtitles.

The application of eye tracking to dubbing is still in its infancy. In a pioneering experiment, Hvelplund (2017) monitored the eye movements of dubbing translators while translating an animated show from English into Danish in order to investigate their cognitive processes. He found that the majority of the visual attention was devoted to the target text manuscript, whereas the most cognitively demanding part, as measured by the participants' pupil sizes, was the processing of the audiovisual material. In a further study, Vilaró and Smith (2011) compared the gaze behaviour of viewers watching an animated film in the original English audio condition, a Spanish language version with English subtitles, an English language version with Spanish subtitles and a final version dubbed into Spanish without subtitles. The participants were English speakers who did not know Spanish. The results of the study show evidence of subtitle reading in all conditions (even when they were in Spanish and therefore unhelpful for the participants) and a great deal of similarity in the exploration of peripheral objects. Visual and verbal recall proved similar across the different conditions except for the version dubbed into Spanish, whose poorer results are to be expected given that the participants could not understand the Spanish dialogue. In a recent study, Perego et al. (2016) used eye tracking and behavioural measurements to analyse the differences in the visual, cognitive and evaluative reception of two subtitled and dubbed films with two different degrees of complexity. Their results confirm the cognitive efficiency and positive reception of both AVT modalities but also that complex audiovisual material may require an extra effort from the viewers so as to accelerate their reading process.

To our knowledge, the only study that has used eye tracking to compare the reception of original and dubbed films has been conducted by Romero-Fresco and not yet published (forthcoming). In this experiment, 18 native English viewers and 21 native Spanish viewers watched an original scene from *Casablanca* and its dubbed version in Spanish. The English viewers devoted 73% of their time to look at the eyes of the characters and 27% of the time to look at their mouths, which is in line with what has been found in the literature so far. In contrast, the Spanish viewers devoted 93% of their time to look at the characters' eyes and only 7% to look at their mouths. The results obtained from questionnaires on comprehension and sense of presence indicate that the Spanish viewers had no problems understanding the scenes and that they felt as immersed in the fiction as the English participants. A further questionnaire on self-reported distribution of attention shows that the Spanish viewers believed that they were focusing on mouths just as much as on eyes, thus being unaware of their strong eye bias. These findings point to the potential existence of a *dubbing effect*, that is, an unconscious strategy/eye movement adaptation performed by dubbing viewers to avoid looking at mouths in dubbing. This dubbing effect seems to prevail over the natural and idiosyncratic way in which humans watch reality and film, and allows them to suspend disbelief and be transported into the fictional world by unconsciously focusing on eyes rather than mouths.

However, the above mentioned experiment (forthcoming) only looked at close ups in the reception of original English and dubbed Spanish films. Focusing on a different language combination, the present study offers a broader methodological perspective, as it expores eye behaviour in different types of shots and scenes in relation to two of the key aspects identified so far in eye-tracking research: attentional synchrony and visual momentum.

4.   *The Grand Budapest Hotel*: An eye-tracking study

4.1   Research questions and material

The main research questions chosen for this study are as follows:

– How does the eye behaviour of dubbing viewers compare to that of original viewers watching the same film in a different language?
– And, more specifically, what is the difference, if any, in attentional synchrony and visual momentum between dubbing and original viewers watching different sequences of the same film?

The film used in the experiment was *The Grand Budapest Hotel*. Directed by Wes Anderson in 2014, it is an example of his unique visual style, including a carefully arranged mise-en-scene and the theatrical use of sideways tracking shots and head-on mid or long shots with symmetrical compositions that highlight the importance of both the characters and the background against which they are presented. These elements make the film and the selected sequences particularly interesting from the point of view of an eye-tracking based study comparing the reception of the dubbed and the original film.

Given the virtual absence of eye-tracking studies comparing the reception of original and dubbed films, and with a view to exploring as many potentially interesting features for analysis as possible, we selected three sequences from the film, each 60 to 70 seconds long and presenting different challenges. Clip 1 opens on a long shot showing several characters engaged in the preparation of a hotel room for a guest, and continues on a medium shot and a close up of Gustave and Madame D, two of the protagonists, sitting at a breakfast table. Clip 2 features a number of instances of written text in the form of newspapers, news adverts, writings on buildings and clothes, etc. Clip 3 opens on a train scene, first of all shot from the outside with a voice off screen and then inside a wagon, with three characters speaking in medium shot.

In the action sequences (clips 1 and 3), we analysed the influence of different sounds (voices) on attentional synchrony and visual momentum. In the medium shots and close ups (Clip 1), we aimed to concentrate on eyes and mouths, often highlighted as the primary focus of attention in faces (Treuting 2006; Crouzet et al. 2010). Given that lip-synch in dubbing is hardly ever perfect, we hypothesized that viewers of dubbed versions would look less at mouths (and possibly more at eyes) when characters are talking in a close up. This could allow viewers to suspend disbelief and enjoy the cinematic experience despite the potential distraction of the lack of synch, just as the suspension of linguistic disbelief prevents them from being distracted by the potential use of unnatural language in the dubbed script. As for the presence of on-screen text, we aimed to observe the visual behaviour of dubbing viewers when no translation is provided but it is clearly relevant for the overall comprehension of the scene. Finally, regarding the presence of an off-screen voice, we set out to analyse if the absence of dubbing-sensitive elements such as mouths leads to more homogeneity in attentional synchrony.

4.2   Experiment set up

After selecting the clips for analysis, the experiment was planned and administered at the University of Macerata, Italy, and the University of Roehampton, London. The Italian section of the experiment included both eye-tracking tests and a follow-up questionnaire to ascertain the extent to which data about visual perception and attention are reflected in the participants' deliberate recollections and preferences. For the UK participants, eye-tracking tests were preceded by a brief demographic questionnaire but no further questions were asked after the experiment.

Although deliberately chosen in the 18–30 age range, participants in both sets of experiments were not specifically selected among students and none of them was a translation or language student. In Italy, the experiment was carried recruiting participants in the street facing the university buildings. Tests were administered between January and February 2016. 15 participants (6 male and 9 female) between 18 and 26 years old provided usable gaze data, with recording accuracy above 75%. The experiment was carried out using a T120 Tobii eye tracker, with 0.5 accuracy and data recording at 120 Hz. Data were subsequently analysed with Tobii Studio, version 3.4.4. In the UK, the experiments were carried out between January and March 2016. 16 participants (5 male and 11 female) between 23 and 29 years old provided usable data (same as above). As in Italy, participants were deliberately chosen avoiding translation and language students: among them were a bank clerk, a trainee psychologist and a call center operator. The experiment was carried out using an X120 Tobii eye tracker, with 0.5 accuracy and data recording at 120 Hz. Data extraction and analysis was carried out using Tobii Studio 3.2.3.

In both countries, participants were presented with the three selected clips in sequence, preceded by a short explanatory message on screen asking them to simply watch all three clips as they would be displayed, one after the other, with a 5-second black screen in between. Since only Italian participants were given a questionnaire after viewing the clips, we will be referring to the questionnaire results only occasionally and as a complement to our findings for the dubbed clips and the ensuing data. In the next three sections, we will discuss the results in relation to the most significant findings emerging from our data analysis.

4.3   Close ups and medium close ups; the dubbing effect

Viewers of dubbed films normally manage to suspend linguistic disbelief, thus ignoring, consciously or unconsciously, the presence of unnatural traits in the language used in the dubbed scripts so as to enjoy the cinematic experience (Romero-Fresco 2009). In terms of gaze behaviour and as per the so-called dubbing effect viewers

may be expected to avoid focusing on mouths in close ups, fixating instead on eyes in order to suspend disbelief and not be distracted by a potential lack of synchrony.

With this in mind, dynamic areas of interest (AOIs) were drawn over the mouths and eyes of Gustave (Ralph Fiennes) and Madame D (Tilda Swinton), the protagonists of the short dialogue in the second part of Clip 1. In a sequence that lasts about 50 seconds, the two are sitting at a breakfast table, facing each other and not moving at all, except for their eyes and mouths. They are first included in a medium shot, with the camera facing the breakfast table and the protagonists on the left (Madame D) and on the right (Gustave), and then individually in close ups. As well as the areas on eyes and mouths, in the 29-second medium shot including both characters an AOI was also drawn around the different objects on the breakfast table. The five AOIs can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 1. AOIs on mouths, eyes and breakfast table

The parameters used to analyse the data obtained from the English and Italian participants in this study were fixation count (FC) and fixation duration (FD), both of which were considered in relation to the number of viewers engaged in each AOI. The total FC and total FD were therefore averaged on the number of viewers on each area for these and all the FC and FD data discussed in the following sections. The above-mentioned 29-second medium shot of Madame D and Gustave at the breakfast table included 11 seconds with no dialogue and 18 seconds (67% of the time) with dialogue. The analysis confirms that higher figures were recorded for

FC and FD on mouths for the UK participants and on eyes for the Italian participants. For Gustave, FC on the mouth is 21.2% higher for UK participants than for the Italian cohort, whereas on the eyes it is 15.4% higher for the Italians than for the UK cohort. If FD on the eyes is almost the same for the UK and Italy, when it comes to mouth, FD is 54.2% higher for UK participants than for the Italian group (on average, 7.2 seconds vs 3.3 seconds).

In the case of Madame D, percentages were quite similar for Italy and the UK, with the Italian data also showing a great deal of interest in her mouth. This may be explained by the attraction exerted by Madame D's heavy makeup, especially her red lipstick, as was in fact reported by the participants in the questionnaires. When asked what they remembered best of Madame D's appearance, 9 out of 15 Italian participants mentioned her makeup and 5 referred explicitly to her lipstick. Her eyes were, nonetheless, fixated more times (FC +10%) by the Italian group than by the UK group. Another interesting finding that emerged from our data analysis is related to the AOI on the breakfast table. Quite unexpectedly, the Italians looked at the table much more than the UK participants, with a total FD amounting to 15.4 seconds (+63.7%) as opposed to 5.6 seconds for the English cohort. In general, attention to details beyond the main characters and objects involved in primary actions has been found to be higher amongst the Italian participants than the English ones. This calls for further investigation to ascertain whether this behaviour may be caused by the presence of a different language in the film soundtrack, as opposed to other variables such as the type of audiovisual content tested or geographical, cultural and age differences amongst the participants.

When the two protagonists are shot in individual medium close ups, Madame D appears first for 9 seconds. The results for FC and FD confirm our initial hypothesis, i.e. more attention on the mouth for the English participants and on the eyes for the Italian ones. The FC on the mouth for the UK participants is 15% higher than for the Italian group, and with FD percentages increase to +25% for the UK, whose average FD is 2.5 seconds (as opposed to 1.8 seconds for the Italians). In contrast, the attention of the Italian group on Madame D's eyes scored +14% in terms of FC and a similar +14.5% for FD.

As for Gustave's medium close up, it lasts 10 seconds but he only speaks for 6, a datum which may have an impact on both FC and FD. On the whole, his eyes are fixated more times by the Italians (FC +18.9%), whereas FD is almost equal (2 seconds for the Italian participants, 2.1 seconds for the English). Gustave's mouth is, quite interestingly, fixated more times by the Italians (+12%), but FD on his mouth is, on average, 18% higher for the English. On the whole, therefore, and with a few exceptions, the above-mentioned dubbing effect seems to be confirmed by our data.

4.4   Written text in dubbed films

On-screen text always poses a challenge for dubbing. Some form of translation ought to be provided, as most of the times this text carries meaning that is important for comprehension or plot development. In *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, written text appear on screen in many forms: newspapers, street signs, names of shops and other businesses, writings on clothes, etc. In the excerpt selected for Clip 2 in our experiment, several instances of written text are present, none of them provided with any translation in the Italian dubbed version. For the purpose of this study, we focused on the newsstand and its two news adverts, but before that on the newspaper carrying news of one of the protagonist's death, a short sequence which is indeed pivotal for plot development and overall comprehension.

Almost halfway through the film, Madame D dies. Gustave is informed by Zero, the hotel lobby boy, who is first seen in the street coming out of a newsstand flanked by two news adverts, one on the left and one on the right. Zero takes a heap of freshly printed newspapers from the newsstand, exits from the left and walks towards the hotel carrying the newspapers in his arms, the front page and headline facing up. Once inside the hotel, he knocks on Gustave's room door and shows him the newspaper. From a quick shot of the newspaper name and main headline, the camera moves down to focus on the news item at the centre of the page: the main headline, "Dowager Countess Found Dead in Boudoir", is flanked by a picture of the woman on the right and a brief article on the left, introduced by a sub-headline. Considering the lack of translation for all written texts in the Italian dubbed version of *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, our aim was to find out if, and to what extent, and to what extent, attentional synchrony and visual momentum vary for viewers of the original and the dubbed version. Moreover, the Italian participants may be expected to focus their attention more on the picture than on the written text.

The two images below (Figures 2 and 3) show the gazeplots of the English and Italian participants recorded on the brief sequence showing the centre of the newspaper main page. A first glance highlights a greater concentration on the headline on the part of the Italians, while the English managed to scan and fixate more sections of the newspaper.

This shot was, in itself, quite brief. The camera lingers on this section of the newspaper for 6 seconds. Nonetheless, data for FC and FD, again averaged on the number of viewers effectively engaged in these AOIs for both countries, are very interesting. The AOI drawn on the headline for this news item reveals that the Italians (all 15) looked at it more times, with FC amounting to +17.9% as compared to the English (all 16). These data become all the more significant if we add figures for FD: +25% for the English, i.e. 1.2 seconds on average, as opposed to 0.9 seconds for the Italian. This means that the latter looked at the headline more times, but

Figure 2. Gazeplots over newspaper – UK
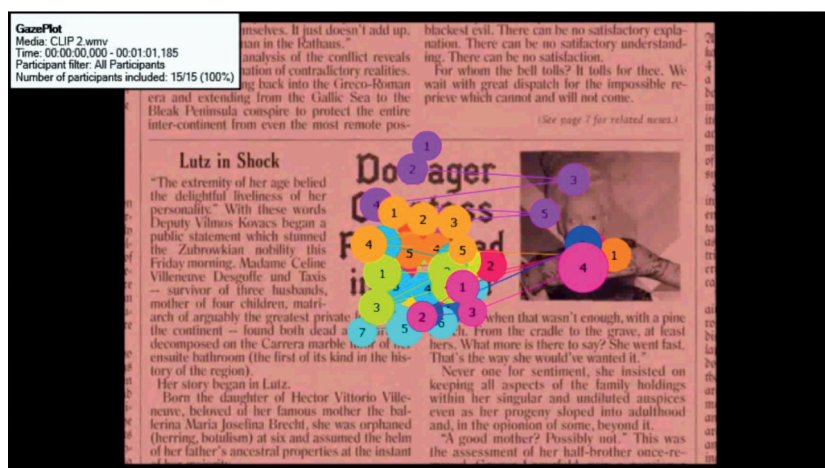
Figure 3. Gazeplots over newspaper – ITALY

always for shorter intervals. Analogous results were obtained for the image showing the dead countess: the Italians (8 out of 15) looked at the image more times (FC amounts to +35%) but for much shorter intervals than the English (9 out of 16). FD is 0.36 seconds for the Italians and 0.6 for the English, the duration being 40% higher for the latter. As shown by these figures and by the gazeplots in Figures 1 and 2 above, the English participants featured more regular scanpaths and fixated all the main elements for a reasonable amount of time, thus being able to read the headline, watch the picture, read the second, smaller headline on the left and even

start reading the article. In contrast, the Italians seem to have got lost in their search for meaning: their scanpaths were more frantic, less regular and with fixations so short as to probably make it impossible to read and understand the very object of the fixation. The presence of an untranslated foreign text brings about a decrease in attention synchrony and an increase in the visual momentum as compared to the English group. In other words, the Italians experience a more idiosyncratic and frantic search for meaning that prevents them from devoting enough time to look at the image, the only element that does not need a translation.

A look at the questionnaires filled out by the Italian group seems to confirm this analysis. In the seconds preceding and following the shot on the centre of the newspaper, Gustave is seen reading the news with great surprise and shock. He then tells Zero that they have to quickly get ready and leave, implying that they have to reach the place where the countess was found dead. One of the three open comprehension questions for Clip 2 that was presented to Italian participants was "Why does Gustave want to leave immediately?" Answers to this question were provided by all 15 participants, but only 3 out of them referred to Madame D's death, either stating "Because of Madame D's death" or, in one case, "Because Madame D is dead and he doesn't want to be suspected", therefore adding personal interpretation to the meaning of the scene. The other 12 participants did not refer to the woman's death, except for one case: one female participant stated that "Gustave discovers that Madame D has been assassinated", which does not correspond to reality. Even more interestingly, the other respondents referred to utterly different issues: two stated that Gustave wanted to reach Madame D and four referred to the war and to the forthcoming occupation, thus revealing that the woman's death had not been understood.

Besides the shot on the news item, our analysis focused on FD and FC for the two news adverts, placed on the left and right hand side of the newsstand (see Figure 4). Both adverts feature written text: the one on the left says "TWO DAILY EDITIONS" and the one on the right "ZUBROWKA'S PAPER OF RECORD".

The news advert on the left, with more straightforward meaning and less complex wording, scored a higher number of fixations (+57.7%) and longer times (FD +57.2%) for the Italians. However, these data are not particularly interesting if we consider that this news advert was placed in the trajectory followed by Zero when leaving the newsstand. It is part of the action performed by the sole character on screen in this sequence and therefore it triggers a bottom-up reaction by the viewers. The news advert on the right, featuring a more complex sentence, was on the other hand fixated many more times by the Italians (FC +68.8%), but for a much shorter interval (FD +50% for the English). In short, the English probably took just enough time to read the advert, whereas the Italians seem to have replicated the frantic scanpaths recorded for the newspaper above, in search for the meaning of the untranslated text. Once again, attentional synchrony is greater for

Figure 4. Newsstand and adverts

the English group than for the Italian participants, who reveal a more unpredict-able and frantic search for meaning that leads to an increased visual momentum. According to Hochberg and Brooks (see Section 2), visual momentum generally declines and changes when the required information has been obtained. This is what we find in the English data, where regular scanpaths and higher FD reveal a high degree of attentional synchrony and a visual momentum that declines once the meaning has been found. The difficulty in obtaining meaning is illustrated in the Italian data by a visual momentum with no decline but, instead, more complex and less regular scanpaths, frequent returns to previously viewed elements, short fixations and on the whole a lower degree of comprehension. Even our expectations of longer fixations on Madame D's image on the part of the Italians were refuted, as the data above suggest that the search for meaning and the focus on the written text accompanying the image have led to shorter times devoted to watching and understanding the image.

On the whole, the analysis of the data obtained in Clip 2 clearly confirms the overall hypothesis that dubbing (i.e. a new soundtrack), and in this case the pres-ence of untranslated text, has significant impact on the visual perception and the overall reception of a film.

4.5   Action scenes and long shots

This subsection analyses two action scenes. The first one, in Clip 3, features a train moving on its tracks, shot from above and accompanied by an off-screen narration. Selecting this scene, our aim was to see if, and how, visual attention varies across languages when the same sequence is accompanied by a different narrative voice not belonging to any character on screen. The data obtained for FC and FD in this case point to homogeneity in attentional synchrony and even in visual momentum: very similar patterns were identified for eye trajectories (saccades) and the figures for FC and FD are almost equal. The main (dynamic) AOI was drawn on the top of the train which can be seen moving along the tracks while the off-screen voice is speaking. This sequence lasts 7 seconds and the results show that the average FC is 1.5 for both the UK and Italian participants, whereas FD is 0.3 seconds. The only difference between the two groups is here recorded in terms of the actual number of people who fixated this area, which is 7 for Italy and 5 for the UK.

This symmetry in data does not apply to action sequences with on-screen characters speaking. Clip 1 opens with a 19-second sequence showing Gustave opening a door in the hotel and letting in several waiters and waitresses, all engaged in the preparations for Madame D's arrival. Gustave gives them orders as to where the objects they are carrying (suitcases and boxes) have to be placed and for the breakfast table to be arranged. In his article titled "Watching you watch There Will Be Blood", Tim Smith (2011) offers an insightful analysis of eye-tracking tests that can be related to this sequence in the film. With reference to the use of long shots and the way they are perceived by the viewers, Smith says: "the benefit of using a single long shot is the illusion of volition. Viewers think they are free to look where they want but, due to the subtle influence of the director and actors, where *they* want to look is also where the *director* wants them to look" (2011: online; emphasis in the original). This quotation is particularly interesting in relation to our study of a fairly long shot with characters performing simple actions: here, attentional synchrony and visual momentum vary considerably from the English to the Italian version, thus suggesting that the director's aims in terms of visual salience are subject to alteration in different language versions of the film.

In order to analyse data from the 19-second sequence described above, we drew four dynamic AOIs, corresponding to the main groups of action elements, including the moving characters. The first AOI, named Action 1 (6 seconds on screen), covers the first two waiters entering the room carrying suitcases. The second, named Action 2 (10 seconds on screen), includes the four waiters and the breakfast table they are arranging, on the left-hand side of the screen. The third AOI, Action 3 (12 seconds on screen), covers the other waiters and waitresses tending to Madame D's suitcases and boxes, on the right-hand side of the screen. A fourth AOI was drawn over Gustave (all 19 seconds on screen), as he moves

from the corridor where he opens the door into the room where the suitcases and breakfast table are being arranged. Picture 5 below shows a screenshot with three of the four dynamic AOIs for this sequence.
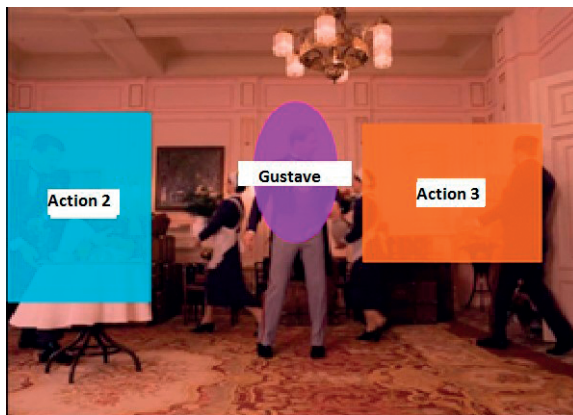
Figure 5. AOIs for the long shot sequence

All four AOIs reveal significant variations, especially in terms of FD. This parameter, again averaged on the number of viewers engaged in each area, is always higher for the UK participants. In Action 1, lasting 6 seconds, the English scored +33.3% in terms of FD, whereas in Action 2, appearing on screen for 10 seconds, the difference goes up to +60%. In Action 3, covering the suitcase and boxes area for an overall 12 seconds, FD is again +20% higher for the English, and finally with Gustave the average FD is +23% for the English for all 19 seconds. FC follows the pattern found so far in this study (higher for the Italian group), except for Action 2, covering the breakfast table area: in this case (10 seconds on screen), FC is +43% for the English over the Italian. Matching data analysis with observation of saccades through gazeplots, we can clearly see that in the Italian dubbed version saccades are more rapid and complex, often moving outside the main AOIs in relation to the actions. For the original version, gazeplots are more regular, with longer fixations and hardly ever any saccade outside the four AOIs. Once again, these findings point to differences in both attentional synchrony and visual momentum. Retrieval and comprehension of visual information, when guided by a different voice in a dubbed version, seem to be less systematic, more unpredictable and more dispersed outside the main areas of action.

A look at the questionnaire for Italian participants adds interesting details to our reading of the data. The first of the three comprehension questions for Clip 1 asked "What are the waiters and waitresses directed by Gustave doing?" Four out of 15 participants mentioned, in their reply, that a room is being prepared (two added that the room is for Madame D). All others provided less precise, or partially incorrect replies. Four people replied that the waiters and waitresses are "arranging" or

simply "preparing", without specifying what, or for whom. The others replied in a variety of ways: two individuals stated that the waiters are "preparing a banquet" or "a party" and two more stated that they are "preparing to leave". The others focused on one or two of the objects in this sequence, i.e. a tray, a hat and a box. Although these questionnaire replies ought to have been evaluated in relation to similar data from the UK participants, it would seem that shorter fixations and more intricate saccades correspond to partial loss of meaning.

As for the potential reasons that may explain the different visual behaviour of Italian and English participants, one of the first that comes to mind is the dubbing voices, their nature, timbre, etc. It might be that a somewhat less incisive voice, or a voice that is known to be a replacement for the original, leads to less regular visual behaviour and perhaps even to a lower degree of concentration. To confirm or reject this assumption, more excerpts from the two film versions should be analysed and tests with different voice types would also prove useful. Moreover, since the data obtained from other sequences in this experiment highlight a stronger interest for detail on the part of the Italian participants, it might be worth investigating their visual behaviour with original Italian films, as well as with other dubbed products.

5. Conclusion

The study of film cognition as a means to explore different viewing conditions and the way in which cinematic elements impact on the viewers' experience of a film (Smith 2015) is growing exponentially. One of the most useful tools for this type of analysis is eye tracking, which is also becoming increasingly popular amongst AVT scholars exploring the reception of translated and accessible audiovisual content. Although Film Studies and AVT Studies have traditionally followed separate ways, the use of eye tracking for the study of reception and cognition seems to have provided shared ground for cross-fertilisation, as shown in recent publications such as Redmond and Batty (2015) and Dwyer et al (2018). Understandably, most of the initial eye-tracking studies on original films were concerned with visual elements and how they impact on the viewers' attention. However, a few recent experiments (Coutrot et al. 2012, Rassell et al. 2015 and Robinson et al. 2015) have focused on sound, showing that the use of sound in film concentrates perceptual attention and triggers longer fixations and larger saccades than the absence of sound. In other words, the presence of sound increases attentional synchrony across different viewers and results in a slower visual momentum (the pace at which the visuals are scanned).

The aim of this study was to look at what happens when sound is not absent but rather replaced by a soundtrack in another language, a condition experienced daily by millions of dubbing viewers in countries such as Italy, Spain, Germany

or France. Given the virtual absence of studies analysing eye behaviour in original and dubbed films, we focused this study on attentional synchrony and visual momentum to ascertain whether we are all together in what we look at, and in the pace at which we look. The analysis of FC, FD and gaze plots of different types of sequences from the original and dubbed versions of Wes Anderson's *The Grand Budapest Hotel* has provided interesting findings. With the exception of the sequence showing a train along the tracks with an off-screen narration, all the clips analysed revealed noticeable differences between the two groups of viewers. The close ups and medium close ups in Clip 1 seem to confirm the presence of the so-called dubbing effect, a mechanism whereby dubbing viewers avoid looking at the characters' mouths and focus mainly on their eyes, in contrast with the natural and idiosyncratic way in which original viewers normally watch reality and film. This may be regarded as an indication of how important it is to suspend disbelief and to ignore the artifice involved in dubbing, for which viewers are ready not only to turn a deaf ear to the potential unnaturalness of the dubbed script (suspension of linguistic disbelief) but also a blind eye to the inevitable lack of lip synchrony by focusing on eyes rather than mouths.

The analysis of a long shot with action by several characters and another sequence with untranslated on-screen text reveals a common pattern, i.e. more dispersion (or less attentional synchrony) and a higher visual momentum for the dubbing viewers than for the viewers of the original film. In the case of untranslated on-screen text, this behaviour seems consistent with the research findings obtained so far regarding the absence of sound. In both cases, the viewers seem to adopt irregular and frantic viewing patterns to find clues that can help them make up for the missing element, whether it is sound or (textual) comprehension. What is more difficult to explain is why the same pattern is found in the long shot with action by several characters, which may suggest that instead of the translation mode, this difference could also be explained by other factors such as the personal profile of the viewers or their viewing habits.

The study presented here wants to lay the foundations for more systematic investigation of the reception of original and dubbed films by means of eye tracking. Further research may focus on larger samples of participants, longer sequences and different countries to learn more about whether or not we are "together across languages" when it comes to watching original and dubbed films. The confirmation of the dubbing effect and the differences in attentional synchrony and visual momentum found in this study seem to suggest that this is not the case and beg the question of whether original and dubbing viewers are watching different films or perhaps watching the same film so differently that it may become a different one. Either way, there is a great deal of eye-tracking research to be done on the comparative reception of original and dubbed films and we hope to have contributed to what looks like a very promising path to follow.

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Fandubbing across time and space

From dubbing 'by fans for fans' to cyberdubbing

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This chapter investigates a phenomenon that has received scant academic attention so far: fandubbing. To understand the extent and impact of this participatory practice in the current landscape, the chapter examines fandubbing origins and reflects on the needs met by fandubs at different times and contexts. The plethora of uses and motivations behind this phenomenon question the suitability of the term fandubbing. Against this backdrop, and drawing on Díaz-Cintas's (2018) conception of "cybersubtitles", the chapter advocates using the term cyberdubbing to reflect the wide range of non-traditional online dubbing practices so prevalent nowadays, including parodic and serious dubbings undertaken by fans, Internet users and digital influencers, be them professionals or amateurs.

Keywords: fandubbing, parodic dubbing, fundubbing, cyberdubbing, activist dubbing, altruist dubbing, participatory culture

1. Introduction

The pervasiveness of fandom and fan-related practices is undeniable: we are surrounded by fans and embedded in a media ecology that nurtures their creations. Our understanding of these practices is now more comprehensive than it has ever been: dissected by fan scholarship and supported by networks of participatory culture (Jenkins 2006), fans are no longer those misunderstood and sneered at geeks. Yet, there are some areas in the realms of fandom that are still relatively underexplored. This is the case with fandubbing, which has received scant academic attention so far (Nord, Khoshsaligheh, and Ameri 2015; Spina Ali 2015; Wang and Zhang 2016) especially if compared to fansubbing, which has attracted much more interest in academia (see, among others, Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006; Dwyer 2017; Bogucki 2009; Massidda 2015; Pérez-González 2015; O'Hagan 2009; Nornes 2007; Orrego-Carmona 2015).

The use of fan, amateur or non-professional practices in the translation industry in general and within audiovisual translation (AVT) in particular unquestionably leads to much debate (see for instance, AVTE 2017) and foregrounds the need to address these issues from an academic perspective. Any attempt to understand the extent and impact of current participatory practices such as fansubbing and fandubbing without contextualising them and undertaking detailed investigation is futile. Indeed, this needs to be done within the remit of Translation Studies, to further define our discipline, whose borders and key principles are constantly being challenged (see, for instance, Chaume 2018).

To this end, this chapter sets out to explore the phenomenon of fandubbing by situating it in its current context, examining its origins and reflecting on the motivations of those involved in these translation practices. It also aims to explore how this collaborative and co-creational practice reflects the politics of dubbing, revealing similarities and divergences with official dubbing practices, as well as with other co-creational forms of AVT such as fansubbing. This will be done by drawing on examples from fandubs created at different times and contexts, with a strong emphasis on English and Spanish. The aim is by no means to provide a detailed analysis of these, but rather to use them to further our understanding of this phenomenon.

Due to the conspicuous role of anime in the origins of fandubbing, particular attention will be paid to anime fandom. Yet, the focus will be on media fandom in general, understood as "the recognition of a positive, personal, relatively deep emotional connection with a mediated element of popular culture" (Duffett 2013: 2), which has emerged as a prolific phenomenon and has been transformed substantially in the past few years. Throughout this work, theoretical perspectives and notions through which fandubbing can be examined will be presented, framing this phenomenon in the current discussion of fan practices and participatory culture.

2. Historical approaches and current trends in fandubbing

The paramount role played by the Internet, social media and new technologies in fandubbing is highlighted in most of the definitions provided by authors investigating this phenomenon within Translation Studies. As such, Wang and Zhang (2016: 173) define fandubbing as "the activity performed by Internet users who edit and dub video clips selected from some original contents [sic] (mostly TV programmes and films) and share these self-made productions on video-streaming websites". In a similar vein, Chaume (2018: 87) defines fandubs as follows:

home-made dubbings of television series, cartoons (particularly the anime genre) and trailers for films that have not yet been released in the target language country or region. Fandubs are usually translated and recorded by fans of the said genres; they download the film texts from the Internet and use a digital sound editing program in order to manipulate or eliminate the soundtrack of the original version, to then insert a newly dubbed track which they record at home using a microphone […]. They are sometimes referred to as *fundubs*, when the main function of the 'creative translation' is parody; another name for them is *gag dubbing*, because of the witty and humorous nature of this type of home-developed dubbing.

Whereas the influence of technology and the Internet in the proliferation of fandubbing is undeniable, this phenomenon cannot be reduced to a technological trend and needs to be framed in ampler terms, considering the socio-cultural context in which it originated and was further developed. As Jenkins et al. (2006: 8) posit, "these activities become widespread only if the culture also supports them, if they fill recurring needs at a particular historical juncture". Thus, discussing and reflecting on the motivations of fandubbers, and the needs met by fandubs at specific times, is of paramount importance. As shown in Section 3 below, while some fandubs are attempts from a community to address the lack of official dubbing of specific material, in other cases the aim is to express discontent, satirise, experiment and entertain audiences.

These motivations lie behind the very origin of fandubs, which can be difficult to pinpoint exactly. Nord et al. (2015: 2) suggest that the practice of fandubbing dates back to the early 2000s, customarily involving the translation of anime. While this might have been when Internet fandubbing became widespread, our research shows that the first cases of fandubs can be traced back to the 1980s, and they did indeed entail the dubbing of anime programmes.

2.1   The origins of fandubbing (1980s–1990s): Anime dubbed by fans for fans

In the early years of the phenomenon, fandubbing was a second-nature, obvious choice for anime fans, deeply involved in so-called "geeking out" genres of participation,[1] denoting "an intense commitment or engagement with media or technology" (Herr Stephenson et al. 2010: 65). According to Merrill (2008: online):

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1.   Ito et al. (2010) introduce three genres of participation for understanding youth new media practices that are equally relevant to comprehend how varied audiences (and not only young people) engage with such media. According to these authors, "[t]he genres of participation – hanging out, messing around, and geeking out – reflect and are intertwined with young people's practices, learning, and identity formation within these varied and dynamic media ecologies"

> dubbing your own voice over somebody else's video is an idea that sort of comes naturally to the hard-core anime person [...] Anime fans of the 1980s by definition had to have intimate working knowledge of home video technology, and the leap to making their own song-tapes, music videos, and parody videos was not far at all.

Patten (2004) dates the first fan-made dubbing of an anime video to 1983, when Phil Foglio and Nick Pollotta revoiced an episode from the legendary Japanese series *Star Blazers* to create the parodic dubbing *You say Yamato*. The first examples of fandubbing were thus *fundubs* or instances of parodic dubbing, understood as "the practice of replacing the original dialogue track of an audiovisual text with another track containing a mostly new script created with humoristic purposes" (Baños, in press). This is not surprising since voice-recording developments were still rudimentary, with fans primarily using off the air recordings of their favourite anime programmes, a microphone and the audio dub button on VCRs (Merrill 2008).

By choosing to dub for fun, fans released themselves from the pressure to meet the quality standards of commercially-produced dubbed material. Some widely-known fandubbing groups active in the 1980s include Pinesalad Productions, creators of fundubs such as "How drugs won the war" (based on *Robotech* episodes) or "Dirty Pair *duz* dishes" (based on *Dirty Pair* episodes). The subversive nature of this type of fandubbing is apparent in the work of this community, who describe themselves as "a group of Southern California anime fans [who] decided to turn their favorite Robotech characters into pimps, prostitutes, drug abusers and anything else they could think of" (Pinesalad Productions 2009: online). Also popular were Sherbert Productions (see Nornes 2007) and Corn Pone Flicks, that heavily edited and dubbed episodes of *Star Blazers*. Their satiric interpretations of these popular anime series were disseminated amongst small groups of fans or in anime conventions, as with other anime productions at the time which were often showed in their original version.

Due largely to technological developments, fandubbing bloomed in the 1990s, as did fansubbing (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 37). The latter was largely aimed at overcoming the language barrier encountered by early anime fans who were only able to watch their favourite programmes in Japanese: "[o]ver time amateur translation groups developed to subtitle anime that had been recorded in

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(Herr Stephenson et al. 2010: 31). These can thus be seen as types of media engagement, based on modes of participation rather than on types of media platform, frequency of media use or categories of individuals. As Herr Stephenson et al. (2010: 53–54) posit, "[w]hereas hanging out is a genre of participation that corresponds largely with friendship-driven practices in which engagement with new media is motivated by the desire to maintain connections with friends, messing around [...] represents the beginning of a more intense engagement with new media".

Japan on videotape or commercial laserdisc and then subtitled by fan translators and distributed on videotape through fan networks (Newitz) or via the Internet" (Cubbison 2005: 48). Yet, fandubbing groups in the 1990s were still mainly engaged in parodic dubbings and not in 'serious fandubs', i.e. those undertaken to overcome linguistic barriers and not for humoristic purposes. Once again, this was presumably due to both technical and time constraints (with dubbing software still only offering basic results and the dubbing process being more time-consuming) as well as to the preference of many anime fans towards subtitling.

Whereas the debate dubbing vs. subtitling is currently sterile, considering this as well as general anime translation practices in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the US, can shed light onto the origin and nature of fandubbing at that time. As Patten (2004: 23) explains, many popular TV cartoons broadcast during the 1960s in the US (e.g. *Speed Racer* or *Astro Boy*) were Japanese anime dubbed into US English. Their Japanese origin went unnoticed among the US public (Patten 2004) presumably due to the high level of domestication they were subject to during the dubbing process. As Cubbison (2005: 46) maintains, "the marginal status of animation means that anime is more likely than live-action foreign film to be altered for each new national market it enters". While alterations aimed at neutralising Japanese anime are arguably easier to be implemented through dubbing with the corresponding deletion of the original dialogue track, the erroneous association of animation with young audiences[2] also favoured the use of this AVT mode, used all over the world to translate children's cartoons.

The latter also motivated the introduction of further alterations for age-appropriateness in some cases. The realisation from fans of the extent to which these texts had been altered for US audiences promoted the acquisition of original versions "that had not been tainted by US distribution strategies" (Dwyer 2017: 139), as well as the development of amateur fansubbing groups (Cubbison

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2. Patten (2004: 19) posits that one of the unique traits of Japanese animation that has made it so accessible today is "the Japanese acceptance of cartoon animation as a medium of cinematic storytelling for all age and interest groups, rather than just for children (as is the Western bias)". As a result of such bias, some anime aimed at older audiences in Japan was targeted in western markets at younger audiences, and had to be heavily edited for age-appropriateness. In the US, this was done for series such as *Battle of the Planets, Star Blazers* (Patten 2004: 55–56) or Sailor Moon (McNally 2014). Anime is not the only subgenre affected by this erroneous assumption, which is perhaps not as widespread nowadays. The poor audience ratings achieved by *The Simpsons* when this series was first shown in Spain in 1991 were likely due to episodes being broadcast after the watershed. As Marta Lazo and Tovar Lasheras (2011: 144) suggest, the series became a success once episodes started being broadcast at lunch time and prime time in 1994, being watched and favorited by very young audiences since then.

2005: 48). Fansubbing was thus frequently the only way for western fans to access translated Japanese anime that had not been commercially distributed outside Japan, staunchly becoming an endeavour carried out by fans for fans.

Whereas subtitling performed by fans contributed to building an audience for anime and to the far-reaching impact of this genre (Cubbison 2005), the mainstream attraction of dubbing in this context seems unassailable. While purist fans preferred watching the original Japanese anime with or without English subtitles, sales were decidedly higher for English dubbed videos (Patten 2004: 63). These statistics were attentively contemplated by the various anime distributors that became widespread in the 1980s and 1990s in the US, many of them stemming from the early anime fan clubs and groups (Cubbison 2005: 48). As such, the distributor Streamline Pictures, created by Carl Macek and Jerry Beck in 1988 to import, translate and distribute anime in the US (Patten 2004: 38) decided to dub all their anime in an attempt to promote this genre among the general US public, instead of just catering to the anime fan market (Patten 2004: 78).

This brief historical overview portraits subtitling as an AVT mode nurtured and supported by fans to overcome linguistic barriers, accomplishing higher authenticity, and dubbing as a mainstream transfer mode, yet resorted to by fans for humoristic and subversive purposes. This could be glossed as fans not taking dubbing seriously, using home-made dubbings and "the foreign objects of their obsession to critique areas of the domestic intertext [...] all the while inserting their new text into current events in popular culture" (2007: 196). Indeed, Nornes (Nornes 2007) illustrates how the first parodic fandub carried out by Sherbert Productions, "Dirty Pair: The Arrest of Mr. Macek", ridicules one of the founders of the above-mentioned Streamline Pictures: Carl Macek. Based on an episode of the anime series *Dirty Pair*, dubbed into English officially by Streamline Pictures, this fandub openly criticises Macek, a controversial figure within anime fandom and firm proponent of dubbing and the alteration of original anime for a successful adaptation into the target market. In these examples of "subcultural poaching" (Nornes 2007: 195), which dramatically depart from the original text while being extremely attuned to it and "embedding it in a complex network of current events and popular culture" (Nornes 2007: 196), dubbing is both criticised and revered as a useful tool to satirise.[3]

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3. In a similar vein, Wang and Zhang (2016: 182) discuss how fandubbers of *The Big Bang Theory* in China express their dislike towards official dubbing in the actual fandub of this series. Among others, they do so by ridiculing expressions typically used in Chinese official dubbings and by having one of the characters say he will learn Chinese to avoid having to go through the official dubbing process.

Stating that dubbing was despised by all anime fans is far from the truth. This has been contended by authors such as Cubbison (2005) or Patten (2004) and is further supported by the remarkable existence of serious fandubs of anime content in this period. Despite the technical and logistical difficulties associated with fandubbing, in 1993 the fandubbing group Corn Pone Flicks dubbed four scenes from the film *Vampire Hunter D* (Toyoo Ashida, 1985). This project, referred to by its creators as a "test dub" (Corn Pone Flicks, n.d.), started with a translation of the original script into English, undertaken in 1990 in an attempt to persuade potential investors to acquire the rights to *Vampire Hunter D* for its official distribution.

In between 1990 and 1993, Streamline Pictures released the official dubbed version of the film and thus the original Corn Pone Flicks project came to a stall (Patten 2004), probably following the unwritten agreement of not distributing or pursuing fan translations of licensed programmes (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006: 44). After watching Streamline's version and realising the deficiencies in its translation and dialogue writing, and therefore the higher quality of their dubbing script, the Corn Pone Flicks team decided to go ahead and revoice four scenes of *Vampire Hunter D* (Corn Pone Flicks, n.d.). Screened only once at an anime fan convention soon after it was recorded, this fandub was complimented by the audience, impressed by the quality of the revoicing and the translation (Díaz-Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006).

The discussion in this section has illustrated how examples of fandubs carried out in this first period were noticeably done by fans for fans, primarily – yet not solely – for humoristic purposes, to be enjoyed only by those attending anime fan conventions and sharing a collective background and familiarity with anime productions. Since then, the practice of fandubbing has been influenced by two key facts that will be discussed below: (1) the substantial evolvement of fan practices and the concept of fan and fandom; and (2) the changes in audience consumption and engagement with media content sparked by technological developments and the "convergent media ecology" (Ito et al. 2010: 10) we inhabit today. The preliminary forms of collaborative engagement with media and culture through dubbing outlined in this section have increased in sophistication, resulting in the abundant manifestations of participatory culture that are so prevalent nowadays.

2.2 The consolidation of fandubbing (2000s–2010s): From fan creations to user-generated content and convergence culture

Having been facilitated in the 1980s by the advancements in VCR technology, and in the 1990s by the development of the Internet and digital technologies, fans engagement with different forms of media consumption, distribution and appropriation skyrocketed in the 21st century. Such engagement has been remarkably

influenced by the ability to upload, download, stream and share digital media content, as well as by the popularity of video sharing sites such as YouTube. Anime fandubbing groups in the 21st century no longer need to resort to VHS technology and wait for fan conventions to take place to share their creations or to meet other like-minded fans to collaborate with them. Instead, they can post recruitment ads on Facebook or on their websites, collaborate with others online in the comfort of their own home, and use YouTube or Vimeo to upload their fandubs. For example, the fandubbing group Fighter4Luv Fandubs, offering fandubs of episodes of the anime series *Sailor Moon* into English, has a specific section on their website where they provide information about how to submit voice samples.[4] And in order to prevent their videos from being removed from YouTube, they enable fans to download the episodes they have dubbed through links to cloud storage services.

These tools and technological advancements are not only at the disposal of fan communities. Video appropriation is easier than it has ever been in the current digital landscape, where any user can manipulate audiovisual content (adding subtitles or an audio track, for instance) with basic technical knowledge from a myriad of devices, and upload it online to share it with the rest of the world. As Ito et al. (2010: 23) argue, "the contemporary media ecology is characterized by the growing centrality of user-generated content". The term "user-generated content" is seen by Lange and Ito (2010: 246) as a buzz word, together with others such as "Web 2.0", "modding", "prosumer" or "pro-am", which underscore "how creative production at the 'consumer' layer is increasingly seen as a generative site of culture and knowledge". It is now widely acknowledged that audiences are no longer passive consumers, but rather active participants, socially networked and deeply engaged in digital media consumption. As such, they are often involved in creative production of digital material which may include translation.

Within Translation Studies, O'Hagan (2009: 97) defines "user-generated translation" as "a wide range of Translation, carried out based on free user participation in digital media spaces where Translation is undertaken by unspecified self-selected individuals". In recent explorations of this phenomenon, the focus seems often shifted from fans to users, and from translations done by fans to translations generated by users. This shift could be motivated by the evolution of the concept of media fan and media fandom, and not necessarily by a shift in actual agency. In this sense, Duffet (2013: 17) warns about the elusiveness of these concepts, positing that the term 'fan' now embodies a wide range of ordinary people who exhibit a positive emotional engagement with popular culture, and that it can "involve different experiences, concern different practices and mean different things in various contexts" (Duffet 2013: 19).

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4.   See http://starsfandub.com/about/ (Consulted 14.09.2018).

It is also significant that some fandubbing groups avoid including the term 'fan' when advertising and presenting their work. For example, the fandubbing groups UndervoxStudios[5] and Kyotodubs,[6] who mainly focus on the dubbing of anime into Latin American Spanish, often refer to their activity as independent or non-official dubbing. This could be due to the stigma still attached to the term 'fan' (and perhaps recently also to fan activities such as fansubbing), as well as being an attempt to emphasise that some of the members of these groups are training or have been trained to become dubbing professionals and are not 'mere' amateurs or fans.

Likewise, whereas some fandubbing groups present themselves as creators of dubbing material done for fans, especially those working with videogames and anime material, some home-made dubbings available online are not targeted at fans, but at a wide-range of Internet users. Fansubbing has also been affected by this shift, metamorphosing from a process instigated "by fans for fans" to one "by fans for all" (Díaz-Cintas 2018). This is the case with many of the parodic dubbings that abound online and with serious dubs of user-generated content of a humorous nature. In the former, netizens use dubbing as a form of protest against the powers that be and/or to freely express their ideas making their voices heard by borrowing audiovisual material widely recognised by audiences.

Examples of this type of political or activist dubbing are provided by Wang and Zhang (2016: 173), who posit that these practices establish "a backchannel for commentators, many of whom are grassroots Internet users, to deliver critical and sensitive information which otherwise might not reach the general public in other forms due to censorship". This type of dubbing is also popular in contexts where media censorship is not particularly widespread (at least not openly). For example, in a forthcoming article (Baños, in press) I have illustrated how Spanish Internet users "mess around" (Herr Stephenson et al. 2010) with technology, new media and foreign cult products (i.e. *Pulp Fiction* scenes), subverting them to criticise the political situation in Spain.

Serious dubs of user-generated content of a humorous nature also entail subversion. By dubbing audiovisual material that is not usually accommodated in conventional dubbing channels, which is often of a subversive nature itself (e.g. politically incorrect videos from YouTubers), fandubbers challenge the current media hegemony established by media and dubbing providers. As a form of "culture jamming" (Dery 2017), fandubbing may be used to "critique, subvert, and otherwise 'jam' the workings of consumer culture" (DeLaure and Fink 2017: 6). A clear illustration of how the flow of corporate media is disrupted by fandubbers is found

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5.   See http://undervoxst.blogspot.com/ (Consulted 14.09.2018).

6.   See https://www.facebook.com/Studios-Kyotodubs-491007407684206/ (Consulted 14.09.2018).

in the YouTube channel Escardi Fandubs, where controversial videos created by independent studios (e.g. the Cyanide & Happiness animated shorts created by Explosm[7]), or single users (i.e. YouTubers) are dubbed into Spanish.

Current fandubbing practices reveal how new media has empowered Internet users and clearly reflect the dynamics of what Jenkins (2006) has termed "convergence culture", "where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (Jenkins 2006: 259–260). As envisaged by Jenkins (2006: 19), while many corporate media resist these practices (e.g. by reporting fandub videos on YouTube as illegal (Spina Ali 2015: 760)), others have embraced them.

A case in point is the popular streaming service Netflix, which used a parodic dubbed video of their series *Narcos* for its promotion in Spain. The parodic dubbing[8] was carried out by Carles Caparrós, a Valencian dubbing actor and YouTuber who uses the pseudonym of Korah to publish parodic dubbings on his YouTube channel.[9] Published just before the launching of the Fallas Festivity in 2018, taking place in March in Valencia (Spain), this promotional parodic dubbing embeds scenes from *Narcos* in references to popular culture surrounding this festivity. The Colombian politician and Escobar's partner Fernando Duque is portrayed in Korah's reinterpretation as the local artist responsible for the creation of Escobar's *falla*, a monument made up of *ninots* (caricature pieces) built to portray and satirise current social issues. Duque is summoned by Escobar who disagrees with his modern and conceptual interpretation of the *falla*, and suggests a more traditional approach (with *ninots* portraying big-breasted women and cigar-smoking gentlemen).

These examples are not only manifestations of new media production and consumption dynamics. In their realisation, the limitations of the term 'fandubbing' unfold, as does the need to search for more suitable nomenclature.

2.3   Beyond fandubbing: Cyberdubbing and the search for more suitable nomenclature

This chapter has so far illustrated the evolution of fandubbing, presenting it as a complex and rich socio-cultural practice, difficult to be neatly labelled and slippery

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7.   See https://www.youtube.com/user/ExplosmEntertainment/ (Consulted 14.09.2018).

8.   At the time of writing, this video is available from the YouTube channel Netflix España, and can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMI_9QH0w9w (Consulted 14.09.2018).

9.   See https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCQWPc-n_8Ld3v94MeQHPxrA (Consulted 14.09.2018).

to be defined. Fandubbing has been used as an umbrella term to refer to manifestations of participatory and convergence culture involving the use of dubbing, regardless of whether these are undertaken by fans, amateurs who do not deem themselves fans, or even dubbing professionals. This terminological conundrum is not exclusive to dubbing, having been recently broached by Díaz-Cintas (2018) in the case of subtitling.

When exploring the social significance of new forms of subtitling that have surged in the age of digital media, he proposes the term "cybersubtitles" to encompass these activities, arguing that it "subsumes the many varieties of subtitles encountered on the net in a more transparent way" (Díaz-Cintas 2018: 132). Further classifications of subtitles can be established within this category, namely: fansubs, done by fans for all; guerrilla subtitles, "produced by individuals or collectives highly engaged in political causes" (Díaz-Cintas 2018: 134); and "altruist subtitles", a less militant, belligerent version of guerrilla subtitles. His suggestion could easily be adapted to accommodate the realities and specificities of dubbing, with 'cyberdubs' encompassing the wide range of non-standard dubbing practices found in cyberspace. Considering the examples provided in Section 2.2. and the aim of these practices, the further sub-classifications can be established: (1) promotional dubbing; (2) political or activist dubbing; and (3) altruist dubbing. Figure 1 illustrates how Díaz-Cintas's terminological suggestion of "cybersubtitles" could be adapted to dubbing, while Table 1 provides specific examples of each category, which are discussed briefly throughout the chapter.
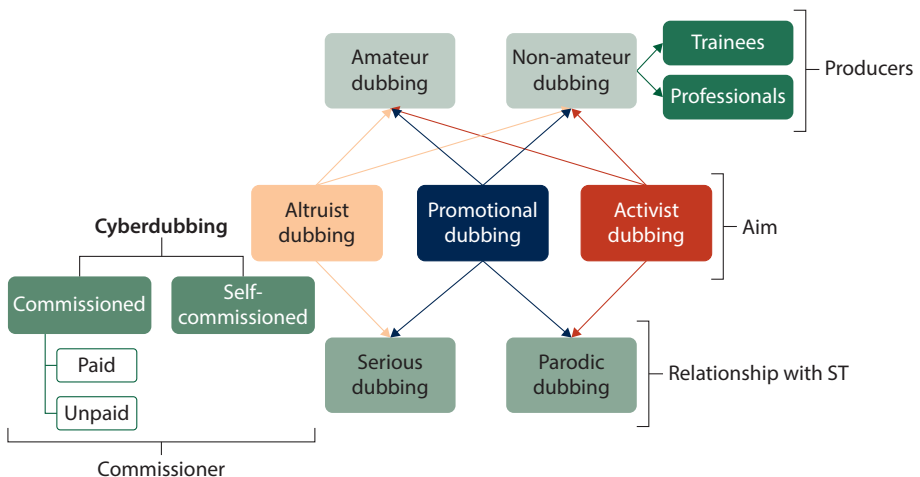
Figure 1. Dubbing practices in cyberspace, drawing on Díaz-Cintas's (2018: 133) concept of cybersubtitles

Promotional dubbing is undertaken to promote the material being dubbed and/or the very act of dubbing. Fandubbing would fall into this category, being often performed by Internet users who regard themselves as media fans and thus exhibit a positive emotional engagement with popular audiovisual culture. In **political or activist dubbing**, activism is understood in ampler terms, whereby 'cyberdubbers' resort to these practices to criticise, satirise or instigate some kind of social or political change. The category **altruist dubbing** may not be as widespread as altruist subtitling, exemplified by the subtitles freely contributed by netizens to the platform TED (Díaz-Cintas 2018). Yet, educational projects like Khan Academy (www.khanacademy.org), mentioned as well by Díaz-Cintas, benefit from altruist dubbing, with the educational videos created by its founder Sal Khan translated and revoiced by volunteers from English into Spanish or French, for example. Aimed at children and teenagers, and with videos often illustrating graphics, diagrams and text on screen, the use of dubbing as an AVT mode could be deemed more effective than subtitling, enabling students to receive linguistic information simultaneously through the acoustic and the visual channel, and being suitable for younger children.

Altruist dubbing is thus an area likely to be further developed in the coming years, with the possibility of future projects embedding automatic voice synthesis for the dubbing of educational material, taking advantage of technological developments. Audiovisual companies have also started grasping the potential of such projects, with companies like Unilingo specialising in dubbing educational videos from successful YouTuber channels primarily into Spanish,[10] but also into other languages.

These projects bring another interesting distinction to the fore: while some cyberdubbing projects are mostly self-commissioned – especially fandubs, with fans determining what gets dubbed and how – others are commissioned by institutions and organisations, who may resort to volunteers (unpaid) or to translation and dubbing professionals (paid). Also in line with Díaz-Cintas's (2018) argumentation, and as has been reiterated throughout this chapter, the individuals behind the production of cyberdubs can be either amateurs or non-amateurs, with the latter including both dubbing professionals and trainees.

Díaz-Cintas (2018: 134) also argues that the three categories of cybersubtitles can be either "genuine", "when they adhere closely to the message and linguistic formulation of the original text", or "fake", when "the subtitles that accompany the video unashamedly depart from the message being conveyed in the original dialogue", a distinction that is echoed in the terms 'serious dubbing' and 'parodic dubbing'. While activist dubbing tends to be parodic, and altruist dubbing serious, promotional dubbing can fall into either of these categories.

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10. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9p2GmI4Mh0& (Consulted 14.09.2018).

Table 1. Examples of types of cyberdubbing

Cyberdubbing							
Type (aim)	Example	Amateur	Non-amateur	Parodic	Serious	Self-comm.	Commissioned
Promotional	(1) Anime series *Clannad* dubbed by the fandubbing group Kyotodubs into Spanish https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vz_bXzmJJUY	X (fans)			X	X	
	(2) *Grand Theft Auto* footage edited and dubbed by a group of professional dubbing actors, coordinated by Korah https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9p2GmI4Mh0&t=4s		X (prof.)		X	X	
	(3) Parodic dubbing of *Narcos* commissioned by Netflix to Korah https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMI_9QH0w9w		X (prof.)	X			X
	(4) "Dirty Pair *duz* dishes" by Pinesalad Productions, currently distributed online https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9zCdCwHqAjE	X (fans)		X		X	
Activist dubbing	(1) Dubbing of *Pulp Fiction* car scene into Spanish to criticise the political situation in Spain, undertaken by YouTuber Moi Camacho https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lTc0s8LYUN8	X		X		X	
	(2) Dubbing of *Pulp Fiction* car scene into Spanish to criticise political parties in Spain, undertaken by Korah, seemingly commissioned by online platform Flooxer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CYxDmP9fqdw		X (prof.)	X			X
Altruist dubbing	(1) Khan Academy video "Introduction to Radians", created in English by Sal Khan (https://www.khanacademy.org/math/algebra2/trig-functions/intro-to-radians-alg2/v/introduction-to-radians), translated and revoiced by volunteers into Spanish (https://es.khanacademy.org/math/algebra2/trig-functions/intro-to-radians-alg2/v/introduction-to-radians), and French (https://fr.khanacademy.org/math/algebra2/trig-functions/intro-to-radians-alg2/v/introduction-to-radians).	X			X		X

Encompassing fandubbing, cyberdubbing is thus articulated in opposition to traditional dubbing practices and triggered by a myriad of motivations, from the promotion of specific audiovisual material and the altruistic dissemination of dubbed material, to the criticism and instigation of socio-political changes. Including both parodic and serious dubbing undertaken by Internet users with very diverse backgrounds (amateurs and non-amateurs), who may or may not be regarded as media fans, cyberdubbing embraces practices that are changing the current mediatic landscape, being implemented both non-for-profit for the benefit of the wider community, and commercially.

3. Motivations behind cyberdubbing: Fandom, nostalgia and discontent

The discussion above suggests that cyberdubs are often a response to discontent from a specific community. Dissatisfaction might be motivated by the lack of official dubbings of specific material and fuelled by the sense of belonging to a fan community, whereas in other cases factors like nostalgia or subversion might also play an important role.

3.1 Lack of official translations and discontent with existing translation policies

In the same way that western anime fans resorted to fansubbing in the 1980s and 1990s to access Japanese anime that had not been commercially distributed outside Japan, some anime fans in the 2010s have turned to amateur dubbing to the same end. Official translations are still not available for many anime series, and fans have to resort to unofficial translations be it in the form of subtitles or dubs. Thanks to the fandubs released by the above-mentioned Undervoxstudios or Kyotodubs, for example, Spanish-speaking anime fans of series such as *Eden of the East*, *Fairy Tail*, *Soul Eater* or *Clannad* have been able to enjoy watching some episodes of their favourite series dubbed into Latin American Spanish, instead of having to resort to fansubs or to watching the original untranslated.

In other cases, however, the official translation might only be provided in the form of subtitles. Cyberdubs created in these circumstances reflect the discontent and objection of the online community to existing translation policies. This seems more common in the case of videogames, with an illustrative example found in the Spanish non-official dubbing of a video from the controversial videogame *Grand Theft Auto* (GTA). Coordinated by Carles Caparrós (Korah), this cyberdub was distributed through YouTube and social media and presented as a "fake trailer" of *Grand Theft Auto V– The Movie*. Its aim was to demonstrate the 'look and feel' of

this popular videogame if a translation for dubbing into Spanish was ever commissioned, given that the GTA series is only available subtitled into Spanish. As Caparrós explains in the comments on the posting of the video in his YouTube channel,[11] he edited the video from existing *GTA V* footage and recruited professional dubbing actors who contributed to the project voluntarily. The high number of views of his video in YouTube (close to 1.5 million as of September 2018) and the positive comments made by fans on this site are testimony to its popularity. Such comments also illustrate how fandubbers receive feedback from fans, as well as the preference of some gamers for a dubbed version to enjoy this and similar games, where following subtitles can hinder gameplay, especially during fast-paced action scenes requiring a great deal of concentration from players.

3.2   Discontent with existing translation approaches: Foreignising and domesticating nostalgia

Cyberdubs can also be triggered by disagreement with specific approaches to dubbing. As briefly discussed above, this was the case of the first serious fandub known to date, undertaken by the fandubbing group Corn Pone Flicks, who decided to finally pursue the dubbing of *Vampire Hunter D* after realising the deficiencies of the official dubbing released by Streamline Pictures. Given that this fandub was not released in the cyberspace and dates back to the 1990s, it cannot be considered a cyberdub strictly speaking; yet it is an enlightening example of motives behind these practices. According to Matt Murray,[12] one of the founders of this fandubbing group, Streamline's version did not only contain mistranslations[13] but also strayed off the original intentionally in many places, in an attempt to bring the dialogue closer to the target audience. In addition, intertextual references that were absent from the original version were introduced in the English translation, with dialogue mirroring phrases from *The Empire Strikes Back* (Irvin Kershner, 1980), for example. Such alterations were not justified by the need to keep lip synchrony, disregarded in many cases in Murray's view, with lines of four syllables used to revoice one-syllable utterances even if the character's mouth was clearly visible (and no longer opened).

Murray also complained about the use of geographical variation in Streamline's revoicing, with British, Mexican and stereotypical Transylvanian accents used inconsistently by dubbing actors, disregarding the plot and thus breaking the suspension of disbelief amongst US viewers. With their fandub, Corn Pone Flicks expressed

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11. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jk7vonBKrsA (Consulted 14.09.2018).

12. Matt Murray (Corn Pone Flicks founder), email messages to author, 4–6 August, 2018.

13. According to Murray, one of the biggest translation blunders in the Streamline dub was the use of the term 'dampeal' to refer to a half-human, half-vampire, when it should have been 'dhampir'.

their objections to the extreme manipulation implemented by official anime distributors in the US. They also demonstrated that it was possible to dub anime into English without departing from the original substantially, granting as authentic an experience as possible to fans, in the same way as fansubbing did.

As Dwyer (2017: 141) notes, although "anime fansubs come in many shapes and forms, covering a broad spectrum of foreignising and domesticating, literal and liberal approaches", anime fansubbing is widely aligned with formal experimentation, foreignisation and Japanophile traits. By contrast, fandubbing seems to have been aligned with manipulation, over-translation and domestication in the limited existing literature, probably due to the prevalence of parodic dubbing among dubs carried out by fans or amateurs. Whereas the serious fandub undertaken by Corn Pone Flicks questions this view, other examples reveal the impossibility of establishing clear boundaries between liberal/literal or domesticating/foreignising approaches in fandubbing, and the need to consider the socio-cultural context in which these practices take place. Testimony to this is the fascinating case of the fandubbing of *Sailor Moon* into English undertaken by Fighter4Luv Fandubs.

Originally created as a manga series, *Sailor Moon* was adapted into an anime series by Toei Animation and broadcast in Japan in the 1990s. The series follows the adventures of Usagi Tsukino who, accompanied by other Sailor Scouts or Guardians, fights against villains to prevent the theft of the Silver Crystal and the destruction of the Solar System. After becoming a hit in Japan, the series was launched in international markets, including the US, where DiC Entertainment acquired the rights to broadcast the show dubbed into English. As was common at the time, the producers decided to alter the series substantially, assuming that the US audience would be put off by the inherent otherness of the original series. As McNally (2014: online) explains, in the US dub, Usagi was called 'Serena', 'pork buns' became 'doughnuts', and images were heavily manipulated: "scenes that depicted people driving cars were reversed so that the steering wheels were on the opposite sides, and Japanese writing was rotoscoped, or airbrushed, out". The series was also edited for age-appropriateness and images or dialogue lines deemed offensive or upsetting to the target audience (which was younger for the US dubbed version if compared to the original, marketed to slightly older girls in Japan) were either deleted or toned down (McNally 2014).

In 2014 Viz Media acquired the rights to this series and redubbed the original episodes, which were also broadcast without the editing originally implemented by DiC Entertainment. The approach taken by Viz Media in the dubbing of this series differs greatly from that of DiC Entertainment. This is shown in Table 1, which includes the dialogue of a popular scene from the pilot episode of *Sailor Moon* ("A Moon Star is Born"), where the leading character (Serena/Usagi) meets Luna, a talking black cat who reveals her true identity. The dialogue corresponding to the dubbing done by DiC Entertainment in 1995 is compared against that done by Viz Media in 2014 to illustrate the substantial semantical differences between both scripts.

Table 2. Comparison of *Sailor Moon's* dubbing done by DiC Entertainment in 1995 and Viz Media's redub from 2014

DiC Entertainment dub – 1995	Viz Media dub – 2014
Serena/Usagi is asleep in her bedroom. Behind her, her window opens. The sound of it closing wakes her up.	
Serena: Ah, you scared me! What are you doing here?	**Usagi**: Ah, the cat with the bald spot!
Luna: Why, Serena, I came to see you, of course, who else?	**Luna**: Eh, it's not a bald spot, don't be rude!
Serena: Huh? A talking cat? Oh, man, I have been studying too hard!	**Usagi**: You can talk! No way! How can a cat talk?
Luna: My name is Luna and I have been searching for you for a very long time.	**Luna**: Usagi, my name is Luna and you can't imagine how long I have been looking for you.
Luna: You are the chosen one, and I have been sent here to guide you on the path to your ultimate destiny.	**Luna**: But first things first. I wanted to say thank you for saving me from those kids earlier today.
Flashback of Serena/Usagi removing a bandage from Luna's head	
Luna: I wasn't sure if you were the one the first time we met, but I've been watching you and now I absolutely know that you are the Sailor Scout of the moon, hahaha.	**Luna**: Not to mention taking that bandage off. With it on, I can't talk, and it dulls my sensory powers.
Serena: I am hallucinating!	I thought I was done for when those kids put it on, but because of that, it led me to you, hahaha.
Luna: No, you are not, Serena. You are Sailor Moon and your friend Molly is in big trouble! You have got to help her! You don't believe me? Well, all right then, I'll prove it to you!	**Usagi**: Good night!
Serena: What is that?	**Luna**: What are you doing? This isn't some kind of a dream, you know? Come on, stop playing around! Okay, then let me prove to you it's not a dream.
Luna: It's a special locket just for you.	A little gift from me, just for you.
Serena: Wow! For me? It's beautiful! How should I wear it? On my school uniform…	**Usagi**: Wow! For me? It's so beautiful!
Luna: Serena, it's not just a piece of jewellery, listen to me! Do you hear what I am saying? Sailor Moon sworn to defend the princess of the moon. Powerful evil forces have appeared here on Earth and that special locket can help you fight them. You are Sailor Moon and you must fight evil when it confronts you, you must not be afraid.	**Luna**: Usagi, I need you to listen to me.
	Usagi: Thank you so much!
	Luna: I need you to listen to me! Strange things are happening in this city. Even the police can't handle what is going on! A dangerous enemy has appeared! You're the only one who can defeat this enemy! You're the guardian that's been chosen for this mission. But there's more than just that. You also have to find the other guardians and our princess!
Serena: Yes, right, just like Sailor V!	**Usagi**: Wow! Really? How cool! Hihi!
Luna: This is no joke, Serena, do you hear me? This is your destiny!	**Luna**: You don't actually believe a single word I am saying, do you?
Serena: My destiny? I must be dreaming!	**Usagi**: Oh, sure, of course I believe you!
Luna: It's no dream. I'll prove it, Serena. Just repeat after me: Moon, Prism, Power!	**Luna**: Great, just repeat the words I am about to say, right? Moon, Prism, Power, Make up!
Serena: Okay. Moon, Prism, Power!	**Usagi**: Right! Moon, Prism, Power, Make up!

Serena/ Usagi transforms into Sailor Moon.

In addition to being closer to the original, Viz Media dub is more coherent with the image and with previous scenes from this episode, as illustrated by the mentioning of Luna and Usagi's encounter, and the reference to Luna's bandage in the 2014 version. One could assume that fans would welcome this redub as it purportedly offered a more authentic and 'faithful' portrayal of the original anime. Nevertheless, some fans were too familiar with the original English dubbing to fully accept these changes. Against this nostalgic backdrop, the fandubbing group Fighter4Luv Fandubs was formed in 2007 with the aim to dub the episodes of the last season of the series into English (as these had not been dubbed) as well as to:

> fan dub Sailor Stars in the way that DiC would have. Also making sure that "Serena" and her Sailor Scouts weren't forgotten. […] We wanted to bring back the nostalgia of the old English adaptation, so we had script adaptors, voice actors, pieces of the Bob Summers music score, transitions, & 2D/3D graphics to start off with. Then we made edits, major script changes; believing we were doing the DiC series justice.   (Fighter4Luv Fandubs 2018: online)

Fighter4Luv Fandubs was thus motivated by nostalgia and arguably by fans' discontent with the dubbing practices that were widely implemented in the 2000s and materialised later on in the Viz Media redub of *Sailor Moon*. The case of this particular group highlights that authenticity is experienced differently amongst fans, while portraying fandubs as spaces of re-narration or "rewriting" of texts (of an audiovisual nature), as understood by Lefevere (1992). The motivation behind the rewriting of *Sailor Moon* undertaken by Fighter4Luv Fandubs rebels against the dominant anime dubbing conventions at the time; yet, this is done by conforming to old-fashion conventions, thus embodying a conservative and protectionist approach to translation. While Corn Pone Flicks members appointed themselves guardians of the source text and culture, Fighter4Luv Fandubs members became the gatekeepers of anime dubbing tradition.

The fandub of *Sailor Moon* undertaken by this community also illustrates the dynamic nature of the audiovisual polysystem (Baños 2015), as Fighter4Luv Fandubs (2018: online) decided to change their approach to dubbing at a later stage:

> After a few years into production, we decided to change our ideals, and although we kept all the main elements of the English version, we wanted to bring the fans more than just a DiC ripoff. Times had changed and we made the decision to continue the fandub in a slightly different direction. Keeping the English names and personalities, but retaining the main Japanese story plots, and most importantly completely UNCUT.

Their motivations evolved and changed with time, and so did their translation decisions and the conventions implemented when dubbing episodes of *Sailor Moon*. In a most captivating way, tradition and nostalgia co-exist with subversion and

rebellion in these cyberdubs done by fans for fans, shedding light onto the politics of dubbing in the new mediascape.

3.3 Activism, recreation, recognition and success

As discussed in the previous section, some cyberdubs are aimed at entertaining audiences (e.g. parodic videos and serious dubbings of comic YouTube videos), challenging and critiquing dominant forms of power (e.g. political parodic dubbing), and subverting the workings of the audiovisual industry (e.g. fandubbers decide to dub and publish material that would not normally be released in dubbed form). In addition, new modes of distribution of digital material (e.g. the widespread use of video-streaming platforms like YouTube or Netflix) have resulted in the use of cyberdubs fully or partly in exchange of some kind of compensation.

This can be in the form of financial remuneration or social recognition, with altruist cyberdubs being still an exception. The above-mentioned *Narcos* parodic cyberdub is targeted at increasing Netflix revenue in Spain, as well as the creator's, who was presumably paid for this job. Likewise, Korah's *GTA V* fake trailer could be regarded as an investment, aimed at promoting the services of the dubbing actors involved. It is also noteworthy that YouTubers monitor closely the number of views reached by their videos and the number of subscriptions in their channels. These ensure the viability of their projects and in some cases provide substantial financial remuneration through advertising, making the non-for-profit motto of original fandubs no longer applicable. This further grey area between the non-professional and professional status substantiates the all-encompassing definition of cyberdubbing. Another aspect worth of note here is that, whereas cybersubtitling is conceived as a collective undertaking, where the community takes precedence over the individual (Díaz-Cintas 2018: 137), cyberdubbing can be rather individualistic at times, with producers working independently and looking for individual and not collective compensation.

The wide range of motives behind cyberdubs, both of a parodic and a serious nature, reveal the evolution of this cultural phenomenon across time and space. In cyberspace, dubbing has revealed itself as a most effective tool for the expression of discontent, be it with the lack of availability of audiovisual material, the implementation of specific AVT practices, the existing socio-cultural and media hegemony or with old-fashioned models for digital distribution. In so doing, cyberdubs purportedly rebel against dominant dubbing conventions and official dubbing practices. As such, the standards by which cyberdubs are assessed are more dependent on viewers' reception, deviating from standard dubbing conventions. Cyberdubbing is regulated by digital audiences, with practices being influenced by the feedback

provided by fan communities and Internet users in general. The lines between producers and consumers are thus blurred further, with non-traditional practices establishing a more interactive, dynamic and equal relationship between producers and consumers.

4.   Final remarks

This chapter has explored the phenomenon of fandubbing in an attempt to draw the contours of an underexplored area in Translation Studies, and to comprehend a phenomenon deeply impacted by the profound shift witnessed by the media industry in the past few years. Fandubbing has thus been presented as a dynamic socio-cultural practice that has developed extensively from its origins, setting up the scene for current cyberdubbing practices, to the extent that the term once coined to refer to these co-creational and subversive practices is unable to accommodate all instantiations that currently populate the cyberspace. No longer self-commissioned and undertaken solely by fans for fans, such practices have evolved to align with the "convergent media ecology" (Ito et al. 2010: 10) we inhabit today. Against this backdrop, and drawing on Díaz-Cintas's (2018) conception of "cybersubtitles", the term cyberdubbing seems to more appropriately encompass the myriad of non-traditional dubbing practices found online.

Through these practices, dubbing is creatively used for altruistic endeavours and for the expression of dissatisfaction and discontent. Like fansubbers, fan-dubbers (or cyberdubbers) also "respond proactively towards perceived failings, transforming limitations into possibilities and proposing a course of creative rein-vention" (Dwyer 2017: 136). In line with Dwyer's (2017: 135) conception of fan-subbing, cyberdubbing can be seen as an errant or improper form of AVT that is reconfiguring and challenging the paradigms and politics of the dubbing industry. Yet, unlike fansubbing, cyberdubbing is not often seen as a threat to the dubbing industry, with some scholars actually arguing that fandubs could "act as a catalyst for professional dubbing" (Chaume 2012: 42). This was indeed the thinking behind the non-official dubbing of the 'fake trailer' of *Grand Theft Auto V– The Movie* mentioned above, as well as the original motivation of Corn Pone Flicks when planning their test dub of *Vampire Hunter D* in the early 1990s.

The discussion has unveiled interesting similarities and divergences with tra-ditional, long-established dubbing practices and with other co-creational forms of AVT (such as cybersubtitling) not only as far as translation policies and approaches are concerned, but also regarding notions of individualism/collectivism, authen-ticity, prestige, remuneration and self-promotion, which deserve to be explored

further. While research on parodic cyberdubs (Izwaini 2014; Nord et al. 2015; Wang and Zhang 2016; Spina Ali 2015) has unveiled how these stand out from traditional approaches to dubbing from an ideological and linguistic point of view, this field is still underexplored, especially as regards serious cyberdubs. Further investigation is also needed to ascertain the prevalence of these practices globally, bearing in mind the specific socio-cultural contexts nurturing them. This seems to be the most appropriate way to accurately contextualise this controversial yet far-reaching and fascinating phenomenon, and to truly obtain a representative picture across time and space.

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To Europe with love

Woody Allen's liquid society

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Between 2008 and 2012, Woody Allen directed three films that have come to be known as his "European trilogy", namely *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (2008), *Midnight in Paris* (2011) and *To Rome with Love* (2012). Each storyline involves the temporary relocation of one or more north-American protagonists to the European city in the title, in which, as well as complicated trysts, we find displaced characters who undergo a great deal of culture shock as they clash and merge with the experiences of a foreign locale and, of course, a different language. This chapter will examine the trilogy from the perspective of Allen's technical recreation of lingua-cultural otherness in his non-American characters in the original version of each film.

Keywords: Woody Allen, multilingual films, translanguaging, self-dubbing

1. Introduction

Well known for his robust repertoire of films in which the city of New York is as much a protagonist as the characters themselves, between 2008 and 2012, Woody Allen takes time out from his native city to write and direct three films respectively located in Barcelona, Paris and Rome. Allen's "European trilogy" consists of *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (2008), *Midnight in Paris* (2011) and *To Rome with Love* (2012). While the plots of the trilogy concern, among other things, Allen's lifelong obsession with the complexities of marriage, sex and romance so that he could well be accused of simply changing the setting to explicate his same old multifaceted neuroses, undoubtedly the three cities themselves occupy pole position as much as their human inhabitants. As New York had done in many of Allen's previous movies, but especially in *Manhattan* (1979), Barcelona, Paris and Rome become inextricably embroiled in the characters' lives and the narratives of each film. Moreover, as each city takes on the role of the central character, so does the language of its native

inhabitants. The fact that the title of each film includes a city linked to a language highlights, or should highlight, the linguistic milieu reflected in the dialogues.

Audiences do not need reminding of where the films are set as each provides breath-taking panoramic views of the cityscapes that carefully include every imaginable iconic symbol of the three cities. Impressive musical scores accompany sweeping views of the cities and their monuments. Just as Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" had accompanied the black and white opening of *Manhattan*, Sidney Bechet provides the music to *Midnight in Paris* (henceforth *Paris*) with "Si tu vois ma mère" as viewers experience views of Paris from dawn until night. Giulia y los Tellarini introduce the opening of *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (henceforth *Barcelona*) with a track aptly entitled "Barcelona" as we watch Vicky and Cristina ride into the city in the back of a cab. *To Rome with Love* (henceforth *Rome*) opens with the chaotic traffic of Piazza Venezia clashing with the popular song "Volare" sung by Domenico Modugno. In *Rome*, Allen moves straight into stereotyping mode with an impeccably uniformed Roman *vigile urbano* (a police officer responsible for traffic) elegantly poised on a pedestal in the centre of Piazza Venezia directing the traffic to the beat of "Volare". The *vigile* seems more bothered with his appearance and posture than the traffic, so unsurprisingly there is the sound of a pile-up. Of the three films *Rome* is the most overtly comic. In fact, farcical elements overflow into the language of Italian characters beginning with *vigile urbano*'s voice-over narrative delivered in heavily accented broken English. *Rome* is also the film that generally received the worst reception by critics and press.

In terms of language, Woody Allen naturally conceived and shot the trilogy in English and principally with a monolingual, English speaking audience in mind; however, being who he is, it is evident that the films would also be screened worldwide. Therefore, the movies face a double challenge. First, Allen has to devise a way of rendering each film fully comprehensible to his English speaking audience while keeping the linguistic milieu of Barcelona, Paris and Rome as realistic as possible. Second, there is the problem of translating three films that already involve scenes portraying translation in the original into other languages. As the films are recorded in English but set in Spain, France and Italy, in the original versions, all non-English speaking characters require translation – for example, they may be dubbed into English, or else a character may need to translate for them – but what happens in the Spanish, French and Italian versions of the respective films? How can the translation accommodate linguistic diversity when the English characters, now speaking Spanish, French or Italian in dubbed versions for Spain, France and Italy, now speak, Spanish, French or Italian too? The problem with dubbing is, of course, that it tends to flatten the speech of characters thus eliminating linguistic dissimilarities and idiosyncrasies. Here, in terms of credibility, subtitles win hands down, at least as far as languages with which audiences are familiar are concerned.

Significantly, Spain, France and Italy could once be defined as dubbing strongholds and although geographic distinctions regarding preferred choice of translational modality are no longer clear-cut,[1] films comprising two or more languages in the original by default pose a number of cultural and sociolinguistic complications. These complications are further accentuated when the translated version of the film in question is aimed at an audience who speaks the secondary language that the original version is attempting to recreate. In the case of Allen's European trilogy, the films undergo a sort of double take, as the originals are already translations, in the sense that a US director is respectively endeavouring to create a mixture of English dialogues often juxtaposed with Spanish, French and Italian discourse that English-speaking audiences need to be able to understand. In the three dubbed versions (four if we consider the Catalan dub), each film undergoes a second translation for Spanish, (Catalan), French and Italian speaking audiences.

Allen's trilogy is a conscious or unconscious attempt to reflect a post-multilingual world. As argued by Wei (2016: 2–3), English can no longer be seen primarily (or even preferably) as a language that is linked to those who are proficient in the language due to their cultural heritage. Furthermore, the idea of English as a Lingua Franca or as an International Language can no longer refer to stable varieties of spoken and written interaction between users who have no cultural allegiance to English speaking communities. Communication through English by non-native speakers appears to have developed into a more fluid practice connected to several aspects of cognition. Bilinguals – with this term I refer to speakers who use more than one language without any connotation of native speaker likeness or "perfection" in two languages – appear not to simply codeswitch between two or more languages, but rather to overlay languages and thus partake in translanguaging (Otheguy et al. 2015). Whilst codeswitching implies the neat separation of lexis and syntax *between* languages, translanguaging denotes the fusion of languages – resulting in more of an osmotic or cocktail effect. On screen, translanguaging is often evident in films that portray realistic situations of conflict such as war zones, refugee camps, sweatshops etc. in which characters are forced to communicate in the language of the other and where use of the homogenizing convention would result in unacceptably fabricated dialogue (see Chiaro 2014). As I have argued

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1.   The traditional distinction between so-called dubbing and subtitling countries has now become simplistic. Nowadays "dubbing strongholds" such as Italy, France and Spain, while still privileging dubbing, generally offer viewers a choice between watching a product as a sub or a dub in cinemas, digital and satellite TV and DVDs for home theatre while streaming also provides a choice of translational modality. It is likely that young and highly educated viewers will opt for subtitles especially with regard to products in English, however to my knowledge at present there is no data available to back up this claim. What is certain is that dubbing/subtitling boundaries regarding consumer choice remain fuzzy and fraught with bias.

elsewhere, translanguaging also occurs in comedy to create confusion (Chiaro 2015). Indeed, translanguaging has a place in Bauman's "liquid society" where people are disposed to continual change (1998). People constantly moving from place to place mark today's societies in which one can easily change not only occupation but also, and above all, things like body shape, facial features and gender with relative ease. Allen's trilogy effortlessly, and possibly unwittingly, combines both concepts of translanguaging and liquidity.

2.   The polylingual conundrum

As a child, my father would take me to the cinema to watch films belonging to his two favourite genres – swashbuckling westerns and World War 2 films. As we sat in the smoke filled darkness of a London cinema of the sixties, in the middle of a western he would typically whisper "Look at that woman, she has been travelling in a wagon for days. Dust, cattle and horses, in the middle of nowhere, without water and electricity, yet look how clean, tidy and smart she is? Look, she is impeccably dressed! Perfectly made up with an ironed blouse". Lo and behold, there was my father delivering a lecture that could easily have been entitled "Suspension of Disbelief 101". And the lesson did not end at cleanliness and make-up. My father took his argument even further by pointing out the speech of the Native Americans on screen: "Two minutes ago they couldn't speak a word of English; now, all of a sudden they speak it so well!" Neither did it escape my father that the German and Japanese "bad guys" in his beloved war films seemed never to learn English at all, speaking only what sounded like untranslated anger. Half a century later we have come a long way from the dysfluent "Hollywood injun English" (Meek 2006: 9) my Dad was referring to, but English remains the dominant language in most US productions and dealing with secondary languages in films still presents a challenge that often speaks volumes about attitudes towards languages and ideologies. What my father was trying to get across to his young daughter was what Stam and Shohat (1994: 191) were to later define "the linguistics of domination", referring to the way in which Hollywood had "ventriloquized the world". Native Americans and enemies of war apart, this ventriloquism is best exemplified in the epics of Cecil B. DeMille, in which not only the ancient Egyptians and the Israelites, but also God, spoke English too.

   Of course, directors have been making films containing more than one language since the beginning of talking pictures, yet, since the new millennium, the number of multilingual movies has risen exponentially (O'Sullivan 2011; De Bonis 2014). In today's global society where people are constantly moving from place to place, a linguistic melting pot is an inevitable occurrence and movies, like novels,

undergo the pressure to reflect the polyglossia of the world around us. Today, a western in which Native Americans switch to English within seconds of meeting a cowboy would no longer be realistically acceptable. However, as suggested by Kozloff (2000: 80), more languages on screen still create what she calls a "conundrum" as, of course, ideally leaving characters to speak whatever language they please would be realistic, but clearly problematic when it is likely that audiences are mainly monolingual.

In a seminal work to this regard, literary scholar Meir Sternberg provides four "mimetic strategies" to describe how authors (and filmmakers) "solve" the heterolingual conundrum (1981). First he describes the strategy of "referential restriction" in which authors create an environment in which everyone speaks the same language by default simply because there is no intrusion of foreign-speaking others. Second, Sternberg describes, "vehicular matching", namely books and films in which each character speaks his or her native language despite the fact that recipients are unlikely to understand all of them. Vehicular matching of course will require translation for readers/audiences and can become very complex on screen where more than two languages are involved simultaneously. Third, Sternberg asserts that the "homogenizing convention" (223–4) is by far the most common strategy in books and films. Everyone speaks the same language and audiences accept the pretence that, despite the provenance of each character, they will all speak (more or less perfect) English. After all, if rabbits can talk in *Alice in Wonderland* and people remain pristine while crossing America in a wagon train in the 1800s, audiences can also accept that everyone speaks the same language. This is the strategy preferred by Hollywood, yet resorting to pure vehicular matching, what often happens in many filmic products to add a touch of reality, is to adopt Wahl's "postcarding method" (2005) in which dialogues are sprinkled here and there with well-known words or phrases in the secondary language to make things sound more authentic. Audiences are likely to understand words like *ciao*, *tschuss*, *spasiba* and *merci* and are therefore unlikely to require a translation while at the same time the film vaguely pays homage to linguistic reality. Finally, comedy often adopts what Sternberg calls "vehicular promiscuity" or macaronic speech/writing that consists of gibberish uttered in the parodic sounds of another language and sprinkled with the odd word or phrase in that language too. Vehicular promiscuity is only acceptable in comedy in which, for some reason, disbelief is well and truly suspended and linguistically anything goes (see Chiaro 2015).

Quantitatively a multilingual filmic product will consist of a dominant language, say English as in the case of Allen's trilogy, and one or more secondary languages that will (should) be in some way translated for the audience. As we saw previously, visual ambiance and music in Allen's three films greatly contribute to making the audience feel that they are in the locale in question; in addition, he

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attempts to give all he has to provide linguistic veracity too. It is clear from their titles that Allen needs to create a linguistically credible environment, so he must necessarily reference languages other than English. While allowing the primary monolingual English-speaking audience to understand what is going on, yet retain linguistic authenticity, Allen resorts to a number of stratagems. The most traditional approach adopted is that of providing subtitles in English for stretches of dialogue delivered in the secondary language, i.e. Spanish, French and Italian. In their original versions, *Barcelona* contains several stretches of dialogue in Spanish that are subtitled in English and *Paris* contains a number of dialogues that remain in French (and Spanish) with English subs. There are also expanses of subtitled Italian in *Rome*. Other devices, while not classifying technically as translations, do however pay homage to translation. For example, in these films, the linguistic "other" will often (luckily) be able to speak accented or broken English while another character will just so happen to know English and act as translator for whoever does not (Chiaro 2014 and 2015).

Another wise move to create linguistic credibility is to involve actors who are respectively native speakers of Spanish, French and Italian, so they have naturally foreign accents when speaking English. However, what also occurs in each film is what Kozloff has labelled "self-dubbing" (2000: 81) as English speaking actors adopt particular accents or else speak in broken English in their non-English speaking personae and pretend to be foreign. Alternatively, as occurs in *Rome*, the Italian voice actor who voices Woody Allen, blatantly sounds like Allen speaking English although he is actually speaking Italian (Lionello 1994) and Spanish-speaking Penelope Cruz, in the part of sex worker Anna, adopts such good Italian that only an Italian would note her Spanish accent.

What follows is a discussion of the different ways in which Allen portrays a linguistically realistic milieu in each film for his monolingual English speaking audience and how he (sometimes) provides a translation of the secondary language (L2) for that same audience by having a character act as translator. Simultaneously, we will reflect on how Spanish, French and Italian screen translation operators overcome Kozloff's "conundrum". The analysis may appear untidy in the sense that the categories described may overlap. Then, so does the mix of languages Allen creates that in turn reflects the post-multilingual world in which we live. In fairness to Allen, very few scenes adopt the old Hollywood technique much detested by my father in which people suddenly burst into perfect English after previous stretches of "other language only". The only example of this occurs in *Paris*, a film in which American protagonist Gil Pender (Owen Wilson) finds himself traveling between the present and the Parisian past. During his first excursion back in time, in a mixture of English and French, some passers-by tell him to get into a car. He obeys, and once on board the other passengers offer him champagne and generally chat to him

in French. Aware that he does not understand a word they are saying, suddenly one of them tells bemused Gil that "The night is young!" and to "Drink up!"

2.1   "Postcarding"

The background language in all public spaces in each film is clearly Spanish, French and Italian, and as discussed earlier the chosen background music highlights the country in question – even stereotypically like the presence of mandolins and the choice of the song "Volare" in *Rome*.

When *Barcelona* was first released in Spain, it was cause for controversy in Catalonia owing to instances of incorrect "postcarding". In a scene featuring the famous Boqueria market, the price labels on fruit are (mistakenly) displayed in Spanish, while another scene portrays a flamenco guitar recital, typical of Seville rather than Catalonia (*Directe!Cat* 2008). Furthermore, the dialogues in *Barcelona* are entirely in Castilian and the absence of Catalan in a city where it is the first language strikingly stands out (*NacióDigital* 2008). Ironically, American tourist Vicky (Rebecca Hall) claims more than once that she is in Barcelona to study Catalan culture, yet not a word is uttered in the local language.

In *Paris*, shopkeepers, waiters and a number of people occupying public spaces speak indiscernible French, thus postcarding reality. Apart from Frenchified white noise, Allen includes several scenes that are completely in French (with no subtitles), such as when Gil travels back in time to the Belle Époque and visits Chez Bricktop, where, to his incredulity, he witnesses Josephine Baker (Sonia Rolland) singing and dancing to "La Conga Blicoti" in, of course, French.

A singular example of postcarding occurs in *Rome* with the presence of so called "product placement". In Jack's (Jesse Eisenberg) apartment a number of commercial products are casually strewn around with the brand name clearly visible – a packet of Garofalo pasta; a bottle of Mutti tomatoes; Beretta sliced meats and even a packet of Tic-Tacs. Producers of these products sponsor Italian cinema, which is in great need of financing following governmental cuts in the wake of the financial crash of 2009. Apart from the Tic Tacs, the other products are made in Italy and therefore become instances of postcarding.

2.2   "Self-dubbing"

By the 1930s, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy had become extremely popular in the USA and Hal Roach immediately saw a market for them in Europe. Unfortunately, the language problem seemed insurmountable, so what Roach did was to make versions of each of their films in French, German, Italian and Spanish. He would

do this by finding migrants to play minor parts and recite in their native languages, while the well-known comedy duo would read their dialogues in the target language from a prompt. Of course, Laurel and Hardy didn't understand what they were reading and their pronunciation in each foreign language was awful, yet the tactic worked well in Europe and especially in Italy. Italian audiences loved Laurel and Hardy's English accents and mispronounced Italian that made them sound funnier than in the original. However, following the 1929 edict that ensured that English – considered the language of the enemy – should not circulate on Italian screens, the soundtracks of films were recorded from scratch in Italy, only this time with Italian voice-actors.

Soon, multiple versions of the same film had become the norm in Europe, with Paramount shooting different language versions of films in their studios in Joinville, France. Yet, Europe already had the technology to avoid these multiple versions thanks to the inventiveness of Austrian physicist Jakob Karol, who had actually invented a technique that could substitute the original soundtrack of a film with another. By 1932, this procedure, called dubbing, had become the most cost-effective and qualitatively successful way to translate films. This new system allowed Italian voice actors Mario Zambuto and Alberto Sordi to dub Laurel and Hardy with such ridiculous and unlikely English accents that they were hugely successful (Ford 1961) while at the same time keeping Italy's right wing regime happy as the English-sounding voices belonged to Italians and not to Americans. To quote Bollettieri Bosinelli (1994), a good dub reflects the etymology of the term "to dub", namely "to double". A good translation followed by a good dub can double the audience's enjoyment of a filmic product as is the case of Laurel and Hardy, affectionately known in Italy as "Stanlio e Ollio" (see Paolinelli and Di Fortunato 2005). Self-dubbing is precisely what Laurel and Hardy did when they themselves performed in a language other than their own. And it is exactly what Allen does with several actors in these films.

In Allen's trilogy, several actors are native speakers of the L2 involved and are thus able to self-dub by speaking accented English. In *Barcelona*, Javier Bardem and Penelope Cruz, two international stars who are both native speakers of Spanish and extremely proficient in English, not only highlight their foreignness (Spanishness) through their accents, but also actively stop and think and look for words as though their grasp of the language is not so good. Bardem as Juan Antonio frequently hesitates and searches for words: "Does she [Vicky] always analyse every inspiration until its grain of charm is… uh… *squeezed out* of it?" With a rising tone on "squeezed out" to indicate his uncertainty regarding its meaning, Juan Antonio underscores that he is not very comfortable with English.

Similarly to Bardem and Cruz in *Barcelona*, a number of French actors in *Paris* speak English with their naturally French accents. Marion Cotillard as Adriana;

Léa Seydoux as Gabrielle; Olivier Rabourdin as Paul Gauguin and the two detectives (Serge Bagdassarian and Gad Elmaleh) are all native speakers of French. Presumably, these actors are playing themselves in English, with the exception of a French tourist guide played by Italian personality Carla Bruni. Bruni however has lived in France for many years thus endowing her French accent in English with a certain plausibility. These actors tend to over-emphasize their otherness. Cotillard, whose English in real life is word perfect with only a slight French inflection, in the role of Adriana constantly pronounces the word "Paris" as /parɪːː/, accentuating her French accent by lengthening the final vowel sound. To consolidate the impression that Adriana is not completely comfortable speaking English, like Juan Antonio in *Barcelona*, Allen has her struggle for words. In one scene, she does not understand the meaning of the word "hooked". Gil Pender explains the meaning to her, so that when she uses it again further on in the script, she asks for reassurance that she is using it correctly: "I love it [i.e. Gil's manuscript] I'm already…hooked? Hooked".

However, self-dubbing can also refer to an actor who specifically takes on a foreign accent while continuing to speak in his or her native language. In *Paris* three actors self-dub a language other than English. Kathy Bates in the part of Gertrude Stein self-dubs into French and Spanish always, however retaining her American accent, and French actor Adrien de Van plays the part of Luis Buñuel thus acting in heavily accented Spanish. Adrian Brody plays the part of Salvador Dalí and so sounds like a Spanish speaker. Brody adopts broken English and, in one scene, an especially odd pronunciation of the word "rhinoceros" when he claims, "I see rhinoceros!" This foregrounds Dalí's linguistic otherness, yet also highlights Hollywood's cultural insensitivity. Was Dalí's English really so comical? Now, we are dealing with a surrealist artist and undeniably, the collective perception of Dalí is that of a man with behaviour that is outside that expected within traditional social norms. Thus conveying him in comic terms, Allen can evade the accusation of stereotyping. In fact, when translating comedy it is as though anything goes and this type of linguistic stereotyping is allowed.

In *Rome* numerous of the well-known Italian actors speak Italian in the original (subsequently subbed for English speaking audiences), such as the well-known actor Roberto Benigni in the part of Leopoldo Pisanello. Interestingly, Spanish speaking Penelope Cruz self-dubs into Italian in the part of sex worker Anna. Now, while not all the L2 speakers are word perfect in English, and as we have seen, actors pretend to struggle for words in the target language, *Rome* provides a rare example of linguistic incompetence towards Italian, rather than towards English. Woody Allen himself in the part of Jerry, future father in-law of Roman lawyer Michelangelo (Flavio Parenti), insists on calling him "M/aI/chelangelo" with the US pronunciation despite several corrections from both his wife and daughter. However, in the Italian version of *Rome* Allen himself is dubbed to perfection by

(voice) actor Leo Gullotta who retains the mispronunciation and Americanization of the son-in-law's name.[2]

Allen provides probably the best example of self-dubbing of all three films with the traffic officer (Pierluigi Marchionne) who doubles up as the narrating voice for part of the film too. More mindful of his pose than the traffic, the film opens with him directing traffic when suddenly we hear the sound of two cars heavily bumping into each other and him exclaiming "Porca miseria che botto!" ('Damn, what a bang!') in a thick Roman accent, after which he continues in heavily accented English:

> Sorry. I don't speak English very well. I'm from Roma. My job, as you can see, is to see that the traffic move. I stand up here, and I see everything. All people. I see life. In this city, all is a story. See that young man over there? He's a Roman, Michelangelo.

The same character closes the movie, so that the last words audiences hear are in stereotypically accented English that is fraught with mistakes:

> It's me, that knows Rome best, not the traffic policeman or anyone. I see all from here. The Romans, the students, the lovers on the Spanish Steps. There are many stories. Next time you come.

In contrast, Michelangelo speaks excellent English completely devoid of the comic linguistic clichés of the officer's speech. The fact that Michelangelo falls in love with Jerry's daughter, New Yorker Hayley (Alison Pill), is perfectly credible from the moment she tries to ask him for directions and learns that he is a pro bono lawyer whose job frequently takes him to New York.

2.3 The accidental translator

Allen's trilogy contains a number of bilingual characters who double up as translators. In *Barcelona* Juan Antonio acts as interpreter to Vicky when they visit the home of his monolingual father in Oviedo. Vicky speaks to him in her rudimentary Spanish for which she is apologetic and as she speaks, Juan Antonio acts as language mediator:

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2. For decades Allen had been dubbed by Oreste Lionello who not only bore a physical similarity to Allen, but, above all, managed to emulate the same voice quality as the actor. With the death of Lionello audiences have had to get used to a new voice, that of Gullotta's, who in *Rome* voices Allen for the first time.

Juan Antonio	My father, Julio.
Vicky	*Buenos días Julio. Qué casa tan bonita*. Oh. You know, if we carry on, I don't think it's gonna…
Juan Antonio	It's fine. That was great. He speaks no English. (Explains to his father that Vicki speaks a little Spanish).
Vicky	I'm sure my Spanish is going to go.
Juan Antonio	He refuses to speak any other language, and that's an important point with my father, actually.
Vicky	Really, it is? Why?
Juan Antonio	Because he's a poet, and he writes the most beautiful sentences in the Spanish language, but he, I don't know, he doesn't believe that a poet should pollute his words by any other tongue, which is quite a…
Vicky	No. No, it makes sense. I understand, 'cause in translation he might lose. I mean, I took some Spanish. I… of course, I have no flair for languages. I read it much better than I speak it.

This dialogue highlights a commonplace regarding linguistic issues. Realistically, Vicky is very modest about her language skills in Spanish, while Juan Antonio is encouraging. Furthermore, he picks up on the metaphor of "losing" – in this case poetic function – in translation. Again, later in the movie, when Maria Elena (Penelope Cruz), Juan Antonio's ex-wife, meets Cristina (Scarlett Johansson), his new American lover, she asks her "You speak no Spanish?" to which Cristina replies that she studied Chinese because "I thought it sounded pretty". Maria Elena then asks her to say something in Chinese and Cristina weakly utters "*ni hao ma*?" (你好吗). The response reflects a typical stance people take asking others to "say something in language x" as well as highlighting the commonplace reification of languages – in this case one that "sounds pretty". When Juan Antonio quarrels with Maria Elena in Spanish, he simultaneously translates what is being said into English for the benefit of Cristina.

We find similar instances in *Paris* too. Gil buys a book from a bookstall and asks the seller "Can you translate this? Do you speak any English?" (as if translating a book was a simple task!) but has no response from the bookseller. The French dubbed version is very different because, being dubbed into French, the request of a translation would be ridiculous. Instead, Gil asks the bookseller, "*Est-ce que… j'ai du mal à dechiffrer l'écriture, qu'est-ce que… qu'est-ce que… est-ce que vous pouvez me dire où vous avez eu ça*?" – 'Is it…it is difficult for me to decipher the writing, what … what … can you tell me where did you get it?'

In the scene that immediately follows, we see the French tourist guide (Carla Bruni) translating the book for Gil. She visibly stumbles and stutters as she

translates, stopping at the word *inéxplicable* that she is unable to translate, but Gil encourages her with "Yes, yes". So again, Allen provides a good attempt at creating realistic speech. In the French dub of the same scene, an extra utterance is inserted before Bruni begins to translate – as of course, she will not need to translate as the film is dubbed into French. Gil says "*Vous êtes experte en histoire de l'art, j'ai pensé que ça vous intéresserait*" – i.e. 'You are an expert on art and I think you will find this interesting' after which Bruni begins reading aloud with great interest but obviously not translating.

Another "translation" scene occurs at Maxim's in which Gil, Adriana, Toulouse Lautrec, Gauguin e Degas are conversing. Gil asks Degas "*Parlez-vous anglaise?*" – with a clear mistake as it should be "*anglais*", but then realistically underscores his Americaness – to then switch to English. In the French dub, this is substituted with Gil offering drinks while Adriana no longer provides a translation as she does in the original. In the same film, Gertrude Stein translates her French and Spanish conversations with Picasso into English, thus eliminating the need for subtitles.

Rome also contains scenes in which characters double up as translators. The Italian actor who plays Michelangelo's father Giancarlo, self-dubs in heavily accented, almost broken, English, as he himself claims, "[I] don't speak good English", but as his wife speaks no English, he and his son translate for her. Otherwise, she simply gesticulates and uses facial expressions in order to be understood.

2.4   Translanguaging?

Allen sprinkles *Barcelona* with small touches of people using the wrong word in English such as the hotel doctor gets the term "rest" wrong:

Doctor: "She must just 'ret?' not eat"
Cristina: "Okay, rest?"
Doctor: "Yeah, rest. Rest".

This strategy fits in perfectly with the concept of translanguaging as it is typical of present day usage of English, especially in computer-mediated communication (e.g. social media such as *Facebook*) in which *ad hoc* forms of English are created by users of diverse languages in order to be mutually intelligible. Allen could have used voice actors to create the pretence, yet he chose actors to self-dub, namely to use *their* English.

However, the most interesting scenes in the trilogy, in terms of screen translation, occur in *Barcelona* between Juan Antonio and his ex-wife Maria Elena and they involve translanguaging. As soon as she arrives at the house Juan Antonio now shares with his new American lover, Cristina, Maria Elena continues to speak Spanish

although Juan Antonio repeatedly tells her "Here you have to speak English, please". Maria Elena switches to English when she speaks to Cristina but Juan Antonio then switches to Spanish to argue with his wife, although he repeats, "In English, in English, Maria Elena when you are here you have to speak English, all right?" after which they switch back to quarrelling in Spanish. They continue to argue tempestuously mainly in Spanish but with continuous switches into English with Juan Antonio insisting his wife speaks English a further three times. At breakfast, the morning following Maria Elena's arrival and the quarrel above, she continues to speak Spanish with her ex-husband who replies in English and repeatedly tells her to speak English. Significantly, towards the end of the film, when Cristina decides to leave the tryst, Maria Elena once more gets angry in Spanish and it is Cristina who asks her to speak English "…please, I can't understand you". Juan Antonio, who also asks her to "*habla inglés*", follows this remark with "Maria Elena speak English please so that she can understand". Juan Antonio asks Maria Elena to speak English eleven times in all. In this scene, on one level, Juan Antonio insists on use of English for reasons of politeness so that Cristina can be included in the conversation, on another level, it can be seen as a metaphor for the whole film. Although we are in Spain, English is the primary language and Maria Elena must also "*hablar inglés*" for her primary, monolingual English audience.

The Spanish dub of *Barcelona* was cause for polemic in Catalonia, where the film is set, because all the dialogues are in Castilian Spanish rather than Catalan, the local language (Oliva 2008). To add insult to injury, Cruz and Bardem do not voice themselves (i.e. they do not self dub) into their own mother tongue therefore creating unexpected falseness and a great deal of disappointment in autochthonous audiences – Bardem is dubbed by voice actor Rafael Calvo and Cruz by Isabel Valls (Fenés and Martorell 2008). Ironically, while the couple self-dub in the original English version, in the Spanish version, the language of which they are native speakers, they are voiced by other actors. However, Juan Antonio's repeated "speak English" would clearly make no sense in the Castilian dub and is substituted with expressions such as "*calmáte*" ("keep calm"), "*sé positiva*" ("be positive") and "*ya basta por favor*" ("enough please"). To make matters even worse, while dubbed versions were available in both Castilian and Catalan, subtitled versions exist only in Castilian. However, returning to the quarrelling scenes, in the Catalan dub part of the row occurs in Castilian, thus recreating something of the original dynamic.

In *Paris* we find instances of translanguaging occurring within conversational rituals. When Scott Fitzgerald (Tom Hiddleston) enters a bar, he greets everyone with "*Bonsoir tout le monde!*" while his wife Zelda (Alison Pill) orders drinks with "*Un bouteille de* Bourbon *s'il vous plait*". Again, when Adriana and Gil arrive at Maxim's she declares: "*Ah mon Dieu*, this is so beautiful!" Rather than examples of codeswitching these represent translanguaging as they are seamlessly and

appropriately entwined into the dialogue, so much so that the difference between English and French is hardly noticeable.

Translanguaging also occurs in a number of scenes in which Gil speaks to French women in *Paris*. When Gil first meets Adriana he asks, "*Parlez-vous*, do you speak English?" in a sort of post-carding manner, but not quite. Moreover, he takes pleasure when an attractive young woman, Gabrielle, responds to him in French:

> Gil "Are you a Parisian?" / Gabrielle "Yes monsieur/" Gil: "Yes monsieur!"
> (laughing)

Of course, it is unclear whether Gil's laughing repetition of "*monsieur*" is a self-deprecation, as he does not see himself worthy of such respect from a younger woman, or simply a liking of the French epithet. Certainly, Gil's reaction to being called "*monsieur*" smacks of linguistic fetishism. Again, when Gil asserts, "I always say that I was born too late", Adriana responds in French with "*Moi aussi*", creating almost a translinguistic game of ping-pong in which each player responds to the other in his or her own language.

Adriana also translanguages by weaving French utterances here and there into her English. "*Oui oui exactement vous avez l'âme d'un poète*" she says to Gil ('Yes, yes, absolutely, you have the soul of a poet') as does Carla Bruni's character in a scene, where she, a tourist guide, argues with Paul (Michael Sheen), who contradicts her, in English, regarding the love life of the sculptor Auguste Rodin. Bruni insists that Paul's version of Rodin's love life is incorrect and ignores his English by asserting in French that she is right: "*Ah non non, je suis certaine*" – '*Non,* no, *I'm certain*'.

Finally, in the episodes in *Rome* involving American Jerry and his wife who are there to meet their daughter's future in-laws, when Jerry hears Michelangelo's father Giancarlo singing opera in the shower, he has the brilliant idea to make him become a famous singer. As Giancarlo can only sing in the shower, Jerry successfully has him perform in the opera *Pagliacci* in a shower on stage. The following day, Michelangelo reads the newspaper reviews of *Pagliacci* sight translating into English and visibly showing his difficulty in doing so as he thinks and stumbles.

| Michelangelo | "Except from Mr. Santoli's magnificent voice…Magnificent! His voice is the most beautiful of all!" – Whatever, "whoever *imbecille*…" *imbecille*? – "Whoever *imbecille* conceived this em moronic experience…should be taken out and beheaded." |
| Hayley | "Yeah, *imbecille*." |

As Michelangelo translates, at the word "magnificent", we can hear Mariangela and Giancarlo crying out "*Magnifico!*" and "*La più bella voce di tutti!*" (Literally: "the

most beautiful voice of all!"). This is clearly not an example of code switching but translanguaging. Although the terms "magnificent" and "*magnifico*" are not identical in their respective languages, they do reflect a cavalier use of language that is pervasive today. The words sound alike so why not use them interchangeably and slowly but surely; translanguaging occurs as terms flow from one language to another and become assimilated. In a later scene, Jerry tells his wife about the positive reviews and (rather incredibly seeing its similarity to the English term) does not understand the meaning of "*imbecille*": "Phyllis, the review was so great. I mean, the press… what…The press called me, um…not… not, what's was the word they used? Not a maestro, but uh…uh… an '*imbecille*'! What does it mean?" His wife ironically responds with "Means you're ahead of your time…". Jerry, unperturbed, continues with "Your mother, I'm happy to say, lucky woman, married an '*imbecille*'".

The most obvious solution to providing English monolingual audiences with a comprehension of the secondary language in a film with more than one language is to provide subtitles whenever it occurs. It is fair to say that Allen uses subtitles sparingly in these films, preferring other strategies.

English subtitles are provided in *Paris* for Gertrude Stein's conversations with Picasso (Stein and Picasso speaking French/Spanish), for the odd utterance in French spoken by Adriana and by people who welcome Adriana and Gil to Maxim's and their conversations with Toulouse Lautrec (Vincent Menjou Cortes). Interestingly, the final scene in which the detective finds himself chased by guards at the court of Louis XIV is also subtitled although it is evident that what is being said is "Off with his head!" or words to that effect. Yet unnecessary subs are provided over the liquor store that then becomes a laundromat – "FINE WINE – LIQUORS" and LAUNDRY SELF-SERVICE. Apart from the names being similar in the two languages, it would be hard to confuse the laundromat with anything else.

In each film, there are scenes in which characters speak in the secondary language and no subtitles are provided.

In *Barcelona*, when Juan Antonio and Vicki visit Julio, Juan Antonio's father in Oviedo, part of the conversation is without subtitles. In addition, the scene in which Juan Antonio receives a phone call to say that Maria Elena wants to kill herself has no subtitles, although it is not difficult to reconstruct what is being said even before Juan Antonio tells Cristina in English so audiences know what is happening. In *Paris* the words of Spanish speaking matador Juan Belmonte remain mostly untranslated as does a conversation in French between Gertrude Stein and Henri Matisse.

In *Rome*, after Giancarlo's successful performance, Jerry wants to continue managing the new opera singer, but Giancarlo's wife Mariangela disagrees:

Mariangela	*"Ma quale "Pagliacci"! Ma quale partenze? Ma quali aeroplani? Qui non va via nessuno! Ma Lei dove vuoi portare mio marito, scusi?"* ["What "Pagliacci"? What trips? What aeroplanes? Nobody is going anywhere. Where do you think you're taking my husband?"]
Giancarlo	Mariangela
Jerry	I… I failed high school Spanish. I really don't…"
Mariangela	*Questo è pazzo, è pazzo io non capisco quello che dice. Ma che cosa sta dicendo? Già ha portato via il figlio adesso vuole potare via pure te? Ma che cosa?"* [: "This man is mad, mad. I don't understand what he's saying. What is he talking about? He's already taken my son away, now he wants to take you away… What?"]
Jerry	He's gonna be a big star, big opera star.
Mariangela	Star? *Ma tu non sai cantare! Non sai cantare! Tu canti sotto l'acqua. Acqua, acqua, shhhhhh. Non sa cantare, no …* [" Star? But you can't sing! You can't sing! You sing in the shower. Water, water shhhhhhh. He can't sing, no"– simulates someone washing in the shower]
Giancarlo	*Basta, basta*! ["Enough! Enough!"]
Mariangela	[Brandishing a knife at Jerry] *Io l'ammazzo lasciamo perdere* ["I'll kill him, who cares"]

It is not uncommon for people to consider Spanish and Italian mutually intelligible and significantly, at one point Jerry actually admits that he "failed high school Spanish" as an excuse for his poor Italian. This is reminiscent of Catalan being subsumed into Castilian Spanish in *Barcelona*. The concept of all Romance languages being the same is a Hollywood trope that reflects a dominant Anglocentric culture. By thinking that Spanish and Italian or Catalan and Castilian are all the same, the individuality of each is rejected. English is the dominant language in the film and all other (Romance) languages are considered equivalent.

3.   Concluding remarks

Woody Allen's European trilogy reproduces the dynamic world in which we live, where many people are on the move and continually engaging in different lingua-cultural environments. Allen's use of international stars of diverse linguistic origins, who are able to self-dub in and/or out of English, certainly enhances the authenticity of each film. We do indeed live in a world in which the English language

has become not only fluid but also many-accented beyond the traditional accents of native and second language speakers. All three films reflect this linguistic reality.

However, one thing that clearly emerges from these films is the existence of bilingual and multilingual language speakers who do not use English as some sort of simplified lingua franca but as "a fluid and dynamic form of linguistic creativity whose meaning is negotiated in real-life social interaction" (Wei 2016: 2). In the original version of all three films, while translation is clearly necessary, we do find a number of French, Spanish and Italian characters who speak English in a manner in which it is "appropriated and exploited without allegiance to its historically native speakers" (Wei 2016). In fact, the films depict a persistent tussle of (mis)understanding among characters as they negotiate common terrain.

In each film, someone highlights his or her poor ability in the target language. Vicky verbalises her inadequacy in Spanish, Maria Elena questions Cristina's proficiency in Chinese and Jerry suggests Italian and Spanish are the same language. The films are also sprinkled with remarks that reflect people's attitude to languages other than their own – Gil is amused by being addressed as "*monsieur*"; Cristina studied Chinese because she "thought it sounded pretty" and Jerry "doesn't understand a word of Italian". In the original script[3] of *Paris*, Allen originally had Gil add a note to the earrings that he wanted to give Adriana. First Gil scribbles "To Adriana with love" but he then crosses it out and writes "To Adriana *avec amour*", a perfect mélange of the two languages.

Translanguaging embraces the concept of linguistic sharing – sharing a buzzword on social media. We tend to share thoughts with those with whom we wish to align, with those with whom we are similar. The linguistic give and take that mixes languages reflects reality, especially as far as English is concerned.

Acknowledgements

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The linguistics of dubbing

More than words can say

Exploring prosodic variation in dubbing

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Prosodic choices enable on-screen characters to express more than words can say. The pragmatic content attached to their utterances needs to be grasped and reflected in dubbing. Given that the denotative meaning of words can be modulated and even altered by prosodic cues, the role of prosody in audio-visual discourse cannot be neglected in dubbing research and practice. This chapter sets out to explore the relevance of four prosodic systems, namely pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness and tempo, and their pragmatic implications for English-Spanish dubbed dialogue. The examples provided within each category aim to illustrate via a qualitative analysis how variations in prosody can be used by the original characters to show their attitudes and intentions and how practitioners can reproduce this underlying content by drawing upon their own linguistic resources while complying with dubbing conventions.

Keywords: prosody, dubbing, translation, pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness, tempo, pragmatic implications, English, Spanish

1. Introduction

Although research on dubbing "still remains stubbornly low" (Díaz Cintas 2015: xiii), especially when compared to other flourishing areas within the realm of Audiovisual Translation (AVT) such as subtitling and, more recently, media accessibility, this field has become the object of numerous studies and volumes in the past few years. The close link between dubbing and other analogous disciplines such as communication studies, sociology, film studies or linguistics has led many scholars to increasingly adopting a much-needed interdisciplinary approach (Chaume 2013). The language used in dubbed speech, also referred to as *dubbese* (Myers 1973), has been one of the dominant topics in dubbing research. In an attempt to enhance the quality and naturalness of a language traditionally labelled as stilted, prefabricated and artificial (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Baños-Piñero and

Chaume 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009a), researchers' attention has been mostly directed to the verbal rendering of the original speech, that is, to what characters say. Nonetheless, the way characters say what they say, especially regarding their use of prosody, has usually been overlooked or just mentioned in passing by academics. Since the vocal properties of the original actors constitute one of the most powerful sources of information for both voice talents and translators,[1] prosodic variation and its impact on dubbed dialogue merit further investigation.

This chapter aims to explore the bearing and close connection between prosodic features and dubbing, placing special emphasis on the pragmatic implications that prosodic elements can carry for both the written (as delivered by the translators) and the oral (as delivered by the dubbing actors) versions of the dubbed text. To this end, four prosodic systems, namely pitch-direction (or tone), pitch-range, loudness and tempo (Crystal 1969; Monroy Casas 2002), will be examined in a sample of fictional dialogues extracted from a number of American films and TV series for illustrative purposes. Their pragmatic implications in both English and Spanish discourse will be compared qualitatively via the speech analysis software Praat[2] (v. 5.3.16).

2.   The prosodic-pragmatic interface

Several linguists such as Monroy Casas (2002) and Prieto and Rigau (2011) have proved a strong connection between prosodic variation and the addresser's communicative intention in speech. This idea leads to the possibility of judging utterances as illocutionary acts, which serve a pragmatic purpose in oral conversation (Searle 1969) and can be intentionally performed by speakers through their choice of prosody (Hervey 1998), alongside other linguistic, paralinguistic and kinetic factors. Following from this, it seems logical to think that some types of illocutionary acts will be more likely to occur with certain types of prosodic patterns or, to put it another way, speakers will resort to different prosodic features depending on their communicative intention. For instance, a shift in the pitch-range of an utterance's nuclear tone can fulfil different pragmatic functions and in turn point to two different speech acts. This is illustrated in Example (1). The recourse to a

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1.   For the sake of brevity, the term "translator" will be employed throughout this chapter to refer to both the translator and the dialogue writer. These professional tasks can be carried out by the same practitioner or by two different agents (Chaume 2012).

2.   Praat, developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands), is a computer program to analyse and synthesise speech that allows the introduction of recorded voices to obtain the pitch contour and prominence of a given utterance.

low falling tone in a declarative sentence such as "She is coming on Friday" allows the interlocutor to confirm the other speaker's words, whereas the same statement uttered in a high key (i.e., high falling tone) would imply a correction on the part of the addresser (Tench 2011).

(1)[3] a. **Confirming the other speaker's words.**
        *She is coming on ⌐Friday.**
      b. **Correcting the other speaker's words.**
        *She is coming on ↘Friday.***
      * Symbol ⌐ indicates low falling intonation and ↘ indicates high falling intonation.
      ** The nuclear tone of each intonation phrase has been displayed in bold.

The domain of pragmatics can be understood as "an area within linguistics that deals with the construction of meaning in context" (Culpeper 2001: 13), and it seems undeniable that prosody, traditionally defined as "the musical accompaniment to the words themselves" (Fox 2000: 1), plays a fundamental part in the construction and interpretation of that meaning. In pragmatics the focus is put on what interlocutors mean rather than on what their language means (Hickey 1998). Prosody is precisely one of the most useful and versatile linguistic resources to add connotative meaning to the denotative content of words or, as argued by Whitman-Linsen (1992: 45), "to provide the hearer with information which surpasses the semantic content of the utterance". Prosodic choices enable inferences about the speaker's intention and identity (Bosseaux 2018) and hint at attitudinal and emotional cues that might not be necessarily implied by the syntactic, grammatical or lexical make-up of the sentence. Hence their pivotal role not only in speech production but also, and most importantly, in speech perception.

Even though prosodic cues supply the receiver with valuable input, it is not always possible to establish a one-to-one correlation between prosody and pragmatic interpretation (Prieto and Rigau 2011). Paralinguistic signs, body language, the situational context and other prosodic correlates can also hold sway over the speaker's intention. This is the reason why prosody is best analysed and should be always understood in conjunction with other elements in the conversational exchange and, in the case of AVT, in the audiovisual exchange, where multiple signifying codes become involved in the production of meaning (Chaume 2004).

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3. The notation system used to represent intonation in the examples provided in this paper is iconic (Wells 2006). This means that the intonation marks are suggestive of the direction of the pitch movement (Monroy Casas 2005) and the size of the arrows denotes a higher or lower pitch-range (Monroy Casas 2002).

There are numerous prosodic features that can modulate and even modify the pragmatic content of utterances. Crystal (1969) and, more recently, Monroy Casas (2002) have envisaged a total of seven prosodic systems in their model of non-segmental phonation in English and Spanish respectively: pitch-direction (or tone), pitch-range, loudness, tempo, rhythmicality, pause and tension. For the sake of brevity, only four out of these seven systems will be explored here, namely pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness and tempo, as they can have a significant bearing on the way fictional characters say what they say. The examples provided within each prosodic category will be examined via a qualitative comparative analysis in order to evaluate the pragmatic implications of these four features for dubbing. When necessary, Praat screenshots will be included as visual support to elucidate the points discussed in the text.

3.   Where prosody meets dubbing

One of the first scholars underlining the pivotal role of prosodic features in dubbed dialogue was Fodor (1976). In his seminal book on film dubbing, the author emphasised the importance of prosodic qualities in bringing about sharp contrasts in meaning and in typifying the character's manner of speaking. In a similar vein, Whitman-Linsen (1992: 46) stressed the need to look beyond the characters' words to reflect the meaning transmitted through prosody in the dubbed version, considering that how we say what we say "can enhance, impoverish or shift the semantic content of an utterance". Variations in prosody can also be deliberately inserted in the oral version to convey attitudinal and emotional nuances (Cruttenden 1997; Chun 2002). If, for instance, the character yells or whispers, speaks fast or slowly or draws upon a falling (downward movement), a rising (upward movement) or a level (neither downward nor upward movement) contour, additional information can be inferred from the person who talks, from his or her attitude towards that particular matter and from the situational context.

The purposes that prosodic cues can serve in fictional speech are manifold. Characters can assign connotative meaning to their words, attain their communicative goals, reflect their inner feelings and attitudes as well as give additional credibility and authenticity to the dialogue. Dubbing practitioners, who must interpret the meaning emerging from the interaction between the verbal and non-verbal signs transmitted through both the acoustic and the visual channels (Chaume 1998), need to grasp the pragmatic implications attached to the character's use of prosody. The crucial issue is how to detect this content in the source text (ST) and, most importantly, how to convey it in a different language so that the target audience infers the same pragmatic meaning in a natural and plausible manner (Mateo 2014).

Unlike paralinguistic features (e.g., laughs, coughs, sighs, etc.), which are normally represented in the translated script by way of conventional symbols or by the description of the action in brackets (Chaume 2012; Cerezo Merchán et al. 2016), prosodic elements are rarely included in the dubbed dialogue graphically. For this reason, dubbing actors, under the supervision of the dubbing director, who should be familiarised with the context of the whole filmic product and guide the voice talents through their prosodic delivery (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Agost 1999), are expected to extract a great deal of information from the oral version before starting to dub. The visual channel, "noticeably mainly in the facial and bodily gestures" (Fodor 1976: 29) of on-screen actors, as well as other prosodic, paralinguistic, extralinguistic and contextual factors can also help practitioners to unearth what the characters' words might have left unsaid. Thus, the interplay between the audio and the visual channels becomes an additional and valuable source of input in dubbing.

Prosodic choices cannot only affect the way the original script is to be orally performed in the dubbing booth but also the way it is to be translated into another language. Even though Moutsatsos (1997) argues that non-verbal signs can be easily interpreted by the target audience and there should be no need to transfer them into the translated text, Zabalbeascoa (1997: 339) points out that audiovisual translations cannot be restricted to "a purely verbal operation" and other non-verbal elements should also be borne in mind when rendering the ST into a different language.

The four prosodic features under study in this paper will prove highly relevant for translation. In fact, variations in pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness and tempo in the ST might exert a dramatic impact on the pragmatic content of dubbed utterances, especially when there is no one-to-one correspondence between English and Spanish prosodic systems. Translators, alongside voice talents, will need to keep in mind the characters' use of prosody in the decision-making process in order "to respect and convey the way on-screen characters speak" (Chaume 2012: 134) as well as "to achieve efficient translations" (Mateo 2014: 116). In doing so, they must abide by three major types of synchronies, widely known as phonetic or lip synchrony, isochrony and kinesic synchrony (see Whitman-Linsen 1992 and Chaume 2012), whose presence in the audiovisual text produces "not only constraints but also a great deal of freedom for translators" (Romero-Fresco 2009b: 201).

4. Dubbing prosodic features from English into Spanish

4.1 Pitch-direction

The tone or pitch trajectory associated with the nucleus of an intonation phrase has been defined by Crystal (1969: 142) as "the direction of pitch movement within the most prominent syllable of a tone-unit". Perhaps the most obvious role played by tone in English and Spanish spoken interactions is the possibility of identifying clause types (Couper-Kuhlen 1986; Monroy Casas 2012). Pitch movement can become the only available means in oral language to discriminate between an interrogative or an exclamatory sentence or to determine whether, for instance, the speaker is asking a question or stating a fact, especially in those cases in which no subject-verb or subject-auxiliary inversion is provided in English. The trajectory of the nucleus can also reveal whether the interlocutor's utterance is finished or unfinished (Chun 2002). Whereas complete sentences tend to take a fall in both English and Spanish, incompleteness is generally reflected by either rising or level contours (Wells 2006).

Several scholars agree that the primary function of tonal variability in speech is the expression of attitudinal and pragmatic meaning (Crystal 1969; O'Connor and Arnold 1973; Monroy Casas 2005, Gut 2009). The same sentence uttered with different pitch movements can reflect variations in the interlocutor's attitudinal and pragmatic aims and in turn lead to different interpretations. Example (2) illustrates how tone can help the listener to decipher the speaker's communicative intention in English question tags. Tag questions can be produced with either a descending or an ascending movement depending on both the particular purpose of the speaker and the reply expected from the receiver. Whereas a fall functions as a request for confirmation and expects a yes-no answer, a rising tone indicates that the speaker is asking for information and generally expects a more elaborated response from the hearer. In Gut's (2009: 125) opinion, the pragmatic difference between both questions resides in the level of involvement required by the speaker, that is, whilst the fall "does not envisage disagreement", the rise "invites contradiction". Such distinction, however, is not so explicit in Spanish. Native speakers of this language tend to adopt a rising tone regardless of the type of request they wish to put in (Valenzuela Farías 2013). As far as translation is concerned, there seems to be a general tendency to translate question tags from English into Spanish as *¿verdad*? ('right?') and *¿no*?, both uttered with a rising tone (Monroy Casas 2012).

(2) a. **Request for confirmation**.
He's leaving tomorrow, ↘*isn't he?**
Se va mañana, ¿ver↗**dad**?
'He's leaving tomorrow, right?'

b. **Request for information**.
   He's leaving tomorrow, ↗isn't he?
   Se va mañana, ¿ver↗**dad**?
   'He's leaving tomorrow, right?'
   *Symbol ↘ indicates falling intonation and ↗ indicates rising intonation.

Considering that, as put by Halliday (1970: 21), "if you change the intonation of a sentence, you change its meaning", the pitch movement adopted by the original characters can alter their communicative goal as well as their attitude towards that particular situation. Even if the denotative content of the words uttered remains unaltered, a shift in the attitudinal function intended by the addresser might lead the target audience to get a wrong impression on the speaker's behaviour and intention. Example (3),[4] taken from the sitcom *How I met your mother* (Carter Bays and Craig Thomas 2005–2014), is a case in point. In this scene, Ted thinks that Barney and Robin are talking about throwing a surprise party for his thirtieth birthday. The character puts in an information-seeking wh-question while giving the impression of being casual, businesslike and mildly interested. In terms of intonation, the level tone preceded by a rising head can perfectly convey the connotations implied by the speaker in this scene (Crystal 1975). The low falling tone adopted in the dubbed utterance, however, does not manage to recreate the same attitudinal load. In Spanish, this pitch pattern can sound more serious, detached, flat and even hostile (Monroy Casas 2005).

(3) How I Met Your Mother   (S03E17)
   a. *TED: What are you guys →**talk**ing about?**
   b. TED: ¿De qué estáis ha↘**blan**do?
       'What are you talking about?'
   * Symbol → indicates level intonation and ↘ indicates low falling intonation.

For illustrative purposes, Figures 1 and 2, obtained from the speech analysis tool Praat, depict the pitch movements (level and falling respectively) of the two utterances provided in Example (3).

The "tremendous connotative power" of this prosodic system in English (Pike 1967: 22) can also carry important implications for translation. Cross-language differences in the use of tone to provide sharp contrasts in meaning are noticeable between English and Spanish. Whereas the English language can convey a great deal of information via intonation, other syntactic, grammatical and lexical devices are sometimes prioritised in Spanish (Ortiz Lira 2000; Mateo 2014). As illustrated

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4. The audio and video files of the examples provided throughout this paper are available upon request.
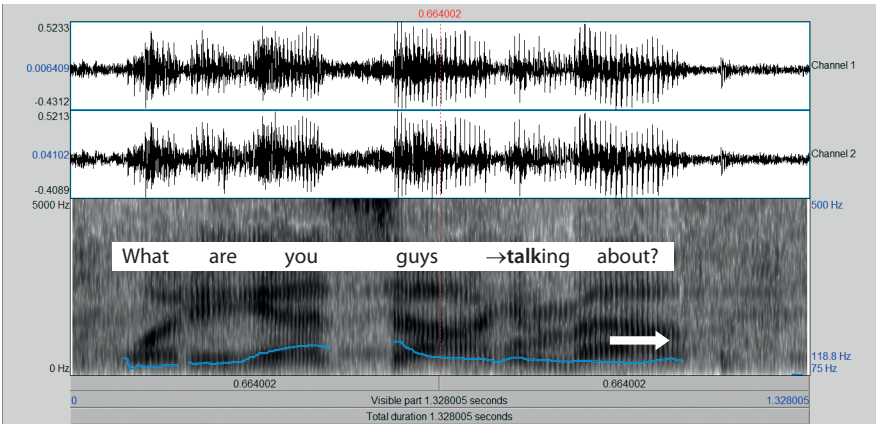
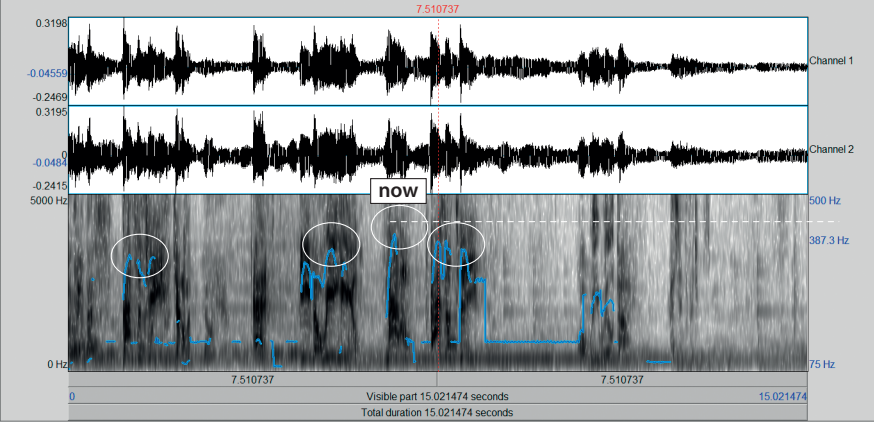**Figure 1.** Praat screenshot of Example (3) (English version)
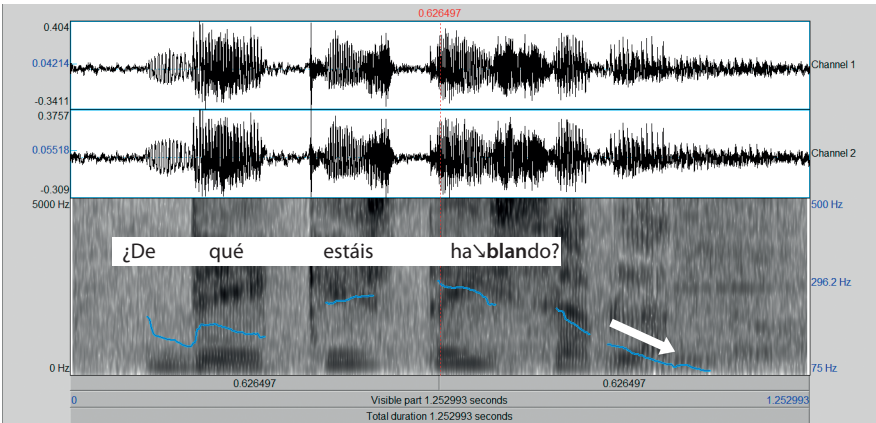
Figure 2. Praat screenshot of Example (3) (Spanish version)

in Example (4), also extracted from the sitcom *How I met your mother*, the word "anyone" has been uttered with a falling tone to indicate an unlimited scope of negation (i.e., "nobody"). Yet, the same sentence might hint at a different interpretation if the trajectory of the pitch was altered. In fact, if produced with a falling-rising contour, the character could refer to "just certain people" rather than to "nobody" (Wells 2006), thus considerably reducing the scope of negation. Since the meaning conveyed by tone in English cannot be always reflected in Spanish by means of intonation (Hervey 1998), such divergence needs to be signalled in this language by a change in the lexical repertoire, i.e., *nadie* ('nobody') and *cualquiera* ('anyone' or 'just certain people'). In this case, the falling tone was interpreted correctly by the Spanish translator, who opted for the former option (*nadie*). Admittedly,

disentangling the meaning intended by the original character should not pose a serious problem here, given that the context constitutes an invaluable help to determine the most effective translation into Spanish.

(4) How I Met Your Mother   (S06E17)
   a. **Unlimited scope of negation.**
       *BARNEY: I can't be ↘anyone's boyfriend, Robin.**
       BARNEY: No puedo ser novio de ↘na̲d̲i̲e, Robin.
   b. **Other possible interpretation: reducing the scope of negation.**
       I can't be ∨anyone's boyfriend, Robin.
       No puedo ser novio de ↘cual̲q̲u̲i̲e̲r̲a, Robin.
     * Symbol ↘ indicates falling intonation and ∨ indicates falling-rising intonation.

4.2 Pitch-range

The pitch-range of a sentence, acoustically measured in terms of Hz (cycles of vibration per second), alludes to "the distance between adjacent syllables or stretches of utterance identified in terms of a scale running from low to high" (Crystal 1969: 94). Although pitch-range differences have been closely associated with the speaker's gender and age (Cruttenden 1997) as well as with physiological aspects such as the size of the vocal cords (Estebas-Vilaplana 2014: 182), "there are other features which belong to a whole community and not only to individual speakers". The expression of attitudinal meaning is a case in point. According to Brazil et al. (1980) and Cruttenden (1997), a high key can indicate that the speaker is angry, excited or surprised. Conversely, a low pitch-range usually sounds more convincing and categorical (Monroy Casas 2002) and can be a symptom of modesty or containment in the two languages under study.

An utterance's pitch-range can be strategically employed to reinforce the pragmatic content of the sentence or to bring about a shift in the meaning intended by the speaker (Borràs-Comes et al. 2014). As shown in Example (5), a question such as "How was the food?" would be answered with a broad pitch-range in English by default, whereas the Spanish reply to the same question would imply a narrow pitch-range by default. Additionally, the use of a low key would be perceived by English listeners as a negative response (i.e., it is not nice at all), whilst a high pitch in Spanish would display a sense of over-excitement or urgency absent in the English clause (Estebas-Vilaplana 2014).

(5) a. **How was the food?**
       *It was ↘lovely.** (Neutral reply)
       It was ↙lovely. (Negative implications)

    b. **¿Qué tal la comida?**
       Ri‿**quí**sima. (Neutral reply)
       Ri↘**quí**sima. (Over-excitement or urgency)
       'Very tasty'
    * Symbol ↘ indicates high falling intonation and ‿ low falling intonation.

As illustrated in Example (6), taken from the US sitcom *Friends* (Marta Kauffman and David Crane 1994–2004), pitch-range variability can give clues about the character's pragmatic intention and make viewers activate different inferences. In this particular scene, pitch-range holds precisely the key to ascertain whether the character, Joey, wants to give Rachel a suggestion or just ask her for information or an explanation. The recourse to a rising intonation together with a low pitch-range leads the source language audience to interpret his question as a suggestion. In Spanish, the character's intention has also been transmitted via intonation, by means of a low falling tone. Perceiving the pragmatic meaning attached to the original sentence becomes paramount to convey the same nuances in the Spanish dubbed version, which, unlike the original utterance, implies the use of a different tone. Once again, the context seems to be indispensable to help both the translator and the dubbing actor to opt for the right choice when translating and dubbing the original utterance into Spanish.

  (6) Friends   (S06E03)
      a. **Suggestion**.
        *JOEY: Hey, Rach, why don't you just move in with ↗**me?***
        JOEY: Rach, ¿por qué no te instalas con‿**mi**go?
      b. **Other possible interpretation: asking for information or an explanation**.
        *Hey, Rach, why don't you just move in with ↗**me**?*
        Rach, ¿por qué no te instalas con↗**mi**go?
      * Symbol ↗ indicates low rising intonation and ↗ indicates high rising intonation.

4.3   Loudness

As pointed out by Culpeper (2001: 219), "loudness has been subject to little empirical research" to date, especially within the field of AVT. Perhaps the apparent lack of constraints when dealing with this prosodic feature in dubbing practice might explain such academic marginalisation. In fact, it is generally assumed that if a character speaks loudly or softly, the voice talent just needs to mirror the same degree of intensity in the dubbed version. Loudness, however, can be used for several linguistic purposes in the original speech and in turn can require a more elaborated delivery in the target text (TT). Variations in loudness can become a valuable source of connotative meaning and pragmatic import that necessarily

have to be identified and reflected not only in the dubbing actor's performance but sometimes also in the translated version.

This prosodic system has been defined by Chun (2002: 6) as "the amount of energy present in the production of a sound", and by Crystal (1969: 113) as "that aspect of auditory sensation in terms of which sounds may be ordered on a scale running from 'soft' to 'loud'". This scale of intensity is further expanded by Monroy Casas (2002) in Spanish. Drawing on Crystal (1969), the author proposes a repertoire of terms directly inherited from music dynamics, namely fortissimo (very loud), forte (loud), media (neither too loud nor too soft), piano (soft), pianissimo (very soft), crescendo (increasing) and diminuendo (decreasing). The shift from one level of loudness to the other, which can take place either suddenly or gradually, can supply the listener with significant clues about the speaker's attitudinal and communicative goal and also act as an emphatic and strategic device in the conversational exchange (Poyatos 2002).

In the following excerpt from the film *Any Given Sunday* (Oliver Stone 1999), this prosodic system is strategically used by the speaker as a means to a particular end. Example (7) illustrates how variations in loudness can stimulate the emotional interaction between the character and the audience. In this scene, the coach of an American football team, Tony, delivers a motivational speech to his players during a decisive game to encourage them and make them fight as a team to achieve victory. Throughout his speech, this character takes the audience on a rollercoaster of emotions through successive changes in the volume of his voice. Whereas he intentionally speaks more loudly to intensify positive ideas, his voice drops when talking about the negative implications of defeat. The speaker builds up to a dramatic climax by raising his voice gradually (crescendo) before lowering it again at the end (piano), thus assigning additional connotative meaning to his words and making it easier for the viewers to empathise with his speech.

  (7) Any Given Sunday   (Oliver Stone 1999)

      a. *TONY: (forte) That's a team, gentlemen. And either we heal (fortissimo) now (forte) as a team (piano) or we will die as individuals.*

      b. TONY: (media) Eso es un equipo, caballeros. O bien nos rehacemos (forte) ahora (media) como un equipo o nos desmoronamos como individuos.

Figure 3 shows the Praat screenshot containing the pitch contour of the original excerpt, in which the peaks of prominence (around 400 Hz) correspond to those words uttered forte and fortissimo. In the Spanish dubbed version, however, the shifts in loudness are considerably less noticeable (usually media) than in the English sentence and the peaks of prominence (around 300 Hz) are much softer than the ones displayed in the original speech (compare Figures 3 and 4 below). Since this loss has not been offset in the dubbed version by drawing upon other

resources, the emotional and attitudinal load attached to the character's words is higher in the non-dubbed excerpt than in its dubbed counterpart. Thus, even though the source and target audiences receive the same verbal content, they are likely to gain a different perception of the speaker's communicative goal.

Figure 3. Praat screenshot of Example (7) (English version)
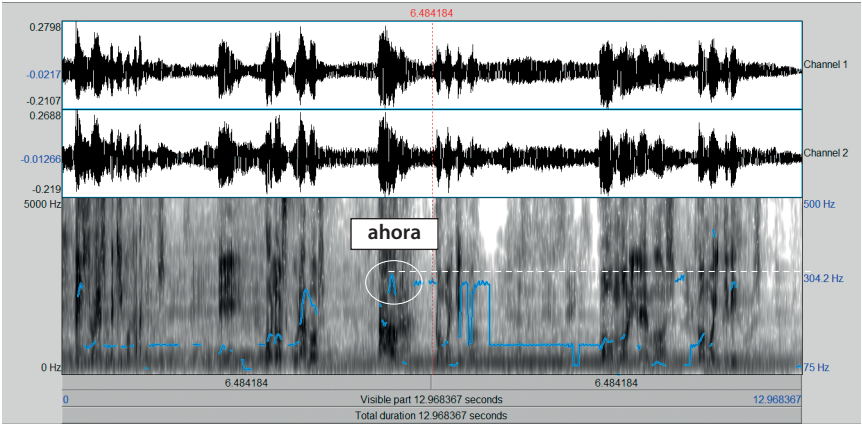
Figure 4. Praat screenshot of Example (7) (Spanish version)

Variations in loudness can impact on the dubbing actors' performance and also affect translation choices. The representation of loudness in written speech is not as explicit as in oral speech. Poyatos (2002) argues that the exclamation mark has traditionally been employed to symbolise a shouted voice and yet other levels of intensity are still difficult to represent graphically. Even if, as mentioned above,

loudness is not usually recognised by scholars as a problematic translation issue, it should not be overlooked during the translation process, since its pragmatic import could become the key to a more accurate and effective rendition in the target language. Example (8), taken from the popular US sitcom *The Big Bang Theory* (Chuck Lorre and Bill Prady 2007-present), intends to illustrate this point. In the following scene, Raj complains about his friends not attending the mystery party he had organised for them the week before. The character keeps his voice media and then raises it at the very end of the utterance, thus venting his obvious anger and irritation (also perceptible from his facial expression) at his gang's non-attendance. The most prominent word in English (the verb "came") and in Spanish (the subject *nadie* 'nobody') corresponds to the nucleus, which generally falls on the last lexical item of the intonation phrase (Halliday 1970, Monroy Casas 2012).

(8)   The Big Bang Theory   (S07E03)
     a.   *RAJ: No, you weren't, because it was a week ago and (forte) nobody (fortissimo)* **came**.
     b.   RAJ: No es verdad, porque fue hace una semana y (forte) no vino **nadie**.
        'That's not true, 'cause it was a week ago and *came nobody*.'

Focusing now on the translated excerpt, rather than on the oral delivery offered by the dubbing actor, it is important to note the subject-verb inversion in the last clause (i.e., *no vino nadie* 'came nobody'). Unlike in English, the subject in Spanish can be placed after the verb in a declarative sentence without bringing about a change in meaning. Although both translations would be perfectly valid from a semantic point of view (i.e., *no vino nadie* and *nadie vino*), the inversion in Spanish seems to reinforce the speaker's attitude and intention. In fact, the post-verbal position of the subject can often serve an emphatic purpose in this language (Vanderschueren 2013), thus making this option more effective when it comes to reflecting the pragmatic import attached to loudness.

4.4   Tempo

The last prosodic system under examination in this paper is tempo. For Roach (2001), tempo can be described as the relative speed or slowness with which an utterance is pronounced in conversation. The rate of syllable succession and the duration of pauses or silent breaks can be employed as a potential method to measure this prosodic system. Authors such as Crystal (1969), Poyatos (2002) and Braun and Oba (2007) have attributed attitudinal and emotional load to variations in speech tempo. In both English and Spanish, fast tempo can be related to states of happiness, excitement, urgency, impatience, anger or fear, whereas dialogues uttered at

a slower pace are often attached to opposite emotions such as sadness, uncertainty, calmness, hesitation or boredom. The close connection between tempo and attitudinal meaning is noticeable in fictional interactions. In fact, actors can decide to accelerate or decelerate speech according to their emotional make-up. The implications involved in the choice of tempo certainly call for the attention of dubbing practitioners, who must keep in mind not only the speed of the characters' words but also the attitudinal intention behind their fast or slow pace.

Let us consider the following example from the film *Blue Jasmine* (Woody Allen 2013). In this movie, the main character, Jasmine, used to enjoy a happy and successful life with her husband, Hal. When he is put behind bars and commits suicide, she is so devastated and ruined that she starts drinking heavily and taking antidepressants. From a prosodic standpoint, one of the features accentuating her mental instability throughout the film is tempo. In Example (9), Jasmine is telling an unknown woman sitting next to her on the plane how she met her ex-husband. The fast rate of her speech (112 characters in less than six seconds) is bound to carry pragmatic connotations that contribute to the characterisation of Jasmine and make it easier for the audience to empathise with her emotional state.

(9) Blue Jasmine   (Woody Allen 2013)
   a. *JASMINE: Well, he was nine years older than me. Christ! He'd already made and lost a fortune, but then he made it back, and more. I mean, much more.* (112 characters)
   b. JASMINE: Bueno, era nueve años mayor que yo y, cielos, se había hecho una fortuna y había perdido, pero volvió a hacerla, y más. Y más, si cabe. (109 characters)

Changes in speed as well as the connotative meaning implied by the character's words also need to be reflected by voice talents in the dubbed version. Similar connotations can in fact be hinted in the TT by resorting to changes in tempo. In the previous example, the Spanish dubbing actress has also accelerated the rate of Jasmine's speech (109 characters in less than six seconds), thus making it easier for the target audience to infer its pragmatic value. When a fast-rate rendering is favoured in dubbing, extra care is needed on the part of the voice talents to avoid detracting the viewers from understanding the verbal content of the dialogues (Baños and Chaume 2009).

From a translational perspective, sentences at a very fast or a very slow pace might involve text adaptation (i.e., condensation or amplification techniques) on the part of the translator in order to meet the duration of the ST (Romero-Fresco 2009a; Chaume 2012). This is the case of Example (10), extracted from the animated movie *Big Hero 6* (Don Hall and Chris Williams 2014). The original character is an arbiter for an illegal robot fight in which Hiro Hamada, a 14-year-old

boy fascinated by robotics, participates very often. In this scene, she is about to announce the winner of the competition, so she tries to sound emphatic and even suspenseful in order to attract the audience's attention. With this purpose in mind, she utters her sentence in a very slow tempo (lento), emphasising even the pronunciation of every single syllable of the word "annihilation". In the Spanish dubbed version, however, this word is not articulated syllable by syllable, probably for the sake of naturalness. Instead, the dubbing actress adopts a steady tempo (andante), thereby reducing the duration of the dubbed sentence. In this case, the translated version has been necessarily expanded by the addition of *completa y* ('complete and') for the sake of isochrony. Thus, the sharp difference in the number of syllables between the original (13 syllables) and the dubbed (19 syllables) utterances holds precisely the key to achieving a more isochronous result in the TT. Such enlargement also favours a more emphatic and suspenseful version in Spanish and abides by the pragmatic import attached to the character's use of tempo.

(10) Big Hero 6   (Don Hall and Chris Williams 2014)
     a.   *ARBITER: The winner, (lento) by total an-ni-hi-la- tion... Yama!*
     b.   ÁRBITRA: El ganador, (andante) por *completa y* total aniquilación... ¡Yama!
         'The winner, by *complete and* total annihilation... Yama!'

5. Concluding remarks

This study has explored the fundamental role of prosody as a valuable source of pragmatic and implicational meaning in dubbing. Four out of the seven prosodic systems envisaged by Crystal (1969) and Monroy Casas (2002) have been singled out for a qualitative analysis due to their pragmatic value in oral conversation and their underlying implications for dubbed dialogue. Pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness and tempo have been examined from a theoretical and descriptive point of view and several examples in both English and Spanish have been selected for the purpose of illustration.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the examples analysed in this chapter. As far as pitch-direction is concerned, the study has shown that the original characters can resort to tone to convey their attitudes and intentions. Cross-language differences between English and Spanish do not always allow the use of the same patterns to reflect the meaning intended by the speaker. In fact, Spanish practitioners sometimes need to draw upon other syntactic, grammatical or lexical devices in order to reflect the implications transmitted via intonation in English. Pitch-range can also attribute attitudinal meaning to utterances in both

English and Spanish. However, there is not necessarily an exact correspondence between these two languages. Even if it is not always easy to determine the connotations attached to this prosodic system, the situational context very often helps practitioners to ascertain whether, for instance, the character wants to put in a request for information or make a suggestion.

Drawing on the examples of loudness illustrated above, this feature seems to perform a strategic role in the original dialogue and carries a heavy emotional load. A successful result in the dubbed version requires the collaboration of the translator and the dubbing actors alike, since variations in loudness might need to be reflected not only in the oral rendition of the script (as delivered by the voice talents) but also in the written delivery of the text (e.g., word order). Finally, tempo can perform a pragmatic function in the ST that contributes to the characterisation of the characters within the filmic product. In the Spanish version, practitioners might also resort to a shift in tempo to add implicational meaning, but other options might be necessary for the sake of naturalness and synchronisation (e.g., condensation or amplification techniques in order to maintain isochrony).

This paper has endeavoured to throw new light on the strong correlation between prosody and dubbing, but it has some limitations that pave the way for further research in this direction. Corpus-based approaches and reception studies, for instance, could really offer statistical evidence and draw more solid conclusions on the significant bearing that prosody has on translated and dubbed dialogues. The study of other prosodic systems such as rhythmicality or tension could provide additional insights into the prosodic-pragmatic and prosodic-dubbing interfaces. Other empirical approaches to characterisation and naturalness through prosodic variability could also benefit dubbing research and practice.

All in all, the pragmatic content attached to prosody in oral discourse should not be ignored in the decision-making process and the key role of prosodic features in the deconstruction and construction of meaning should be always borne in mind by dubbing practitioners so as to produce "plausible, pragmatically efficient, and reliable, target texts" (Mateo 2014: 132) able to render more than words can say.

Acknowledgements

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CHAPTER 10

Representing orality through questions in original and translated film dialogue

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Due to their preeminently spoken nature, direct questions are favourite *loci* to represent orality in telecinematic talk, where they are overrepresented and fulfill both mimetic and diegetic functions (Ghia 2014). However, no systematic comparisons have been drawn between translated and non-translated film dialogue in the same target language to identify potential register-specificities in question representation. Based on the analysis of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Pavesi 2014), this chapter investigates question usage across dubbed and original Italian film dialogue, on both a formal and a functional level. Findings show common traits between the two registers, but document differences in pattern distribution, which typify dubbed discourse and may result from both source text interference and T-universals (Chesterman 2004).

Keywords: film dialogue, dubbing, direct questions, orality markers, T-universals

1. Introduction

Alongside their diegetic and entertaining role, both original and dubbed telecinematic dialogue aim at creating fictive orality, presenting the audience with realistic language exchanges and contributing to the suspension of disbelief which is inherent to mainstream audiovisual products. The mimetic function of film and television talk is pursued by recreating dialogue sequences which align with conversational practice (in terms of their interactivity, involvement and emotionality: Quaglio 2009; Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén 2009; Forchini 2012) and display typical spoken grammar phenomena, such as deixis (Pavesi 2009; Formentelli 2014; Zago 2015), routinization and presence of recurring chunks and lexical bundles (Freddi 2009; Bonsignori et al. 2011; Bednarek 2012; Bonsignori and Bruti 2014; Zanotti 2014), pervasiveness of discourse markers (Forchini 2010). These

spoken traits act as carriers of orality, used to convey an impression of spokenness and realism. Dubbing preserves the mimetic role of dialogue, but often reshapes it according to target language (TL) norms and natural usage (Pavesi 2013; 2016; Baños 2013; Formentelli 2014). This contributes to the specificity of the dubbed register (so-called *dubbese*), which is the result of the complex interplay among source text (henceforth, ST) influence, adaptation to the target linguaculture and the translation process itself, and is subject to additional medium-specific requirements, including lip-synchronization and coherence with the visual dimension (Marzà and Chaume 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009; Chaume 2012, 2016; Pavesi 2014). As a register in its own right, dubbed discourse is in turn liable to impact on TL linguistic trends.

Based on their interactional nature, direct questions are included among orality markers in telecinematic dialogue. Questions are pervasive in filmic speech, where they not only play a mimetic role, but also fulfill additional diegetic functions (Ghia 2014 and Section 2). Furthermore, interrogatives show wide variability in form and function in English film dialogue – a diversification which mirrors spoken language usage and which is recreated in dubbing. However, it is unclear where dubbing stands with respect to the TL telecinematic register as far as question representation is concerned: does it lean towards TL usage? Does it show any distinctive traits?

Moving from previous research findings (Ghia 2014), the current study compares the use of direct interrogatives in translated film dialogue – more specifically, dialogue dubbed from English into Italian – and original film talk in Italian. The aim is to explore the ways in which questions shape spokenness in the two dialogue types and identify potential register-specific traits inherent to dubbed discourse, which may be linked to the influence of the English ST and to the general outcome of a translation process – in particular, T-universals, or the universal tendencies that tell apart translated texts from non-translated products in the same linguaculture (Chesterman 2004; see Section 3). The study is corpus-informed and will be presented in the following sections. Before describing it in greater detail, an overview of question frequency and functions in spontaneous conversation and telecinematic dialogue is in order, followed by a discussion of Translation Universals in dubbing.

2.   Direct questions from conversation to fictive orality

Direct questions are highly pervasive in interactional exchanges, as they fulfill basic interpersonal functions: they are used by speakers to search for information, to handle turn-taking and to manage social relationships in the conversation (Levinson 1983; Watts 2003; Koshik 2005). Depending on their specific role, questions can be

classified as typically information-seeking, pragmatic, or requesting and offering devices. Information-seeking questions are used to enquire about facts and add new information to speakers' knowledge (Levinson 1983; Example (1) below). Pragmatic questions, also known as rhetorical questions, do not perform a questioning function and typically do not require an answer. They are produced to signal alignment or disalignment with the interlocutor and function as statements (Biber et al. 1999; Watts 2003; Koshik 2003; Bubel 2011; Wang 2014). Depending on the distance they express from the other speakers, pragmatic questions can be affiliative or disaffiliative. Affiliative interrogatives mark alignment with the interlocutor (2), whereas disaffiliative ones express disagreement, disapproval and complaints, often explicitly threatening the addressee's face ((3); Clayman et al. 2006; Steensig and Drew 2008; Bubel 2011). In conversation, disaffiliative pragmatic questions are much more common than affiliative interrogatives, and mainly consist of *wh*-questions (Biber et al. 1999; Bednarek 2012). Requests and offers represent the last category and associate with different speech acts ((4), (5)).

(1) Information-seeking question: *How much did you pay for your new car*?

(2) Affiliative pragmatic question: – *I totally loved the book. – Yes, wasn't it great*?

(3) Disaffiliative pragmatic question: – *How dare you treat me like that*?

(4) Request: *Could you please tell him to return my call*?

(5) Offer: *Would you like some coffee*?

Previous research has shown the occurrence of all question types in both original and translated film dialogue, where they contribute to the naturalness of fictional exchanges. However, questions seem to be overrepresented in film talk (Rossi 2002; Ghia 2014), a fact that may be linked to a number of reasons – and to the main functions of telecinematic discourse. First of all, questions can act as narrative strategies to elicit details on film plot and characters in a natural-sounding and unobtrusive manner (Ghia 2014). Secondly, they correlate with frequent frames in films, i.e. recurring plot-developing situations such as conversational exchanges between characters, trials, conflicts and emotionally-loaded talk (Taylor 2006; Pavesi 2011). In particular, disaffiliative questions are used to connote strong emotionality and disalignment among interactants and are part of several formulaic chunks in telecinematic dialogue (Freddi 2009; Bednarek 2012: 52–56). Lastly, direct questions appear to be common orality markers in English film talk and also display a number of conversational traits, including ellipsis and marked word order. In these terms, they seem to act as ideal means for representing spokenness.

   Studies on dubbed film dialogue show an even greater occurrence of interrogatives, which generally fulfill the same functions as in the ST (Ghia 2014). In dubbing from English into Italian, questions appear to increase in translation and

to adapt to the target system, containing typical TL conversational traits. While being inevitably affected by the ST, dubbed dialogue thus resorts to independent means to represent and reshape orality. What is still unaccounted for, however, is the extent to which such means are dubbing-specific, or rather reflect trends in original filmic speech in the TL.

Recent research has compared linguistic usage and degrees of spokenness and naturalness across translated and non-translated audiovisual genres in different languages (Pavesi 2009, 2016 and Formentelli 2014 on original and dubbed Italian film dialogue, Romero-Fresco 2012 and Baños 2014 on television series in original and dubbed Spanish). Findings generally show the presence of orality markers in both original and dubbed telecinematic dialogue, with differences across linguistic levels and in markers' frequency and typology. Greater alignment between original and translated texts is observed at the lexical and the syntactic level (e.g. in the selection of vague terms and colloquialisms, as well as in sentence construction and fragmentation) (Baños 2014; Pavesi 2016). A wider range of conversational patterns is found in original audiovisual texts, with dubbing overall preferring more conventional and standardized forms (Romero-Fresco 2012; Baños 2014; Formentelli 2014). However, typical TL markers are documented in dubbed dialogue and seem to act as privileged carriers of orality and realism.

Concerning question usage, no systematic comparisons have been drawn between translated and non-translated film dialogue in the same TL to identify potential differences in the way these patterns reproduce spokenness. A comparative study on question usage would help to shed light on the following issues: what is the effect of translation in the rendering of direct questions in film dialogue? Does dubbing shape orality in its own way? Can we attribute any such differences to Translation Universals – which affect the translation process in itself and also tell apart dubbed texts as a distinct typology? These questions will be addressed in what follows.

3.   Translation universals

Within the field of Translation Studies, the presence of Translation Universals, as general features which typify the process of translation and translated texts themselves, is widely acknowledged (Toury 1995; Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004). In his account of Translation Universals, Chesterman (2004: 39–40) distinguishes between two main categories, namely S-universals and T-universals. S-universals are inherent to the translation process and consist of universal trends that characterize translations with respect to their ST. They include lengthening, interference, standardization, explicitation and reduction. Translated texts tend to be longer than

their sources, and display interference phenomena. Moreover, they generally show the normalization of any non-standard traits present in the ST in the rendering of diatopic and diastratic variation. At points, the Target Text (henceforth, TT) shows greater specification than its ST, while at the same time linguistic items can be condensed and left out in the translation process. On the other hand, T-universals typify translated texts in the target culture and tell them apart from non-translated discourse in the same TL. Among T-universals Chesterman (2004: 40) lists simplification, conventionalization, and atypical lexical choices. Translated texts generally show lower lexical variety and lower lexical density than non-translated ones.[1] Additionally, more standard and conventional forms tend to be used in translated language, where less natural choices may be observed (e.g. less common linguistic items may be overused, and typical TL patterns may be underrepresented, see Chesterman 2004: 40).

As a translation process, dubbing has been shown to be subject to translation universals. A generally acknowledged trend is standardization, acting both as an S-universal and as a T-universal: dubbed dialogue tends to sound highly standardized in relation to its ST and original TL texts, where sociolinguistic variation is more pervasive (Brincat 2000; 2014; Pavesi 2005; Ghia and Pavesi 2016). Linked to that is the overall increase in formality which characterizes dubbed discourse, in which linguistic choices seem to lean towards higher-register poles and written usage (Romero-Fresco 2009; Baños 2014; Ghia and Pavesi 2016). Standardization also correlates with slightly narrower lexical choice in dubbing, which shows its preference for core vocabulary terms contrasting with the wider range of lexical items (including regionalisms and other sociolinguistically marked forms) found in original film talk (Formentelli 2014 on dubbed and original Italian).

Finally, explicitation has been documented in dubbed dialogue, especially at the vocabulary level, where hyponyms and more specific terms may be preferred in the rendering of general SL terms (Brincat 2014; Ghia and Pavesi 2016).

In the current study, mostly T-universals will be focused on, drawing a comparison between dubbed and original Italian film dialogue. However, reference to the ST (the original English-language dialogues) will be found at points, by referring to previous research on question usage in British and American film talk (Ghia 2014).

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1.   Formentelli (2014), however, shows a more complex and slightly differing scenario for dubbed Italian, where lexical simplification is not manifest in terms of lower lexical density, but rather as a greater incidence of core vocabulary terms and lower lexical variation.

4.   The study

4.1   Aim and research questions

The current study unfolds from previous research on direct questions in film dialogue, and aims to compare the extent to which questioning structures are used in original and translated film talk as means to represent orality. More precisely, our goal is to explore the emergence of any specificities inherent to dubbed discourse, which can result from both ST influence and Translation Universals.

The study compares original and dubbed Italian film dialogue (specifically, dialogue which has been dubbed from English into Italian) and draws on the comparable section of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Pavesi 2014; see Section 4.2 for details on the corpus). Direct questions are explored in the original and dubbed versions, focusing on the strategies used to represent spokenness on both a functional and a formal level. At a functional macro-level, the role of questions as information-seeking or pragmatic devices is investigated, with a view to comparing their functional distribution across the two registers. At a formal micro-level, attention is shifted to the specific orality markers used in direct questions to recreate spokenness, i.e. any syntactic traits in interrogative structures that associate with the conversational register (cf. Biber et al. 1999; Ghia 2014). These often include marked word order, ellipsis and the presence of pragmatic markers.

4.2   Methodology and material

The study is corpus-based and draws on the comparable sub-section of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (henceforth, *PCFD*). The *PCFD* is a 635,000-word parallel and comparable corpus of original and dubbed English and Italian film dialogue. It contains by now the transcriptions of 24 British and American film dialogues and their dubbed versions into Italian, as well as of 15 original Italian films (Pavesi 2014; Zago 2016). A sample from the comparable component (dubbed dialogues from English into Italian; Italian original dialogues) was used for the study, including approximately 1/5 of the total sub-section, for a total of 108,179 words (see the Appendix for details on the films in the corpus). Direct questions were identified in the sample based on transcription (presence of a question mark) and the audiovisual track (rising intonation). Interrogative tags were excluded from the analysis. A total of 3,632 direct questions was analyzed.

All questions in the sample were tagged for function and form, based on Ghia (2014). In functional terms, questions were divided into (i) information-seeking,

(ii) pragmatic, and (iii) requests and offers.[2] Pragmatic questions were further classified as affiliative or disaffiliative. As far as form was concerned, the following conversational traits were considered: (i) ellipsis of elements from the question (leading to elliptical questions or question fragments); (ii) lack of *wh*-fronting in *wh*-questions; (iii) marked word order (including fronting, dislocation and clefting); (iv) introduction by weak connector. Frequency counts were performed on formal and functional question types. The quantitative and qualitative analyses are described in what follows.

4.3   Results

A ratio of 3,306 questions per 100,000 words is observed in dubbed dialogue, while 3,544 questions per 100,000 words are recorded in the original Italian dialogue sample. Previous research showed an increase in the amount of direct questions from original English to dubbed Italian dialogue – with the former featuring 3,192 interrogatives per 100,000 words (Ghia 2014).[3]

Of all questions in the sample, 57% are information-seeking, 38% are pragmatic and 5% are requests and offers in original Italian film dialogue. In the dubbed sample, 63% information-seeking questions are documented, against 34% pragmatic interrogatives. 3% of all direct questions are requests and offers. Previous data from the original English corpus showed the following distribution: 62% information-seeking questions, 32% pragmatic questions and 5% requests and offers. In both original and dubbed Italian dialogue, most pragmatic questions are disaffiliative (30% disaffiliative questions vs. 7% affiliative questions in original Italian dialogue; 27% disaffiliative questions vs. 7% affiliative questions in dubbed dialogue).

Four main conversational traits were identified in Italian direct questions: two are shared with English and include the presence of an ellipsis in the interrogative

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2.   The distinction between information-seeking and pragmatic questions was based on the conversational context, i.e. the presence or absence of an answer and the way in which the question was interpreted by the interlocutor (as a request for information or as a statement/remark/complaint).

3.   Chi-square tests reveal a statistically significant effect for dialogue type (χ^2 (2) = 15.212, $p<.005$), suggesting a significant correlation between register and the amount of interrogatives to be found. Pairwise comparisons, however, reveal that the significant difference lies between original English and the other two text types, whereas question numbers across dubbed and original Italian do not vary significantly.

pattern (e.g. *Sicuro*?, 'Sure?') and lack of *wh*-fronting in narrow-focus echo questions (e.g. *Vuoi andare dove*?, 'You want to go where?'). Further typically oral patterns involved questions with marked word order (mainly dislocations and clefting, as shown in (6) and (7) respectively; cf. Fava 1995; Berretta 1996; Pavesi 2005) and interrogatives introduced by a weak connector. Dislocations result from the movement of a noun phrase to utterance-initial or final position, with a co-referential pronoun occupying the canonical place of the dislocated constituent in the clause (Birner and Ward 1998). Dislocations are used to link the utterance to previous discourse, as well as to bring sentence portions to prominence. Clefted questions involve the breaking of the interrogative sentence into two parts for focusing reasons. In Italian, *wh*-clefted questions are particularly common, especially in Northern Italian varieties (Berretta 1996). Lastly, weak connectors are connectors used with no clear linking function, carrying a preeminently pragmatic role and often signalling topic continuity or disalignment with the interlocutor (Example (8); Bazzanella 1994; Pavesi 2008; Freddi 2009). Examples of the patterns as found in the corpus are illustrated in (6) to (8) below:

(6)   Dislocated question: *Lo vuoi **un passaggio***? [Do you want **it, a lift**?]

(7)   Clefted question: ***Quand'è che si fa**, domani*? [***When is it that it's going to be done**, tomorrow?]

(8)   Question introduced by a weak connector: ***Ma** sei stato te*? [**But** was it you?]

With the exception of elliptical questions, a higher percentage of orality traits is found in original as opposed to translated dialogue. Percentages are illustrated in Figure 1.
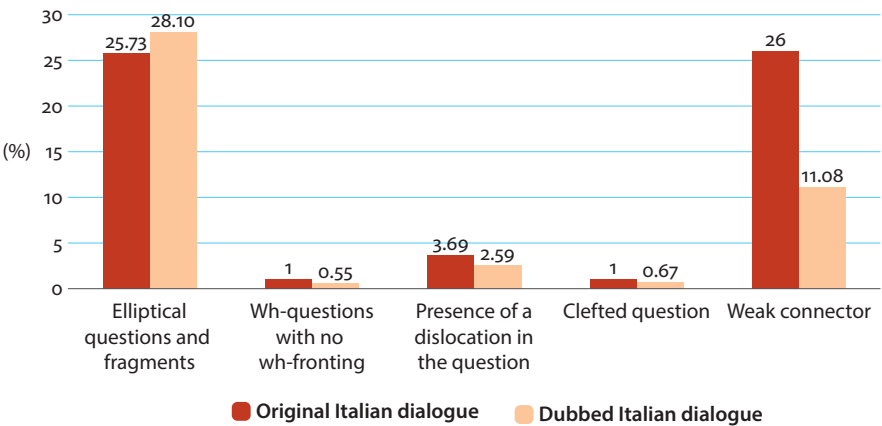
Figure 1. Orality traits in original and dubbed Italian questions

Most of the conversational markers are found in pragmatic interrogatives. Lack of *wh*-fronting and weak connectors are common in disaffiliative questions as strategies to express disalignment. Clefted questions and questions with dislocated constituents often mark affiliation – with dislocations being also frequent in offers (cf. Example (6) above). Ellipsis occurs in all question functions and does not seem to associate with any specific type.

4.3.1   *A case in point: Weak connectors*

In their distribution across the two registers, weak connectors represent the area in which most variation is recorded. In original dialogue, they more than double those documented in dubbing, and appear to show greater variability in form. Figure 2 illustrates the main connectors used to open questions in the two registers:
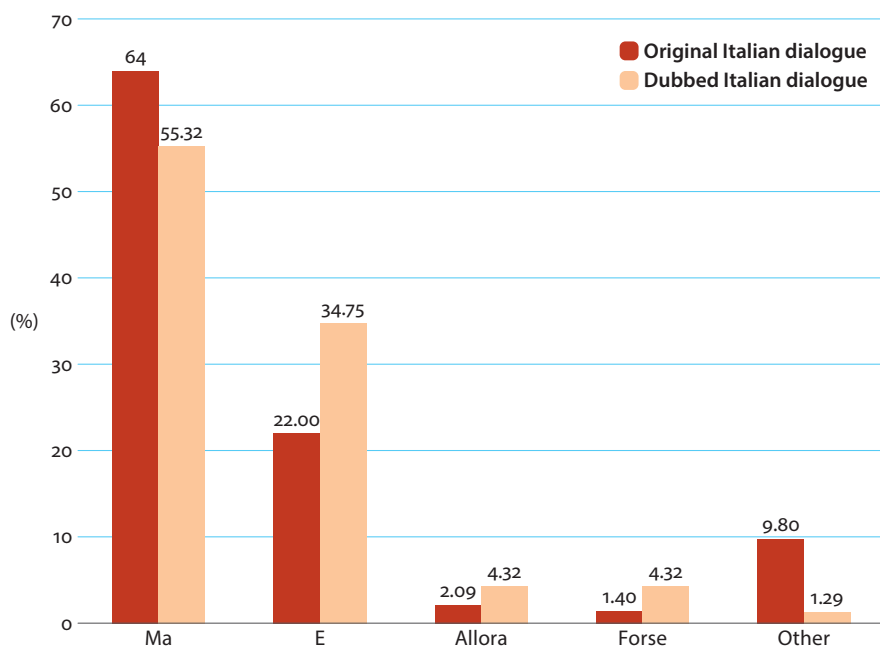
Figure 2. Weak connectors in original and dubbed Italian questions

Ma ('but') and *e* ('and') prevail in both registers, but occur in different distribution: even though *ma* is more pervasive in both varieties, it is found more frequently in original Italian dialogue, while *e* is more common in dubbing. Examples of the two connectors are reported in (9) and (10):

(9)   *E che aspetti, allora, a dirmi come stanno*? [**And** what are you waiting for, then, to tell me how they are?] (dubbed dialogue)

(10)   *Ma il riscaldamento è autonomo*? [**But**, is there central heating?] (original dialogue)

Additional question openers are used especially in original film talk, and include diatopically marked forms which are not found in dubbed dialogue.

(11)   *Che so schiavo tuo, io*? [**What**, am I your slave?]

(12)   *Insomma, che cosa sta succedendo*? [**So**, what is going on?]

Che ('what', Example (11)) is an emphatic question opener especially typical of Central Italian varieties (Telmon 1993; Sobrero and Miglietta 2011). *Insomma* ('so', Example (12)) is also only documented in original dialogue.

In original film talk, weak connectors more frequently combine with other orality markers, as illustrated in the examples below (with marked word order and sociolinguistically marked items respectively):

(13)   *Da quant'è che dura? – Ma che dura cosa*? [- How long has it been going on? – **But** going on **what**?]

(14)   *Ma com'è che lo chiamate, questo posto*? [****But what is it that you call it, this place**?]

(15)   *Ma sei stato te*? [**But** was it **you**?]

(16)   *E mo chi è 'sto Fernando*? [**And now** who is this Fernando?]

In the first two examples, the weak connector *ma* respectively combines with lack of *wh*-fronting (13) and clefting (*what is it that you call it*) and dislocation (*you call it, this place*) (14). In (15), the pronoun *te* ('you') is used instead of its standard equivalent *tu* in subject position. *Te* is typical of a low register and informal speech in many Italian varieties. In (16), *mo* (a regional informal variant for 'now', prevalent in Central and Southern Italy; D'Achille 2011; Sobrero and Miglietta 2011) reinforces the weak connector *e*, resulting in the opener *e mo'*.

Sociolinguistically marked forms generally tend to be more pervasive within questioning structures in non-translated dialogue. An example is the use of *neo-standard* Italian (Berruto 1987) *c'hai* (from *averci*, 'have got'), used in informal and oral contexts, vs. standard *hai* in disaffiliative questions, as shown in (17):

(17)   *Cosa c'hai? Ma che schifo. Cosa c'hai*? [What's the matter? But that's disgusting. What's the matter?]

On the contrary, *allora* ('so') and *forse* ('perhaps') especially associate with the dubbed register, even if they occur in much lower frequency with respect to other linkers. *Forse*, in particular, signals higher formality and tends to occur as a final coda in disaffiliative questions (18):

(18)   *Tu ne eri entusiasta. Hai dimenticato, **forse**?* [You were very enthusiastic about it. Have you forgotten, **perhaps**?]

Additional question opening forms documented in dubbing, though in extremely small proportion, are *anzi* ('actually, rather') and *però* ('but, however'), with adversative meaning, as well as *così* ('so').

5.   Discussion

The results of the current study show a certain extent of alignment between dubbed and original film dialogue in qualitative terms, i.e. by considering the macro-functions performed by questions and the forms selected to carry conversational traits. From a quantitative point of view, general data on question occurrence suggest that dubbed Italian may move towards TL textual trends, as it features fewer interrogatives than original Italian filmic speech, but still displays more than its English ST. In particular, dubbed Italian shows no significant difference from original Italian dialogue, but distances significatively from its source.

Information-seeking questions prevail in both registers, as further evidence to the narrative and plot-progressing value of interrogative patterns in telecinematic discourse. However, question distribution by function slightly differs across dubbed and original filmic speech: the dubbed corpus sample includes more information-seeking questions, whereas more pragmatic questions, especially disaffiliative, are found in original Italian dialogue. In the latter, direct questions seem to correlate more with a conflict-initiating and conflict-carrying role. Also, dubbed speech may align more with its English source version, which showed a closer distribution (Ghia 2014). Among pragmatic questions, disaffiliative interrogatives greatly outnumber affiliative ones in both original and dubbed Italian, suggesting the prevalence of conflict-related sequences as a typifying aspect of the telecinematic genre.

Similar conversational traits are found within questions in the two registers, but they follow a different distribution. Greater colloquiality is generally recorded in original Italian, where there are more occurrences of orality traits. The only exception is represented by elliptical questions, which are slightly more pervasive in dubbing – and here considerably outnumber all other conversational patterns. The trend may be linked to the influence of the English ST, as ellipsis is a common orality trait which typifies direct questions in English film talk (Ghia 2014). Some register specificities also emerge in the use of weak connectors. Two linkers mainly occur in both translated and non-translated dialogue, *ma* and *e*, carrying similar disaffiliative function. Yet, in spite of the prevalence of *ma* in both cases, *e* seems to be more pervasive in dubbing. Among less frequent connectors, more informal

and sociolinguistically marked ones (diatopically and diastratically) are privileged in original Italian, whereas more standard – and at points more formal – items are found in the Italian dub. Generally higher sociolinguistic variation characterizes direct questions in non-translated Italian film talk, where regional, *neostandard* and substandard traits are frequently attested.

Qualitatively speaking, both registers draw on the same question types as means to create a balance between diegetic and mimetic goals. In the representation of orality through direct interrogatives, dubbed and original Italian also opt for the same strategies. In quantitative terms, however, the distribution of question functions (on a macro-level) and conversational traits (micro-level) slightly varies, due to potential interference of the English ST on dubbed Italian. What also emerges is register specificity in recreating spokenness within questions: the dubbed register seems to display higher formality, as questions generally appear less conversational than in TL film dialogue, and lower sociolinguistic variation. On the other hand, original Italian film talk appears generally more informal and more diatopically and diastratically marked. The trends observed in dubbing are in line with the T-universal of conventionalization (Chesterman 2004): dubbed questions are more standardized with respect to their original Italian counterparts and lean towards a higher register. The trend seems to concern mostly question openers and single lexical items (e.g. marked terms such as *mo'*, 'now' and *averci*, 'have got'); marked syntactic patterns are instead documented in dubbed Italian, even when they are not common in the English SL (dislocations and clefted questions). Both dislocations and clefts are widely documented in dubbed dialogue and are listed among typical translation routines when dubbing from English into Italian (Pavesi 2005, 2008). In this area, dubbing appears to move closer to Italian filmic usage.

6.   Conclusion

In addition to entertaining audiences, telecinematic dialogue recreates realistic communicative exchanges on the screen, reshaping orality through its own means and constantly fluctuating between narration and conversational realism. In this representation of spokenness, questions are a recurring pattern, as documented by previous research (Rossi 2002; Ghia 2014). Direct questions have been seen to fulfill both diegetic functions, acting as implicit story-telling devices and associating with plot-progressing frames, and a mimetic role, reproducing spoken language usage and contributing to the creation of fictive orality. Different functional question types are attested in both original and dubbed film talk, including information-seeking interrogatives, pragmatic interrogatives, requests and offers. Among pragmatic questions, both affiliative and disaffiliative types are found, expressing respectively alignment or disalignment and conflict with the interlocutor. Due to the mimicking

aspect of filmic speech, questions also contain a number of typically conversational traits: in English and Italian, these include ellipsis, marked word order patterns, and opening by weak connectors with a merely pragmatic function.

This contribution has focused on question usage in two audiovisual registers, namely dubbed and original film dialogue, with the aim of identifying register specificities and patterns of usage. By drawing on the comparable section of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue*, and specifically considering original and dubbed Italian film dialogue, the study shows common traits between the two registers. Dubbing appears to be affected by the ST and T-universals, but overall results in a register of its own, with its own specificities with respect to original telecinematic dialogue. In dubbed dialogue, the amount of direct questions places in-between the English ST and original Italian, but nevertheless shows an increase with respect to its source and a movement towards TL trends. Questions tend to be less collo- quial in dubbing as compared to original TL dialogue: in the former, slightly fewer pragmatic interrogatives are recorded and questions conform to a more standard register. Sociolinguistic variation is also limited in dubbed Italian questions as far as lexical choice is concerned. However, marked word orders are documented, showing greater adherence to TL trends at the syntactic level. Dislocations and cleft sentences are pervasive in dubbed Italian, being often part of translation routines and set formulaic expressions privileged in the representation of spontaneity and informality (Pavesi 2005, 2008); the two marked patterns have also been found to overall mirror telecinematic Italian usage in non-interrogative structures (Pavesi 2016). Furthermore, the same conversational traits generally appear in both regis- ters, even though in different distribution. The specificity of dubbing in question representation thus lies in its positioning between conventionalization on the one hand and a tendency towards the TL telecinematic register on the other, aligning with recent comparative research on dubbed products in different languages and audiovisual genres (Pavesi 2009, Baños 2014). Questions in dubbed Italian still show a narrower range of sociolinguistic variation and greater standardization as compared to their equivalents in original filmic Italian. Yet, typically Italian con- versational patterns are documented, especially in the syntactic domain, showing an attempt to move towards common TL telecinematic usage and to comply with TL oral-register norms – one of the prerequisites for meeting quality standards in dubbing practice (Chaume 2012, 2016).

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Appendix

Films in the dubbed sample

Film	Director	Year
Ae Fond Kiss…	K. Loach	2004
Autumn in New York	J. Chen	2000
Bend It Like Beckham	G. Chandha	2002
Crash	P. Haggis	2004
Dead Man Walking	T. Robbins	1995
Erin Brockovich	S. Soderbergh	2000
Finding Forrester	Gus Van Sant	2001
The Holiday	N. Meyers	2006
Looking for Eric	Ken Loach	2009
Lost in Translation	S. Coppola	2003
Match Point	W. Allen	2005
Michael Clayton	T. Gilroy	2007
My Best Friend's Wedding	P. J. Hogan	1997
Notting Hill	R. Mitchell	1999
Ocean's Eleven	S. Soderbergh	2001
One Hour Photo	M. Romanek	2002
The Queen	S. Frears	2006
The Runaway Bride	G. Marshall	1999
Saving Grace	N. Cole	2000
Secrets & Lies	M. Leigh	1996
Sliding Doors	P. Howitt	1997
Something's Gotta Give	N. Meyers	2003
Spanglish	J. L. Brooks	2004
Two Lovers	J. Gray	2008

Films in the original sample

Film	Director	Year
L'ora di religione	M. Bellocchio	2002
La febbre	A. D'Alatri	2005
Bianco e nero	C. Comencini	2008
La giusta distanza	C. Mazzacurati	2007
L'ultimo bacio	G. Muccino	2001
Diverso da chi	U. Carteni	2009
Fuori dal mondo	G. Piccioni	1999
Giorni e nuvole	S. Soldini	2007
La finestra di fronte	F. Özpetek	2003
La stanza del figlio	N. Moretti	2001
La terra	S. Rubini	2006
Lezioni di cioccolato	C. Cupellini	2007
Mi piace lavorare	F. Comencini	2003
Pane e tulipani	S. Soldini	2000
La cena	E. Scola	1998

English films vs Italian films

A comparative analysis via the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* and the *WordSmith Tools*

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The objective of this paper is to address issues of comparability between English and Italian film dialogues. A comparison is drawn between dispersed words and n-grams extracted from the original English component, from the dubbed Italian component and from the original Italian component of the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Freddi and Pavesi 2009a; Pavesi et al. 2014; Zago 2018) via the *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2011). Besides identifying cross-linguistic dimensions of comparability between non-translated films, the paper examines the linguistic profile of dubbed Italian films against the background of both the language of original English films – the source texts – and the language of original Italian films. The findings suggest that film dialogue is a cross-linguistically stable register driven by the need to represent orality as well as by diegetic concerns.

Keywords: comparability, verbs, orality, diegesis, dispersion

1. Introduction

The language of cinema has long attracted the attention of numerous scholars, who have looked at dialogues in films from a variety of methodological angles and with different research goals. For example, scholars have proposed definitions highlighting the hybrid nature of film dialogue within the spoken-written continuum, such as the classic definition offered by Gregory (1967), who described film dialogue as "the speaking of what is written to be spoken as if not written", or the equally well-known definition offered by Nencioni (1983 [1976]), who labelled the language of films and plays as "recited speech".

Other scholars have focussed their attention on the complex communicative structure of films and, as part of this, on the role of the viewer, considered an

"overhearer" by Kozloff (2000) and especially by Bubel (2008), or more convincingly labelled "recipient" by Dynel (2011), with "recipient" meaning a ratified listener of the exchanges among the on-screen characters.

Many other scholars have contributed descriptive analyses of cinematic language, both in the form of case studies dealing with specific linguistic features and in the form of book-length treatments of several linguistic features. Without the claim of exhaustiveness, and limiting the present discussion to English and Italian films, such descriptive studies can be divided into two main groups, often sharing the purpose of investigating how orality is represented in films and of measuring the degree of spokenness of film language.

The first group comprises studies which have explored translated film dialogue. Among the many works that could be referred to, suffice it to mention Freddi and Pavesi (2009a) and Pavesi et al. (2014), which gather the contributions of various audiovisual translation scholars – e.g. Frederic Chaume, Pablo Romero-Fresco, Elisa Perego, Christopher Taylor, Maria Pavesi, Silvia Bruti, Serenella Zanotti, Irene Ranzato, among others – on different aspects of the translation of films and TV series.

The second group includes studies which have explored original film dialogue. This has been done synchronically, as in Forchini's (2012) comparison between American film dialogue and spontaneous conversation, and diachronically, as in Zago's (2016) comparison of American films from the '50s and the '60s with their remakes from the '90s and the 2000s. As regards Italian, a well-known study belonging to this group is Rossi (1999), a detailed linguistic analysis of six Italian films dating from 1948 to 1957.

This paper lies at the intersection of the two aforementioned groups in that it deals with the language of both original and translated films. The paper uses the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue* (Freddi and Pavesi 2009a; Pavesi et al. 2014; Zago 2018), henceforth PCFD, and the *WordSmith Tools* software (Scott 2011) to address issues of comparability between the language of English films and the language of Italian films. More specifically, the study is structured as a comparison of the original English component, of the dubbed Italian component and of the original Italian component of the PCFD (cf. Pavesi 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009). Such a comparison, drawn between words and n-grams which have high dispersion in the three components of the corpus, will enable an assessment of the degree of similarity between the linguistic patterns which are widespread in original English films and those which are widespread in original Italian films. At the same time, the comparison will make it also possible to set the linguistic profile of dubbed Italian against both the English source dialogues and the dialogues of original Italian films. In short, through the identification and comparative study of linguistic features which are dispersed in the three components of the PCFD, this contribution will attempt to establish whether there are patterns of language which are granted equal

space and importance in English and Italian films – both original and translated – or whether issues of cross-linguistic dissimilarity emerge, e.g. linguistic features having a higher/lower dispersion in original English films vis-à-vis their dubbed Italian versions.

2.   The Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue[1]

The PCFD was conceived with the macro-aim of investigating how orality is represented in both original and dubbed film dialogue. Ideated by, and constructed under the scientific coordination of, Maria Pavesi, the corpus comprises a parallel component and a comparable component.

The parallel component of the PCFD is made up of the original dialogues of 24 American and British films and their dubbed Italian translations, amounting to 479,561 words. The English dialogues and their dubbed Italian translations are aligned at the level of the turn. The parallel component allows the user to analyse various aspects of the translation of film dialogue, e.g. translational shifts, instances of translational equivalence, instances of source language interference, the translation of conversational language, etc. At the same time, one can also look at each language in isolation, e.g. one can focus on the original English films of the corpus on their own.

When this study was carried out, the comparable component of the PCFD included the dialogues of 15 original Italian films, for a total of 133,615 words.[2]

The parallel and comparable components of the PCFD were constructed following the same sampling criteria. In particular, the criterion which can be said to have contributed most to the shape of the entire PCFD has been the selection of "conversational films", i.e. films which "mostly portray situations typically associated with spontaneous spoken language in contemporary settings (with the consequent exclusion of genres such as costume and science fiction films, as well as westerns)" (Freddi and Pavesi 2009b: 98).

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1.   Section 2 is based on Freddi and Pavesi (2009b), Pavesi (2014) and Zago (2018), to which the reader is referred for a more detailed description of the rationale and design of the PCFD.

2.   This paper reflects the stage at which the comparable component of the PCFD was at the time of the international conference *Linguistic and Cultural Representation in Audiovisual Translation* (University of Roma Tre and Sapienza University of Rome, 11–13 February 2016). More recently, as documented in Zago (2018), the comparable component has been enlarged to 24 original Italian films, thus matching the number of films in the parallel component. A substantial part of the enlargement was carried out during a research fellowship awarded to this author by the University of Pavia, Section of Linguistics.

The films of the PCFD were transcribed manually (Bonsignori 2009), after having received clearance from the respective copyright owners. The transcriptions were done orthographically, with the additional marking of the following phenomena: pauses, overlaps, interrupted speech, repeats, utterances left grammatically incomplete, reduced forms, as well as the separation of turns addressed by the same character to different interlocutors. The transcriptions also include the following details: indication of the characters' names, indication of the setting (e.g. restaurant, Giovanni's office, etc.) and of other situational details (e.g. on the phone, on TV, etc.), indication of relevant actions happening in a scene (e.g. leaves, kisses her, his mobile rings, etc.), indication of the attitude with which cues are uttered (e.g. laughing, angrily, in a low voice, etc.), indication of the occasional occurrence of regional dialects of Italian and of non-native varieties of English and Italian.

The PCFD can be queried as a relational database (Freddi 2013, 2014). Alternatively, as will be done here, it can be investigated in the form of *.txt* files by means of a corpus analysis toolkit.

Thanks to its parallel and comparable design, the PCFD invites a comparison between the dialogues of original English films and those of original Italian films, while also allowing one to gain insights as to how dubbed language positions itself in relation to the source language – i.e. the language of original English films – as well as in relation to the language of original Italian productions. The present paper follows both these research paths using the methodology which will be illustrated in the following section.

3. Methodology

The analysis of the degree of comparability between English and Italian film dialogues was carried out through *WordSmith 6.0* (Scott 2011), which was used in the first place to extract the lists of all the words and n-grams attested in the original English films, in the dubbed Italian films and in the original Italian films of the PCFD (cf. Bednarek 2011, 2012; Freddi 2009, 2011; Forchini 2012; Zago 2018).[3] Having done that, the lists were narrowed down to dispersed words and n-grams only, i.e. to those words and n-grams which *WordSmith* identified as widespread

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3. As regards the identification of words, this paper used the default settings of *WordSmith*, according to which contracted forms (e.g. *I'm*, *don't*, etc., in English; *c'è*, *l'ho*, etc., in Italian) count as single words. N-grams, i.e. recurrent phraseological clusters such as *I mean, you know, and the, I don't*, etc. (Stubbs and Barth 2003: 62), were computed from the index using the following settings: cluster size 2–3; minimum frequency = 3; stop at sentence break.

throughout each of the components of the PCFD. Finally, the words and n-grams thus obtained were compared across the components in search of similarities and/ or differences.

Focussing on dispersed linguistic features offered two advantages over focussing on linguistic features which were frequent but not necessarily widespread in the PCFD. The first advantage was that, being widespread in the various original English films, in their translations, as well as in the various original Italian films of the PCFD, the words and n-grams identified in this investigation can be considered linguistic features which genuinely characterise the language of films in general, or in other words, the register of film dialogue as a whole, rather than being characteristic of certain films only. The second advantage was that the cut-off point for the inclusion of the linguistic features to analyse was decided on a non-arbitrary basis. This is a non-trivial issue in that the lists of words and n-grams are typically very long, with the result that researchers have the problem of deciding how to reduce their data set. One way to solve this problem is clearly that of limiting the analysis to the most frequent words or n-grams within a list, e.g. by considering only the 50 most frequent words in a wordlist. A decision of this kind is legitimate but arbitrary. In the approach adopted in this study, instead, the data set was reduced by focussing on only those linguistic features which were dispersed. The lists of words and n-grams thus obtained included a manageable number of linguistic features, without the need to 'cut' the data set on an arbitrary basis.

Focussing on dispersion does not mean that frequency is completely irrelevant in this investigation. In fact, many of the linguistic features detected in the present analysis are both frequent and dispersed (e.g. *know* has 1,788 occurrences and is attested throughout the original English component of the PCFD), while various other features are frequent enough to be dispersed (e.g. *penso* has 78 occurrences and is attested throughout the original Italian component of the PCFD). In short, frequency plays a role, yet in this study film dialogue is looked at from the methodological angle offered by dispersion because of the two advantages explained above.

4.   Results and discussion

Using the methodology described in Section 3, cross-linguistic dimensions of comparability were identified, that is, words and n-grams which were found to be widespread throughout all the components of the corpus and which, therefore, seem to reflect linguistic uses having equal space and importance in the dialogues of English and Italian films. The dimensions emerged by comparing the original English dialogues and the original Italian dialogues of the PCFD, as will be

illustrated in Subsection 4.1, and were found to be robust from a translational per-spective, as will be illustrated in Subsection 4.2. An overview of the dimensions in question is given in Table 1, where the linguistic features marking each dimension are divided into three different columns depending on the component in which they occur and are assigned to different rows on the basis of their semantic and structural characteristics.

Table 1. Original English films vs dubbed Italian films vs original Italian films: Dimensions of comparability

Types of verbs	Original English films	Dubbed Italian films	Original Italian films
Dispersed mental verbs	– know – think, thought – want, wanna – look – see, seen – believe – understand – like – need – mean – love – feel – care	– so 'I know', sai 'you know', sapere 'to know', sa 'know(s)' – penso 'I think' – voglio 'I want', vuoi 'you want', volevo 'I wanted' – visto 'seen', vedere 'to see' – credo 'I believe' – (avere) bisogno 'to need' – senti 'you listen/hear' – (mi, ti, etc.) sembra 'seem(s)'	– so 'I know', sai 'you know' – penso 'I think', pensato 'thought', pensare 'to think' – vuoi 'you want', voglio 'I want', vuole 'want(s)', volevo 'I wanted' – guarda 'look(s)', guardi 'you look' – vedere 'to see', visto 'seen', vedo 'I see' – credo 'I believe' – capito 'understood' – piace 'like(s)' – (avere) bisogno 'to need' – senti 'you listen/hear' – (mi, ti, etc.) sembra 'seem(s)' – ricordi 'you remember'
Dispersed mental verbs (2-grams)	– I know, you know, don't know – don't want, want to, you want, I want – I mean, you mean – I think, you think, I thought, don't think – see you, you see – look at – you like – need to	– lo so 'I know', lo sai 'you know', non so 'I don't know' – (avere) bisogno di 'to need'	– lo so 'I know', lo sai 'you know', non so 'I don't know' – non voglio 'I don't want'

Table 1. (*continued*)

Types of verbs	Original English films	Dubbed Italian films	Original Italian films
Dispersed mental verbs (3-grams)	– I don't know – do you think	– non lo so 'I don't know'	– non lo so 'I don't know'
Dispersed communication verbs	– say, said – tell, told – talk – call – ask	– detto 'said/told', dire 'to say/tell', dico 'I say/tell' – parlare 'to talk' – chiesto 'asked'	– detto 'said/told', dire 'to say/tell', dici 'you say/tell', dico 'I say/tell' – parlare 'to talk' – chiama 'call(s)'
Dispersed communication verbs (2-grams)	– tell me – to talk	– ha detto 'has said/told'	– ha detto 'has said/told' – si chiama 'is called'
Dispersed activity verbs	– go, going – come, coming – wait – leave, left – take – make – get, got – give – work – put – find – try – show	– va 'goes', andare 'to go', andiamo 'we go', vado 'I go' – vieni 'you come' – preso 'taken', prendere 'to take' – fatto 'did/made', fare 'to do/make', fa 'do(es)/make(s)' – lavoro 'I work'	– va 'goes', andare 'to go', vai 'you go', andiamo 'we go', andato 'gone' – vieni 'you come', venire 'to come' – aspetta 'wait(s)' – lascia 'leave(s)' – prendere 'to take' – fare 'to do/make', fatto 'did/made', fa 'do(es)/make(s)', fai 'you do/make', faccio 'I do/make', facciamo 'we do/make', facendo 'doing/making'

4.1 Dimensions of linguistic comparability between original English films and original Italian films[4]

A first dimension of comparability between the original English dialogues and the original Italian dialogues of the PCFD is that of mental verbs (Table 1), that is, verbs expressing cognitive meanings (e.g. *think*, *know*), emotional meanings associated with various attitudes and desires (e.g. *love*, *want*), as well as perception (e.g. *see*) and receipt of communication (e.g. *read*, *hear*) (Biber et al. 1999: 362–363). In film dialogue, the importance of mental verbs is of a narrative kind and lies in the fact

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4. For a wider version of the analysis presented in this subsection, see Zago (2018).

that they present the thoughts and feelings of the characters to the audience (cf. "thought presentation" in Semino and Short 2004), as part of what Kozloff (2000) calls "character revelation".

 As can be seen in Table 1, not only are mental verbs, taken as a general set, widely attested in both the original English films and the original Italian films of the PCFD, but it is also often the case that practically the same individual mental verbs are dispersed in both English and Italian films, as is evident from various pairs in the table, such as *I know – Lo so*, *I don't know – Non lo so*, *I think – Penso*, *I want – Voglio*, etc. The following examples from the PCFD show some of the ways in which mental verbs are used to express the characters' stance in English and Italian films:

(1) MICHAEL: And I know you love him. And I know why. But when you see him like that, you don't have to worry, because that's not how it's gonna be for you. [*Michael Clayton*]

(2) GEORGE: I think that you need this much more than I do. [*Runaway Bride*]

(3) FIANCÉE: Forse si tratta solo di un ritardo, ma se è una gravidanza, Gigio, stasera io voglio sapere quello che vuoi, voglio sapere quello che pensi tu. Io forse già lo so quello che voglio.
'Maybe it's just that I'm late, but if it's pregnancy, Gigio, tonight I want to know what you want, I want to know what you think. I think I already know what I want'. [*La cena*]

(4) LORENZO: Non so perché ma mi sembra sempre di ottenere quello che desidero nel momento sbagliato.
'I don't know why but it always seems to me that I get what I desire in the wrong moment'. [*La finestra di fronte*]

Another dimension along which the original English films and the original Italian films of the PCFD were found to be comparable is that marked by communication verbs (Table 1), i.e. verbs denoting communication activities of speaking and writing (Biber et al. 1999: 362). In film dialogue, communication verbs act as carriers of what the characters have to say, thus disclosing the characters' points of view to the viewers in cooperation with the above-mentioned mental verbs. The examples below illustrate the workings of communication verbs in the English and the Italian films under investigation:

(5) MARIN to ERICA: Anyway, he said he thought you two were very spontaneous and nice. And then he said he's leaving as soon as the sun comes up.
[*Something's Gotta Give*]

(6) CASIM: Couldn't sleep. There's something I've got to tell you. I'm due to marry my first cousin Jasmine in nine weeks. [*Ae Fond Kiss*]

(7)   ELSA: Mi ha chiamato Alice prima. Mi <u>ha detto</u> di darti un bacio.
      'Alice called me before. She told me to give you a kiss'.   [*Giorni e nuvole*]

(8)   CECILIA: No, dai, se lo fai tu ti <u>dico</u> una cosa che non ho mai <u>detto</u> a nessuno.
      'No, come on, if you do this, I'll tell you something I've never told anyone'.
                                                                    [*Lezioni di cioccolato*]

In addition to mental verbs, which present thoughts and feelings, and communi-
cation verbs, which report what the characters have to say, the lists of dispersed
words and n-grams extracted from the original English and Italian components of
the PCFD include the verbs reported in the bottom row of Table 1.

   While these verbs are used with a wide range of meanings and grammatical
patterns, what they have in common is that they tend to denote concrete actions
performed or narrated by the characters. In other words, among other things, these
verbs function as activity verbs, that is, verbs of doing generally expressing voli-
tional activities (Biber et al. 1999: 361–362). Prototypical cases are verbs reporting
physical actions or "material processes" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), such as
those occurring in the following examples taken from the PCFD:

(9)   RON: ((whispering)) Honey, I have to <u>go</u> to London tomorrow night. And
      then I'm not gonna see you for two weeks… I'm sorry. I'm sorry. [*TwoLovers*]

(10) MR BENEDICT to SECURITY GUARD 1: Tell them to <u>take</u> the van. I'm <u>going</u>
      down there.   [*Ocean's Eleven*]

(11) ADELE: Tu sei molto comprensivo, io ti ringrazio, però adesso io devo proprio
      <u>andare</u>.
      'You're very sympathetic, and I thank you, but I really have to go now'.
                                                                    [*Diverso da chi*]

(12) CARLO: ((smiles)) Abbracciami, abbracciami, abbracciami! <u>Vieni</u> qua… non
      piangere!
      'Hug me, hug me, hug me! Come here… don't cry!'.   [*Bianco e nero*]

In light of their dispersion in both the original English component and the original
Italian component of the PCFD, activity verbs can be viewed as constituting one
further dimension of comparability between English and Italian films, in addition
to those marked by the aforementioned mental verbs and communication verbs.

4.2   The translational perspective: Evidence from dubbed Italian films

So far, this paper has illustrated that mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs are dispersed throughout the original English component and the original Italian component of the PCFD. The present subsection completes the picture by examining mental, communication and activity verbs in the dubbed component of the PCFD, i.e. the one comprising the dubbed Italian versions of the 24 English films included in the corpus. More specifically, this subsection offers a three-way comparison (cf. Pavesi 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009), in the sense that dubbed Italian is considered here not only against the background of the source texts, but also benefitting from the comparable viewpoint offered by original Italian films. By so doing, this paper attempts to exploit the full potential of the PCFD, whose very structure invites three-way comparative analyses.

Table 1 shows that the linguistic patterns described in 4.1 do not change when the translational perspective is adopted: mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs are indeed dispersed also in the dubbed Italian films of the PCFD, as evidenced by the following examples, each accompanied by its original English version:

	Character	Original English	Dubbed Italian	Film
(13)	HORTENSE	Cynthia, <u>I think</u> I should <u>go</u>.	<u>Penso</u> che dovrei <u>andare</u>, Cynthia.	*Secrets and Lies*
(14)	ED	Donald, Anna... <u>I wanna talk</u> to you for a minute.	Donald, Anna, <u>voglio parlare</u> con voi un momento.	*Erin Brockovich*
(15)	WILL	<u>I don't know</u>. <u>I think</u> with a little plaster, a little paint, you'll be as good as new!	<u>Non lo so</u>. <u>Credo</u> che con una-, con una passata di vernice tornerai come nuova.	*Autumn in New York*
(16)	HELEN 1	I haven't <u>told</u> him yet. Never seems to be the right moment somehow.	Non glielo ho ancora <u>detto</u>. <u>Non so</u> perché, non mi <u>sembra</u> mai il momento adatto.	*Sliding Doors*

The dispersion of mental, communication and activity verbs in the dubbed Italian films of the PCFD is the 'necessary' consequence of the pervasiveness of these verbs in the English source texts, with the carrying over of these verbs into the dubbed versions being clearly due to the fact that they are crucial constituents of the clause rather than peripheral elements such as inserts (Biber et al. 1999: 1082–1099), which could have been omitted in translation.

At the same time, while having its origin in the source texts, the dispersion of mental, communication and activity verbs in the dubbed Italian films of the corpus is a finding which makes the language of these films similar to that of original Italian

productions. The similarity is especially noticeable when one looks at n-grams in Table 1: 5 of the 6 n-grams which are dispersed in the dubbed Italian films are also dispersed in the original Italian films of the corpus, namely *lo so* 'I know', *lo sai* 'you know', *non so* 'I don't know', *non lo so* 'I don't know' and *ha detto* 'has said/told'.

In short, the three-way comparison carried out here highlights that the dubbed Italian films of the PCFD are in line with both their source texts and genuinely Italian productions as far as the distribution of mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs is concerned.

5.   Conclusions

In this study, a comparison has been made between lists of dispersed words and n-grams extracted from the original English films, the dubbed Italian films and the original Italian films of the PCFD. The objective of the comparison has been that of exploring the degree of comparability between the language of English films and the language of Italian films.

The examination of the lists of words and n-grams has resulted in the identification of three dimensions of comparability between the dialogues of English and Italian films, namely the dimensions marked by mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs. The picture emerging from these findings is that film dialogue is a cross-linguistically stable register. In signalling the presence of cross-linguistically stable patterns in film dialogue, this contribution complements the results of previous studies, particularly those obtained by Taylor (2008), who pointed out that there are scene types where the language of films is highly predictable, as well as those obtained by Veirano Pinto (2014) and Zago (2016), who showed that the language of films has remained fairly uniform over time.

As regards the reasons why mental, communication and activity verbs are dispersed in the dialogues of both English and Italian films, one is arguably that these verbs are narratively useful, with each type of verb providing its own specific contribution. In particular, the narrative function performed by mental verbs is that of presenting the characters' thoughts and feelings, the narrative function performed by communication verbs is that of reporting the characters' words, while the narrative function performed by activity verbs is that of expressing the characters' material actions. The cross-linguistic dispersion of these verbs seems also a consequence of the fact that films – particularly those in the PCFD – tend to represent and to imitate spontaneous orality, where mental, communication and activity verbs are pervasive (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 371). In these respects, the findings of this investigation reflect the 'oscillation', typical of film dialogue, between narration and linguistic realism (cf. Kozloff 2000).

As a concluding remark, it should be stressed that there has been no claim in this paper that mental verbs, communication verbs and activity verbs are the only or the main dimensions along which English and Italian films are comparable. Rather, this study has argued that the verbs in question represent three important dimensions of such comparability. At the same time, it is to be expected that additional dimensions of comparability – as well as dimensions of difference – exist, thus calling for follow-up analyses.

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Identity construction in dubbing

CHAPTER 12

Sleeping with the fishes

Italian Americans in animation

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The use of accents and language variation in films is a long established practice that manipulates language as a tool in the construction of characters, so as to convey specific characteristics. This is even more evident in animated films, where language is used as a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype. *Shark Tale* is an animated comedy produced in 2004 by DreamWorks Animation. The characters of the film speak different variations of American English, which are used to attribute different features to them. This paper will focus on a group of characters who present a series of elements (both on a narrative and a linguistic level) that makes it easy to identify them as Italian American Mafiosi, and on the strategies used in Italian dubbing.

Keywords: dubbing, Italian American, ethnolect, sociolect, stereotypes, animation, variation, Mafiosi

Introduction

The use of regional and social dialects in films is a long established practice. Indeed, in films language is manipulated and is purposefully used as a tool in the construction of character. As Lippi-Green (1997: 81) notes:

> In traditions passed down over hundreds of years from the stage and theatre, film uses language variation and accent to draw character quickly, building on established preconceived notions associated with specific national loyalties, ethnic, racial, or economic alliances. This shortcut to characterization means that certain traits need not be laboriously demonstrated by means of a character's actions and an examination of motive.

Given the constraints imposed by the limited duration of films, time becomes an element of crucial importance in the construction of the identity of characters, and the use of language variation is a helpful tool which enables the audience to rapidly

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and easily identify them as possessing certain features. It ought to be noted that this process is strictly connected to the process of stereotyping, where characters belonging to a specific social, regional or ethnic group tend to be characterized by a limited series of recurrent features – which can be positive or negative – and, as a result, are presented as oversimplified.[1] In other words, language is used not only to convey the social, regional or ethnic origins of the characters, but also to evoke in the audience the expectations related to the stereotypes connected to those specific origins.

Indeed, it is a fact that sociolinguists tend to agree as to the fact that all spoken languages are equal in linguistic terms, meaning that there is no intrinsic quality in one variety that makes it superior or inferior compared to other varieties. Nevertheless, it is also true that variation can be found in all spoken language at every level, and that speakers and listeners are prone to considering one variety (usually, what is labelled as the standard variety or standard dialect) "better" or more "acceptable" than the others (that is, those varieties that somehow deviate from the standard) (Lippi-Green 1997; Milroy and Milroy 1999; Trudgill 2000). As Dobrow and Gidney (1998: 110) observe:

> Studies of people's attitudes towards dialects and their speakers consistently reveal that speakers of the standard dialect are considered more intelligent, more educated, better looking, and wealthier than speakers of non-standard dialects.
>
> (Baker 1992)

This is the reason why using variation in films can be considered as an act of ideological manipulation, as characters will most probably be judged by the viewers according to the variety they speak.

As Sønnesyn (2011: 2) remarks, "accent is more of an artistic device, a device that arguably is used with care to promote some kind of attitude, rather than as an effort to mirror actual language use." Moreover, drawing on attitudinal studies, the author adds:

> Having a particular accent may result in listeners making inferences about such things as the speaker's social class background and ethnicity, which in turn might result in them making inferences about the speaker as a person, based on the stereotypical characteristics attached to that particular social group. This undeniably results in a certain degree of discrimination, which might advantage or disadvantage others.
>
> (Garrett 2010: 33, in Sønnesyn 2011: 12)

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1. See also the concept of "cultural metonymy" proposed by Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. (2005) discussed in the following pages.

Therefore, using language variation in films can be a potential source of discrimination. According to Lippi-Green (1997: 85), this manipulative use of language is even more evident in animated films, where variation is used as a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype even more than in the case of live-action entertainment. Apart from Lippi-Green – who analysed twenty-four full-length feature animated films released from 1938 to 1994 by Disney Animation Studios – other scholars (Wenke 1998; Di Giovanni 2003; Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. 2005; Booker 2009; Sønnesyn 2011; Ellis 2012; van Lierop 2014) agree that Disney feature films have often relied on language variation in order to convey specific ethnic but also social characteristics of the characters, employing accent and dialect to sketch character and stereotypes. Releases of animated films produced and distributed by other companies (such as DreamWorks, Warner Brothers, 20th Century Fox, Pixar) have been shown to follow this tendency as well (Azad 2009; King et al. 2011; Minutella 2015). Furthermore, the use of language variation has been investigated also in a corpus of children's animated programmes by Dobrow and Gidney, who conclude, "Linguistically, gender and ethnicity were marked by use of dialect stereotypes" (1998: 105).

What is more interesting for the purposes of this paper is the fact that several of these studies seem to agree that using linguistic stereotypes in animated films (which are aimed at a public mainly composed of children or young adults) is a potentially dangerous practice which may ultimately teach youngsters to discriminate people speaking a variety with certain specific features. According to Lippi-Green (1997), Dobrow and Gidney (1998), Wenke (1998) and Ellis (2012), it is not a case that the villains quite often speak with a foreign accent. Indeed, Lippi-Green (1997: 103) concludes that:

> What children learn from the entertainment industry is to be comfortable with *same* and wary of *other*, and that language is a prime and ready diagnostic for this division between what is approachable and what is best left alone.

Similarly, Dobrow and Gidney (1998: 118) state:

> Not only can television be a source of information about others, but it can also be a source of information about those whom we consider like ourselves […]. When these messages contain verbal, behavioural, and linguistic stereotypes, or when there are few or no images to contradict these stereotypes, it seems fair to assume that children may internalize these images of themselves and others.

It is worth noting, however, that other surveys (Azad 2009; Sønnesyn 2011; van Lierop 2014) apparently have detected a slight change in behaviour in more recent times, so that accented English does not seem to be used as extensively as it used to be in the past in association with evil characters.

Moreover, it ought to be noted that most of the studies mentioned have focused their attention mainly on phonological variation, analysing accents in animated films. Yet, linguistic variation can occur also on the lexical and syntactic levels. This paper will investigate the representation of a group of characters in the animated film *Shark Tale* (DreamWorks 2004), who present a series of elements that allows the audience to easily identify them as Italian American Mafiosi. The film caused a lot of debate in the United States, where many associations of Italian Americans were concerned about the abovementioned potential discriminating message conveyed to children, due to the negative features associated with their ethnic group. The analysis will firstly present the visual and narrative elements that characterize them, then it will move to the real focus of the study, namely their linguistic characterization. The study will take into consideration not only the characters' accent, but also their characteristic features on the lexical and syntactic levels. Finally, it will consider the strategies used in Italian dubbing to transpose these peculiar elements.

The *Shark Tale* issue

Shark Tale is a Computer-Generated Imagery comedy produced in 2004 by DreamWorks Animation, and is a clear example of how animated films exploit language variation to convey connotations related to the characters. *Shark Tale* revolves around the lives of Oscar, a young small fish and Lenny, the son of a shark mob boss. Oscar works in the whale-wash as a tongue washer, the bottom of the fish organizational chart but dreams of becoming rich and famous and of living at the top of the Reef. He has been getting advances on his wages from his boss, Sykes, and has to give the money back with interest. Sykes, in turn, works for Don Lino, the great white shark at the top of the Reef's food chain. Don Lino wants his two sons, Lenny and Frankie, to take over the business, but Lenny is a kind and warm-hearted shark who refuses to kill any living creature and is consequently a vegetarian. As Frankie is trying to teach his brother how to behave as a real shark and is about to eat Oscar, he is accidentally hit and killed by an anchor. Ernie and Bernie, the two jellyfish who work for Sykes, think that it was Oscar who killed Frankie. Oscar decides to exploit this misunderstanding and takes credit for the shark's murder. From that moment on, he becomes the "Sharkslayer", the protector of the Reef. Lenny, in turn, becomes Oscar's friend and helps him with the charade. Don Lino is out to avenge his son's death by ordering all the sharks to find and eat Oscar.

The characters of the film speak different varieties of American English, which are used to attribute different features to them. Some characters speak a distinguishable African American variety, whereas others speak Caribbean English. However,

it is the use of the Italian American ethnolect which became quite an issue for the distributors and producers of the film.

The film was severely criticized by various associations of Italian Americans concerned about the perpetuation of negative stereotypes related to their ethnic group. The variety in question is spoken in the film by a group of white sharks – plus a couple of other sea specimens – that are a clear parody of the Italian American gangsters portrayed in films such as *The Godfather* trilogy and *Goodfellas*, and TV series such as *The Sopranos*. In fact, not only do the characters speak a variety that is identifiable as Italian American, but their belonging to this ethnic group, and especially to the social group of mobsters of Italian descent, is also clearly recognizable through a series of other visual and narrative elements that will be analysed further on in the paper.

The debate about the negative representations of the Italian American ethnic group in the production actually started before the release of the film itself, and the account of events revolving around this issue is carefully reported in Jerome Krase's detailed essay "*Shark Tale* – Puzza da Cap" (2010). Reportedly, on August 24, 2003, Bill Dal Cerro, Vice President of the Italic Institute, discovered that DreamWorks was producing "a child's version of *The Sopranos*" (Krase 2010: 139), with voice-overs by Martin Scorsese, Robert De Niro, and *Sopranos* stars Michael Imperioli and Vincent Pastore. In September 2003, the Italic Institute sent certified letters to DreamWorks partners Steven Spielberg and Jeffrey Katzenberg asking them to "de-Italianize" the characters. Because the film was still in production, and the release was expected to be in about a year, they considered it a reasonable request.

Besides the perpetuation of negative stereotypes connected to people belonging to the Italian American ethnic group, the main issue was that the film was presumably addressed mainly to a public of children and younger teenagers, as it was promoted by DreamWorks Animation as a family comedy.

In fact, even though presented as a product for children, it is evident that the film is conceived in a way as to appeal to adults as well. As Krase (2010: 139) notes,

> The casting in *Shark Tale* and the easily recognizable story line have little to do with juvenile tastes but with adult ones. DreamWorks clearly decided to frame this animation as a *Sopranos-Godfather-Goodfellas* masterwork in animation in order to entice and entertain those who must take children to movie theaters and sit with them.

The main aim, therefore, appears to be entertaining parents who watch animated films with their children.

However, whereas adults presumably possess the skills to recognize ethnic stereotyping when used purposefully for comic reasons, children most probably

do not. And this is precisely why the film triggered fierce and indignant reactions in people belonging to the group in question. Jerome Krase, in a press release issued on September 27, 2004, titled "An Offer to Children that Parents should Refuse"[2] claimed:

> There is a long record of published research on the negative effects of negative stereotyping on children whose groups are stereotyped; [...] there is a consistent finding that negative stereotyping in media for youngsters is harmful both immediately and in the future. [...] What is probably the leader in efforts to correcting and preventing bias, the Anti-Defamation League, on their website argues that: 'If young children are repeatedly exposed to biased representations through words and pictures, there is a danger that such distortions will become a part of their thinking, especially if reinforced by societal biases'.   (in Krase 2010: 144)

He also stressed the different impact of such representations on adults and children discussed above, stating: "Although to an adult such characterizations might indeed be humorous and ultimately harmless, for our children they could be devastating, especially when not corrected in early childhood and grade school curricula" (Krase 2010).

Consequently, in November 2003, the Italic Institute of America made a nationwide appeal to all Italian American organizations to join their fight against DreamWorks's production as it was meant to be and in December 2003 it was decided to create an organization called CARRES (acronym for Coalition Against Racial, Religious and Ethnic Stereotyping). The coalition was composed of the three leading Italian American organizations (the Commission for Social Justice of the Order Sons of Italy in America, the National Italian American Foundation and UNICO National), together with the Columbus Citizens Foundation and the Italic Institute of America, plus other Italian American organizations, as well as the Arab American Institute, the Polish American Congress, and the National Conference for Community and Justice. Their first act was a written appeal to Steven Spielberg, which was rejected. Subsequently, from January to October 2004, CARRES organized letter-writing campaigns, sent out press releases and met with politicians.

In September 2004, Lawrence Auriana, president of the Columbus Citizens Foundation, issued a statement in which he claimed that "the movie introduces young minds to the idea that people with Italian names – like millions of Americans across the country – are gangsters". In the same statement, he (on behalf of the Foundation) asked that Steven Spielberg and DreamWorks make changes in *Shark Tale* prior to its release in the United States by:

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2. With a clear reference to the expression "an offer you can't refuse", made popular by the film *The Godfather*.

- Removing Italian names from characters
- Eliminating Italian and Italian-American phrases and slang
- Removing physical gestures and customs found in Italian and Italian-American culture
- Removing from bookstores DreamWork's *Shark Tale* titles (Auriana 2004a).

When a DreamWorks spokesperson replied that the film is a comedy and that, anyway, its villains eventually become *heroes*, President Lawrence Auriana reiterated his concern in another statement (2004b), claiming that the film was not appropriate for children, and was a dangerous vehicle for negative stereotyping. Auriana stated that "children will absorb and become imprinted with the insidious message they are exposed to throughout the film. The message is that characters with particular traits common to one distinct ethnicity – in this case Italian Americans – are ignorant, violent, criminal and racist."

CARRES also lobbied the Motion Picture Association to give *Shark Tale* a PG-13 or R rating and launched a boycott of the film and of the companies that were promoting the film via their child-oriented products (such as Coca Cola, Burger King, Krispy Kreme, and General Mills). Finally, they appealed to Silvio Berlusconi (who at that time was the Italian Prime Minister) to prevent the awarding of the honorary citizenship that the Republic of Italy was planning to give to Robert De Niro in September 2004. The Chairman of the National Italian American Foundation – which had honoured De Niro in 2002 – published a letter to the actor to express their "extreme disappointment and feelings of betrayal" over his role in the film (Guarini 2004).

The outcomes of the *Shark Tale* campaign were quite disappointing for CARRES, as reported by Krase (2010: 141–143). First of all, the names of the characters were not changed, nor were their Italian and Italian American mannerisms. Secondly, the Motion Picture Association gave the film only a PG – Parental Guidance suggested rating, which included the advice that "Some material may not be suitable for children. Some mild language and crude humor." The only partial success was the annulment of the awarding of honorary Italian citizenship to De Niro, although the actor actually received Italian citizenship a year later.

Shark Tale: Cultural and linguistic representation of Italian Americanness

Shark Tale is indeed extremely rich in references to the mafia genre, both on a visual and a verbal level. In my analysis, I will draw on the notion of *cultural metonymies* proposed by Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. (2005: 409) to refer to the selected traits used in Hollywood and Disney films to represent Otherness on the screen. According to

the scholars, when it comes to representing the Other, the American film industry relies on the selection of "stereotypical elements which are only a small part of a more complex ethnic and cultural context but come to stand for it in the filmic discourse" (Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. 2005).

In the case of *Shark Tale*, it is clear how a series of stereotyped elements has been selected in order to quickly draw character and to make the sharks easily identifiable by the audience as a group. Such cultural metonymies are identifiable on various levels.

Firstly, it is possible to single out a series of visual and narrative [...] elements that conveys both the ethnic and the social origins of the characters. More specifically, such elements are:

1. the names (first names or surnames) of the characters, which are all typically Italian or Italian American, such as Lino, Luca, Giuseppe, Gino, Frankie, Brizzi;
2. the characters' gestures: the sharks gesticulate, which is a feature characteristic of Italians and Italian Americans. Moreover, they kiss each other on both cheeks, a gesture easily identifiable as typical of Italian Mafiosi, as noted in previous studies (Parini 2013: 78): this is a gesture which originates within the environment of the Sicilian Mafia, as Mafiosi usually kiss each other when they meet, while men who are not members of the organization do not (Bolzoni 2008: 26);
3. references to *the family* and its importance ("We're gonna do this as a family"; "It's time for a little family reunion"; "I feel like we're practically family"; "You never take sides against the family. Ever"). As previously shown (Parini 2013: 71), "The value of the family is certainly one which is highly regarded in all films starring Italian American Mafiosi. This is not surprising, as the concept of family has always been extremely important for Italian immigrants". Moreover, as De Stefano (2006: 185) remarks, "This familism, warped as it is, differentiates the Italian and Italian American gangster from his non-Latin counterparts";
4. explicit references to Mafia's activities in the dialogues, such as paying for protection ("I have to pay for Don Lino's protection"; "Now you'll have to pay me protection") and activities of loansharking ("You're into me for five grand");
5. importance of being *masculine* and acting like *strong, tough guys*. Lenny – the boss's younger son – is a shame to the family because he is a vegetarian and refuses to kill. Don Lino, his father, tries to explain to him that his behavior is not acceptable and that it has repercussions on his reputation, and tells him: "You gotta understand, when you look weak it makes me look weak. I can't take that." On the other hand, Lenny's brother Frankie is a merciless shark, just as he is expected to be, and Lino is proud of him for this reason: "Your

brother Frankie, there, he's a killer. He's beautiful. He does what he's supposed to do." Frankie, likewise, tells Lenny, "If you want to make dad happy, you've got to kill something. You've got to be a shark". It ought to be noted that the character of Lenny and his peculiar characteristic of being a good-hearted vegetarian has been widely perceived as a metaphor for being gay (King et al. 2011: 44–45; Bianchi 2010: 83; Booker 2009: 156–157). The fact that Don Lino cannot accept his son's behaviour has been interpreted as an attitude of condemnation towards homosexuality, which is another recurring element in the representation of Italian American gangsters in Hollywood cinema (Parini 2013: 74). Commenting on the famous scene from *The Godfather* where Don Corleone slaps a crying Johnny Fontane asking him "Is this how you turned out? A Hollywood finocchio that cries like a woman?", De Stefano (2006: 181) claims that for the Don, being a man means acting like one, which involves not losing control and crying: that is for women, and for homosexuals, who are like women, and therefore are not real men;

6. explicit references to *The Godfather* through the use of the title *Don* before the names and surnames of some of the characters (as in the *Godfather*'s Don Corleone, Don Tommasino, etc.);

7. explicit references to *The Godfather* in the dialogues:
   Lenny: "Jeez, if Pop knew that, he'd ice you for sure."
   Oscar: "*Ice*. What's he, the Godfather or something?"
   Lenny: "Yeah."
   Oscar: "Whatcha mean, 'yeah'?"
   Lenny: "Yeah, he is";

8. implicit references to *Goodfellas* in dialogues:
   Don Lino: "Hey. You think this is funny? What am I, a clown to you?"[3];

9. music can also be considered as an element of characterization, as the theme played during the scenes set in the Titanic (the sharks' headquarters) clearly reminds of *The Godfather*'s theme.

Language undoubtedly plays an extremely important role in the construction of identity of the characters. Indeed, the sharks' language variety can be classified both as an ethnolect – as it conveys the characters' ethnic origins – and as a sociolect – as it conveys their social origins, i.e. their belonging to the group of gangsters/sharks.

First of all, the voices themselves are familiar to the American audience (or rather, to that part of audience composed of parents) and are used as a tool to

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3. This is a very popular line played in the film by the character of Tommy De Vito (interpreted by Joe Pesci), which is probably familiar to anybody who has ever seen the film. It may be argued that it has become a meme, especially for the fans of the mafia genre.

easily associate the characters with Italian American gangsters. The mob boss, Don Lino, is dubbed by Robert De Niro. The association of the character with the actor is made even clearer from a visual point of view by the presence of a mole on the shark's face, which reminds of the one on the actor's face. The fact that Robert De Niro has been the protagonist of a very large number of mafia movies, both dramas and comedies, obviously acts as an element of identification for the character.

Don Lino's son Frankie is played by *The Sopranos* star Michael Imperioli. Also in this case the actor's voice plays a role in the construction of character, as American (adult) spectators – and English speaking ones in general – who are familiar with the series can easily connect the voice with the character.

Vincent Pastore, also starring in *The Sopranos* series, plays the character of Luca, Don Lino's henchman.

Sykes, the pufferfish (a loan shark and Don Lino's subordinate), is played by Martin Scorsese.

Secondly, from a phonological perspective, the variety spoken by the characters turns out to be marked on the levels of intonation and pronunciation. As far as intonation is concerned, most characters follow a peculiar pattern with constant tone in conclusive and declarative sentences and lengthening of the stressed vowel. As far as pronunciation is concerned, the variety presents a series of common features which differ from standard Anglo-American pronunciation and are typical of the Italian American ethnolect. More specifically:

1. /th/ interdental voiceless fricative pronounced as /t/ instead of /θ/ ("It's our theme [ti:m] song"; "It takes more than muscle to run things [tɪŋz]; "There ain't nothing ['nʌtɪŋ] you can do about it");
2. /th/ interdental voiced fricative pronounced as /d/ instead of /ð/ ("You either ['idər] take or you get taken"; "Today is that [dæt] day"; "Now you follow these [diz] instructions to the letter");
3. /er/ in word ending pronounced as /ɑ/ instead of /ə/ ("We worked together [tə'gɜdɑ] a long, long time"; "You never ['nevɑ] take side against the family. Ever ['evɑ]"; "What's the matter ['mætɑ] with you?");
4. silent /h/ in words beginning with aspirated /h/ ("How [aʊ] you doing?"; "How [aʊ] we supposed to find the sharkslayer?").

On a lexical level, the variety is characterized firstly as an ethnolect, as it presents some instances of code mixing, through the insertion of the Italian word *capisci* and the dialectical word *Maronna* (variation of Italian *Madonna*):

1. "Long story short, from now on you work for Frankie and Lenny. *Capisci*?"
2. "You're a shark. Life goes on. *Capisci*?" "Okay, okay. *Capisci*."

3.   "*Maronna*, if I wasn't married… "[4]

Moreover, still on a lexical level, it is interesting to note that on one occasion Don Lino uses the word *agita* ['adʒɪta], which is an Italian American word used to refer to heartburn, acid indigestion, an upset stomach or, by extension, a general feeling of upset. The word is actually a phonetic adaptation of the Italian word *acidità*, which has the same referential meaning:

> "You're really giving me *agita*. I don't know how else to say this."

Secondly, the variety is lexically connoted as a sociolect, as the dialogues are rich in slang and phrases that are clearly associated with the Italian American variety spoken by mobsters in mafia films, such as:

1.   the honorific title *Don* to refer to a crime boss (Don Lino, Don Brizzi, Don Feinberg) is also used as a noun as a synonym of the word *boss* ("I'm the *Don*. The boss of the Great White Sharks");
2.   the compound noun *wiseguy*, which usually refers to a mobster connected to the Mafia. In the film, it is actually used to refer to the slang used by mobsters ("I can't understand *wiseguy*, so be more specific");
3.   the adjective *untouchable* to refer to someone who cannot be killed without the permission of the Mafia bosses ("So I'm now, what I like to call, *untouchable*");
4.   the noun *sit-down* to refer to a meeting with the Family administration to settle disputes ("There's a *sit-down* in one hour");
5.   the noun *mob* to refer to the Mafia ("You're all are supposed to be *the mob*");
6.   the verb *whack* which refers to the act of killing, murdering somebody ("My uncle Vito got *whacked* by one of those");
7.   the onomatopoeic expression *bada bing bada boom*, used to suggest that something is done quickly and easily, which became popularized by the character of Sonny Corleone in *The Godfather* ("We do a couple of practice runs, *bada bing bada boom*, Pop's happy");
8.   the phrase *forget about it* (pronounced as [fə'gedabaʊd'ɪt], with lengthening of the second syllable), commonly used in mafia films, which acquires different meanings depending on the context where it is used (Parini 2013: 171–172) ("Lenny, *forget about it*. Okay?"; "*Forget about it*, he'll turn up."; "It's Luca the Octo-… I mean, *forget about it*");

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4.   Both words (*capisci* and *Maronna*) are actually pronounced as Italian Americans do, namely dropping the final vowel sound. The two words have in fact entered the American English vocabulary and it is also possible to find them in some dictionaries spelt as they are pronounced, namely "capeesh" and "Maron". It ought to be noted, however, that the words are usually labelled as Italian American slang, and therefore they carry strong connotations.

9. the phrase *what's the matter with you*? (pronounced as [wɒtsɑˈmætɑˈwɪtʃju], with lengthening of the third syllable), which, again, is quite common in mafia films (Parini 2009b: 160) ("*What's the matter with you*? Your brother Frankie, here, he's a killer");

10. the idiomatic expression *to sleep with the fishes*, which means to get killed and have one's body disposed in the sea. Although it was first used in the Greek epic poem *The Iliad* by Homer, it became popularized through its use in *The Godfather*, when the Corleone family receive Luca Brasi's bulletproof jacket filled with fish and Tessio explains: "It's a Sicilian message. It means Luca Brasi sleeps with the fishes" ("Be there, if you don't wanna see her *sleepin' with the fishes*. The dead ones").

The variety is also characterized syntactically as it presents several non-standard structures usually considered typical of uneducated people. More specifically:

1. multiple negation ("There *ain't nothing* you can do about it"; "You *don't* want *none* of this"; "*Don't* go *no* farther"; "The kid *ain't* exactly *no* killer"; "I *ain't* afraid of *nothin'*");

2. lack of agreement between subject and verb ("The hippity-hop talk *don't* work with me");

3. use of *ain't* as a negative auxiliary ("*Ain't* it great?"; "Funny. *Ain't* it?"; "*Ain't* that right?");

4. omission of auxiliaries, especially in questions ("[*Did*] You miss me? [*Are*] You doin' good?"; "How [*are*] we supposed to find the sharkslayer?"; "What [*are*] you doin'?").

In sum, it is clear that the film is heavily loaded with connotations, both from a cultural and a linguistic perspective, so that the identity of the characters is easily and immediately recognizable as belonging to the Italian American ethnic group and to the social group of gangsters. It is worth noting, however, that the character of Lenny speaks a standard variety of American English which is connoted neither geographically/ethnically nor socially. Lenny always speaks with a soft, mild and meek voice, his syntax does not present any deviation from the standard and he is always very politically correct in his choice of words. Indeed, the cultural and linguistic characterization from an ethnic and social perspective applies only to the negative characters of the film, not to all the white sharks, and this is exactly the issue raised by the organizations of Italian Americans discussed in the previous pages: the ethnic association refers only to the "bad guys" of the film.

Shark Tale in Italian dubbing

Before analysing the strategies used by Italian dubbing professionals when dealing with the transposition of the dialogues into Italian, it is worth spending a few words about the voices of the characters themselves. Indeed, within the Italian dubbing industry there is a tendency to maintain the same Italian voice for all films starring the same actor (whenever it is possible). Consequently, Italian spectators become accustomed to that specific voice and, in their suspension of disbelief, seem to almost forget that it is not the original voice of the actor they see on the screen and expect to hear them speaking with that particular voice. This is obviously not the case of animated films, as there usually is no association between actor and voice. However, in this specific film the character of Don Lino has been dubbed in Italian by Stefano De Sando, who usually dubs Robert De Niro. In this case, therefore, it may be reasonable to argue that the dubbing professionals have intended to make the character recognizable also in Italian (at least to that part of audience composed of parents), probably also due to the fact that the animated character visually recalls De Niro, as previously noted. The other characters, however, have not been dubbed by the dubbing actors who usually dub the voices of the corresponding actors.

As far as dubbing/translational strategies are concerned, the analysis confirms the results of previous studies (Parini 2009a, 2009b, 2013, 2017, 2018). Apparently, the Italian industry has an established practice related to the dubbing of mafia movies, so that it uses certain strategies in order to transpose the original verbal characterization of the characters; strategies which are even more evident in the case of mafia comedies, and seem to be exaggerated also in animation. Such strategies consist in conferring to the target language specific characteristics which allow the Italian audience to associate the speakers to the group of Italian American gangsters, therefore selecting a series of equivalent recurring features (verbal cultural metonymies) in the target language. Again, such verbal cultural metonymies are observable on various levels: phonological, syntactic, and lexical.

As far as the ethnic origins are concerned, as a general rule the Italian dubbing professionals opt for characterizing the language by making the characters speak a variety which can be recognized by Italian spectators as Sicilian, therefore conferring to their language the characteristics of a regiolect. This happens on different levels. As far as phonology is concerned, intonation usually follows a pattern which recalls the Sicilian one, with rising tone and final post-stressed falling tone and lengthening of the stressed vowel. On the level of pronunciation, the variety spoken presents a series of features that deviate from standard Italian pronunciation and are easily recognizable as typical of the Sicilian regiolect:

1. /r/ is lengthened if preceded by a vowel; when followed by a consonant there is complete assimilation between the two consonants ([tonnera'] for *tornerà*; [pjɛno'dɛ'vɛmmi] for *pieno di vermi*);
2. consonant clusters /tr/, /dr/ and /str/ pronounced as /tʃr/, /dʒr/ and /ʃr/ ([ve'dʒrete] for *vedrete*; ['nɔʃra] for *nostra*; [tʃra'ddʒedja] for *tragedia*);
3. intervocalic affricate /tʃ/ pronounced as fricative/ʃ/ (['faʃile] for *facile*; [defi'ʃɛnte] for *deficiente*; ['diʃi] for *dici*);
4. affricate /dʒ/ and plosive /b/ are lengthened when intervocalic (['addʒile] for *agile*; ['subbito] for *subito*);
5. preconsonantic fricative /s/ pronounced as /ʃ/ ([aʃpet'ta] for *aspetta*; ['ʃtato] for *stato*);
6. intervocalic voiced fricative /z/ pronounced as voiceless fricative /s/ (['skusamɪ] for *scusami*; [ko'sɪ'] for *così*);

Still from an ethnic perspective, the variety spoken by the characters usually presents some peculiarities specific of the Sicilian regiolect also on a syntactic level:

1. 2nd singular personal pronoun *te* instead of standard *ti* and 2nd plural personal pronoun *ve* instead of standard *vi* as dative or with reflexive verbs ("Avvicinate"; "Ve sono mancato?"; "Non ve preoccupate");
2. use of *voi* as allocutive form ("Vi prego di accettare le mie condoglianze"; "Venite"; "Scusate"; "Vi ho tenuto il posto");
3. use of typical Sicilian pronouns such as *mía* and *tía*, instead of standard *me* and *te* ("Ti vuoi divertire con *mía*?"; "Questo è *pettía*").

On a lexical level, the variety is geographically marked through the use of a few regionalisms:

1. "*Amuninne*, papi ci aspetta."
2. "Abbiamo la tua *fimmena*."
3. "*Maronna*, se non fossi sposato…"

Continuing on a lexical level, the variety spoken in the dubbed version is marked also from a social perspective as it presents a slang expression which is usually associated to the Sicilian Mafia, namely *pezzo da novanta* ("Ancora affannato *pezzo da novanta*?").

Moreover, the Italian dubbing professionals have coined three words through the linguistic strategy of blending, playing with terms usually used by Italian Mafiosi, namely:

1. *pesciotto*, which recalls the term *picciotto*, used by Mafiosi to refer to mobsters, but also formed from the base *pesce*, that is *fish* ("Io non lo capisco il tuo gergo da *pesciotto*");

2. *squalozzi*, which recalls the colloquial term *scagnozzi* – meaning *henchmen* – but is formed from the base *squalo*, that is *shark* ("I miei *squalozzi* ti troveranno");

3. *trinchia*, which recalls the Sicilian vulgar term *minchia*, typically used by Italian Mafiosi in Italian mafia movies, or in American mafia movies dubbed into Italian, blended with the term *triglia*, which is the Italian word for a mullet fish ("Ma io a te che *trinchia* ti ho fatto?").

It is possible to conclude that the convention of dubbing Italian American Mafiosi in Hollywood cinema with a variety identifiable as the Sicilian regiolect has been used also in this case. However, it is interesting to observe that one character, namely Sykes, the pufferfish, in Italian dubbing speaks a variety which presents the characteristics of the Neapolitan dialect, on all the levels analyzed for the Sicilian regiolect. Firstly, the intonation presents a series of rising-falling tones. Secondly, from the point of view of pronunciation, the most recognizable recurring features are:

1. /ə/ in unstressed noun word ending, both masculine and feminine ("Non direte [ˈdiretə] sul serio [ˈseriə]"; "La catena [kaˈtenə] alimentare [alimenˈtarə]");

2. alveolar fricative /s/ at the beginning of a word pronounced as postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ ("Nun scassa' [ʃcasˈsaʼ]"; "Scavate [ʃcaˈvate] ancora").

His variety is also marked on a lexical level through the use of a couple of regionalisms ("Te lo spiegano i *guaglioni*"; "Che *mariuolo*!") and syntactically through the use of the allocutive form *voi* ("Non direte sul serio"; "Avete capito male").

Finally, the variety of Don Lino is also socially connoted on a couple of occasions through the use of a grammatical structure which is considered as non-standard Italian, namely the use of the double pronoun ("Ma io *a te* che trinchia *ti* ho fatto?"; "*A te* sembra quasi che non *te* ne importi niente").

To conclude, it is worth noting that the Italian dubbed version of the film has added a reference to the film *Goodfellas* which was not in the original text. Indeed, when Lenny sets the shrimps free and helps them escape from Don Lino through a broken window, one of them turns back to thank Lenny and tells him "You're a good person". The line has been translated as "Sei un bravo ragazzo", which is the Italian translation for "You're a good boy" but also "You're a good fellow/fella".[5] Both slang terms *wiseguy* and *goodfella* – which are extremely recurrent in the film *Goodfellas* to refer to mobsters – are translated as *bravo ragazzo* in its Italian dubbed version. A more literal translation of the original line would be "Sei una brava persona".

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5. The Italian title of the film *Goodfellas* is *Quei bravi ragazzi*.

It is interesting to observe that, whereas in the United States the use of ethnic stereotypes in an animated film has triggered the indignant reactions discussed in the essay, in Italy no protests whatsoever have been made against the use of specific regiolects or dialects (such as Sicilian or Neapolitan) in its dubbed version – although the same concern expressed by Italian Americans regarding the potential danger of exposing children to the message that people of Italian descent are criminals may apply to a corresponding association with Southern Italians for Italian viewers.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, it is possible to confirm that in animated films language is used as a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype. The analysis of *Shark Tale* has shown how the use of a certain ethnolect and sociolect can play an extremely important role in the characterization of the characters. The analysis of the dubbed version of the film, moreover, has shown that the characterization of the language has been maintained on both levels. Italian professionals seem to have followed the tendencies which have become established in the Italian dubbing industry when it comes to translating the variety spoken by Italian American gangsters in American films, relying on certain specific strategies that allow to maintain the stereotype. Therefore, it is possible to talk about stereotyping also in translation. What appears to be of particular interest is the fact that the use of stereotypes associated to negative characters has triggered indignant reactions in the United States but not in Italy. This might be due to different reasons, and whereas the study presented in this paper is of a descriptive kind, further research in the field of perception studies may provide some valuable insights.

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Constructing youth identities in dubbed movies

A view from Italy

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This study aims to make a contribution to the area of linguistic and cultural representation in audiovisual texts by contrastively analysing how scriptwriters and translators construct the image of American and Italian youth culture. The main focus of the investigation is the translation of potentially challenging topics such as teenage sexuality, drug consumption, and violence. The analysis is based on a small, self-compiled parallel corpus of American teen movies and their Italian dubbed versions pertaining to the genre of "teen queen movies", which depict the school life of teenagers and the contrasting relationships among different cliques and gangs (Driscoll 2011: 57). The results of the analysis revealed a change in target cultural norms with respect to previous decades. Sensitive topics tend to be retained rather than mitigated, which indicates that licentious and unrestrained behaviours on screen are regarded as more desirable than in the past.

Keywords: youth culture, sensitive topics, dubbing, English, Italian

1. Youth language and spontaneous speech

The language of adolescents has always stirred up a great deal of interest among linguists due to its extremely creative nature. Juvenile forms of expression provide contextualised examples of how speakers experiment with a language system, producing innovative structures in a Chomskyan sense.[1] Investigating youth language offers insights into the flexibility of a language system, revealing to what extent it can be moulded. However, youth language involves much more than a purely formal perspective, as the manipulation of language is strictly related to key concerns

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1. In his theory of transformational generative grammar, Chomsky (1964: 7) referred to the "'creative' aspect of language", arguing that human species possess the competence to generate an indefinite set of linguistic choices from a finite set of rules and elements.

such as social cohesion, group identity and membership (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Eble 1996). As Tagliamonte (2016: 3) claims in her recent volume on teen speech, "teenagers are cliquish to the nth degree", which in turn has a significant impact on language. In addition to the widely recognised phenomenon that adolescents create their own 'secret' codes in order to distance themselves from adults, ethnographic studies revealed that teenagers' impetus to creativity is also driven by the dynamics related to their social networks (Eckert 2000; Bakht 2010; Bucholtz 2011). In fact, teenagers are divided into various subcultures, each one with its own clothing, ideological and speech style (Eckert 2000; Bakht 2010; Bucholtz 2011). Creative uses of language serve as a sort of shared code among the members of each group or gang with the aim to mark the acceptance or exclusion of other teens. Within this framework, the notion of a "community of practice" becomes relevant:

> An aggregate of people who come together around a mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations, – in short, practices – emerge on the course of their joint activity around that endeavour. […] Individuals participate in multiple communities of practice and individual identity is the multiplicity of this participation.
>
> (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 7–8)

Based on this notion, teenage identity is the result of their participation in both the broader community of young people (as opposed to the older generations), and the subcultures to which they are affiliated. Consequently, an investigation of the distinctive features of youth language reveals the socio-cultural values on which the construction of teen identity is based.

Given the level of interest in youth language, as described so far, research in this direction has been carried out extensively across a wide variety of languages. In the Anglophone world, worthy of mention are the ethnographic studies conducted in schools set in various areas of the USA. The largest and most influential ones up to now were carried out by Eckert (1989, 2000) in the Detroit suburban area at the end of the eighties, Mendoza-Denton (1997, 2008) in California's Silicon Valley at the end of the nineties, Bucholtz (1997, 2011) in Northern California also at the end of the nineties, and Bakht (2010) in Long Island (New York) at the beginning of the twenty-first century. These studies revealed how youth subcultures use language in order to define their identities in different ways.

Remaining on the American continent, an influential contribution to teen speech also came from the studies on Canadian English carried out by the research team led by Sali Tagliamonte (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Tagliamonte 2008), which have recently been collated and further developed in the volume *Teen Talk* (Tagliamonte 2016). The corpora analysed in her study include authentic data collected from the mid-nineties up until the first decade of the twenty-first century, obtained on the basis of interviews and the collection of messages sent via ICT devices.

Within this framework, youth language was investigated from a sociolinguistic perspective, as the focus was placed on the linguistic features which were undergoing linguistic change, i.e. pragmatic markers such as "like", "so", "that", "stuff", and "just".

Moving to British English, recent data on teen speech were provided in the *Linguistic Innovators Corpus* (LIC) as part of a project run from 2005 to 2007 by Paul Kerswill and Jenny Cheshire with the aim to document the characteristics of today's spoken English of London (Kerswill et al. 2007). Particular attention is given to ethnic diversity, as one of the objectives is to assess the impact of multilingualism on London English, also in relation to other factors such as geographical mobility, gender, social network type, and social identity (Torgersen et al. 2006; Cheshire et al. 2008). These data indeed updated the perspective provided in an earlier seminal research on the language spoken by London teenagers carried out by Stenström et al. (2002) on *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), conducted at the beginning of the nineties.

In the Italian context, the studies on youth language have also been very prolific. An outline of the Italian youth language was provided by Sobrero (1992), later confirmed by Cortelazzo (2010) and Coveri (2011). Youth language was described as a hybrid variety made up of a series of features which characterise the contemporary Italian language: colloquial language, dialects and regionalisms, the influence of foreign languages such as English and Spanish, technical jargons, catchphrases derived from the mass-media, words which once pertained to technical jargons, and ephemeral words coined on-the-spot. There was a surge of interest in youth language during the first decade of the twenty-first century, which led to the publication of collected volumes such as *Forme della comunicazione giovanile* (Marcato and Fusco 2005), *Giovani, lingue e dialetti* (Marcato 2006), and *I linguaggi giovanili* (Stefanelli and Saura 2011). Research was mainly conducted in schools situated in different areas of the country by means of sociolinguistic questionnaires administered to teenagers (Trifone 1996 in Pescara; Canobbio 1998 in Turin; Marcato 2005 in the Venetian area; Franceschini et al. 2006 in Tuscany and Liguria; Lavinio and Lanero 2008 in Sardinia).

2. Youth language and dubbing

As seen in the previous section, youth language has been studied extensively within the framework of spontaneous speech, but it has not received the same degree of attention in the research on dubbing in the English/Italian pair. This is surprising, as TV and film represent prominent media among teenagers from a sociological, psychological, and linguistic point of view, influencing their cognitive, relational and communicative growth. In particular, teen movies have a central role in encoding the models of individual and group identity construction to which adolescents

are exposed and to which they tend to conform (Ferro and Sardo 2008; Driscoll 2011). Several case studies took a first step towards the goal of defining the norms that govern the translation of youth films in Italy, but the perspective on the subject is still rather fragmentary and quantitative data are still missing (Bianchi 2008; Zanotti 2012; Ranzato 2015; Bonsignori 2015).

An early study was carried out by Bianchi (2008) on the Italian dubbed version of the series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997–2003). The author noticed that translators did not differentiate between the way teenagers and adults speak, in that they both tend to use standard Italian. In particular, informal language, which is a typical feature of youth language, is often toned down and replaced with standard words and expressions, e.g. neologisms are often replaced with conventional expressions, and references to pop culture are neutralised. According to Bianchi (2008), the tendency towards the mitigation of informal language can be interpreted in relation to a general tendency on the part of Italian scriptwriters to depict teenagers as disciplined subjects who do not behave in a rebellious manner. This assumption is in line with the claims made by Buonanno (1991) at the end of the nineties in relation to the original Italian teen movies such as *Classe di ferro*, *College* and *Aquile*. According to Buonanno (1991: 80), the Italian teenagers portrayed on screen at that time "don't generally drink and rarely smoke; drugs are out of question; they are healthy and athletic; they usually get on well with their family and are respectful of institutions". Similar results were obtained by Zanotti (2012) in her study of the translations of three teen movies released in the seventies, i.e., *American Graffiti*, *The Lords of Flatbush*, and *Grease*. Her study focused on the dialogues revolving around sensitive subjects such as sexuality, violence, crime, and drugs. The author observed that strong language tends to be toned down and that references to potentially disturbing topics are mostly mitigated. The interpretation provided by Zanotti (2012) is that censorial norms in the seventies were stricter in Italy than in the Anglophone world.

Creative solutions were instead identified by Ranzato (2015) in the Italian dubbed version of the British TV series *Skins* (2007). The researcher noticed that the translators exploited the typical features of Italian teen speech mentioned in the previous section, but the result represented a form of "hyper-young" juvenile speech which sounded artificial and rather unrealistic. This strategy is especially adopted when translating culture-specific references (Ranzato 2015). This artificial effect in translations can be related to the fact that both the original and the translated versions of audiovisual products are mostly created by adults. It is for this reason that teen movies run the risk of portraying stereotypical features of teen speech, thus leading to hyper-characterisation (Pavesi 2005). A diachronic perspective on the use of creative solutions in filmic teen speech was offered by Bonsignori (2015), who focused on the translation of morphological features in three teen movies released in different decades, i.e., *Sixteen Candles* (1984), *Clueless* (1997),

and *Juno* (2007). This analysis revealed that the movies of recent production tend to be translated more creatively than the ones released over the past decades.

3.   Aims and objectives

Based on the theoretical framework outlined in the previous sections, the present study aims to shed light on the translation of "teen queen films", a teen movie genre which depicts the school life of teenagers on the basis of a perspective of contrasting relationships among different cliques and gangs (Driscoll 2011: 57).[2] This choice was influenced by the relevance of youth cliques as a real social issue in the USA. In recent years, for example, the list of the *New York Post* best-sellers included a self-help book addressing American mothers published by educator Rosalind Wiseman and entitled *Queen Bees and Wannabes: Helping Your Daughter Survive Cliques, Gossip, Boyfriends, and Other Realities of Adolescence* (Wiseman 2002). Given the culture-specificity of the subject, it is interesting to analyse whether youth culture is represented differently when translated into Italian for dubbing purposes. In particular, the specific research question in the present study is whether potentially disturbing subjects (sexual references, drug consumption, and violence) are manipulated in the translation process, thus leading to a different representation of teenagers.

4.   Material and methodology

The analysis was carried out on a small parallel corpus of American teen movies and their Italian dubbed versions released between 1995 and 2011 which was compiled as part of a broader study aimed to investigate the use and translation of creative language (Ciampi 2016). The corpus, referred to as Teen Film Corpus (henceforth TFC) is made up of nearly 50,000 running words in each language version, and a total of nearly 100,000 words for the whole corpus. The films were selected using *The Internet Movie Database*, i.e. an online database where information on a wide array of international movies is stored. The database has a plot-keyword search tool, with which I conducted a search by starting from the tag "clique", as this represents the situational context where creative words are most likely to occur (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Eble 1996). After reading the film synopses, the selection was further narrowed down to the movies focused on youth subcultures, as these provide interesting insights both from a linguistic and a socio-cultural perspective. This selection process led to the inclusion of the following five films:

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2.   The term "teen queen" refers to the central role of the "queen bees", the leaders in the subculture of popular girls.

- *Clueless*, (1995), A. Heckerling, USA (henceforth CLU)
- *10 Things I Hate About You*, (1999), G. Junger, USA, (henceforth TEN)
- *Mean Girls*, (2004), M. Waters, USA, (henceforth MG1)
- *The Clique*, (2008), M. Lembeck, USA, (henceforth TC)
- *Mean Girls* 2, (2011), M. Mayron, USA, (henceforth MG2)

The films were transcribed adapting the conventions used for the *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue*, i.e. a large parallel corpus of British and American film dialogues and their Italian dubbed versions created to identify and quantify the distinctive features of original and translated film language (Freddi and Pavesi 2009). The orthographic transcription of the lines uttered by the characters was enriched with comments on paralinguistic, kinetic, and contextual information that was relevant to gaining an understanding of specific verbal exchanges. In order to facilitate a contrastive analysis, the original and Italian texts were aligned at line level, as indicated in Examples (1)–(11).

The identification of potentially disturbing topics was carried out by integrating manual analysis and the use of the corpus analysis software *Wmatrix* (Rayson 2008). The software automatically tags texts for the semantic domains contained, allowing the users to use the concordancer to search for the words associated with the semantic domains of interest.[3] I performed an automatic semantic tagging of the English version of the TFC and used the concordancer in order to be able to analyse all the words associated with the categories referring to sensitive topics, i.e., Relationship: Intimate/sexual (category S3.2), Cigarettes and drugs (category F3), and Calm/Violent/Angry with a negative connotation (category E3).[4] Figure 1 shows an example of concordances for the semantic category S3.2 in the movie MG1. As can be seen in the central column of the concordances, there is a wide range of sexual references (34 instances) offering interesting data to be analysed, e.g., gender issues (e.g., homosexuals, lesbian) and teenage concerns (e.g., virginity).

5.   Results and discussion

The analysis of the TFC revealed that the references to potentially disturbing topics are mostly maintained, often in combination with strong language. Charts 1–2 display trends in translation on the basis of two strategies: mitigation and retention. The references to potentially disturbing topics or the use of taboo words are toned

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3.   *WMatrix* also makes it possible to obtain a frequency list of the semantic domains contained, and to identify the key concepts that are distinctive of a corpus relative to a reference corpus.

4.   Concordances are obtained by entering the alphanumerical tags determined by the system, a complete list of which can be retrieved at http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/usas_guide.pdf.

34 occurrences.

Left context	Keyword	Right context
Man could fight the dinosaurs . And the	homosexuals	. Amen . But my family 's totally normal
n't wan na sit there . Kristen Hadley 's	boyfriend	is gon na sit there . Hey , baby . He far
want . This is Damian . He 's almost too	gay	to function . Nice to meet you . Nice wig
thing , desperate wannabes , burn-outs ,	sexually	active band geeks , the greatest people y
t like Aaron Samuels . That 's Regina 's	ex-boyfriend	. They went out for a year . Yeah , and t
m for Shane Oman . Okay , irregardless .	Ex-boyfriends	are just off-limits to friends . I mean ,
they 're going out . Wait . Jason 's not	going out with	Taylor . No . He can not blow you off lik
. It 's urgent . Thank you . She 's not	going out with	anyone . Okay , that was so fetch . Mum !
Hey . Hey , hey , hey ! How are my best	girlfriends	? Hey , Mrs. George . This is Cady . Hell
y , Mrs. George . This is Cady . Hello ,	sweetheart	. Hi . Welcome to our home . Just want yo
" Still true . Dawn Schweitzer is a fat	virgin	" Dawn Schweitzer is a fat virgin . " Sti
a fat virgin " Dawn Schweitzer is a fat	virgin	. " Still half true . Amber D'Alessio mad
hat kid Damian . Yeah . He 's almost too	gay	to function . That 's funny . Put that in
u shopping ? No , I 'm just here with my	boyfriend	. Joking . Sometimes older people make jo
not just say that . What ? He 's a good	kisser	. He 's your cousin . Yeah , but he 's my
you wear your hair like that ? You hair	looks so sexy	pushed back . Cady , will you please tell
Cady , will you please tell him his hair	looks sexy	pushed back . Regina was dangling Aaron i
ld . But this was girl world . Your hair	looks sexy	pushed back . And in girl world , all the
er . So then in eighth grade , I started	going out with	my first boyfriend , Kyle , who was total
rade , I started going out with my first	boyfriend	, Kyle , who was totally gorgeous , but t
t invite you , because I think you 're a	lesbian	. " I mean , I could n't have a lesbian a
lesbian . " I mean , I could n't have a	lesbian	at my party . There are gon na be girls t
thing-suits . I mean , right ? She was a	lesbian	. So then her mum called my mum and start
ilent When I sneak in your door and make	love	to your woman on the bathroom floor . I d
m ? I gave him everything . I was half a	virgin	when I met him . You wan na do something
ron did n't immediately ask me to be his	girlfriend	. I mean , I know he was sad , but how mu
y ? Really . Cady , I know that having a	boyfriend	may seem like the most important thing in
The only guy that ever calls my house is	Randy	from Chase Visa . And you know why ? Beca
u know what ? It 's not my fault you 're	in love	with me or something ! What ? Oh , no she
u Plastics . You think that everybody is	in love	with you , when actually , everybody hate
is Ian , dyke " That 's original . " Too	gay	to function " ? Hey ! That 's only okay w
that book that I 'm lying about being a	virgin	because I use superjumbo tampons . But I
iend Caddy . She made out with Regina 's	boyfriend	and then convinced him to break up with h
s it 's probably because I 've got a big	lesbian	crush on you . Suck on that ! Janis ! Jan

Figure 1. Semantic concordance for the category S3.2: "Relationship: Intimate/sexual"

Retention 0,84
Mitigation 0,16
(%)
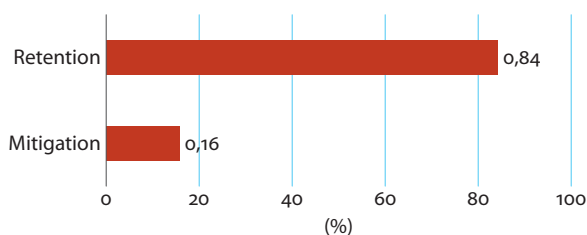
Chart 1. Translation trends for sensitive subjects

Retention 0,69
Mitigation 0,31
(%)
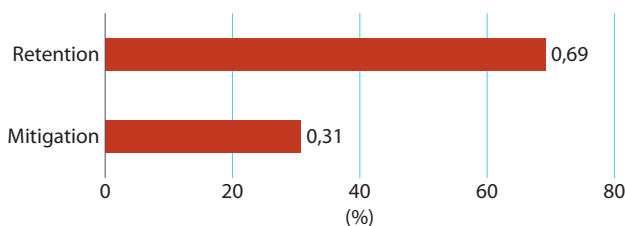
Chart 2. Translation trends for strong language

down with mitigation, while in the case of retention they are maintained with the same intensity as in the original version.

As can be seen from the charts, references to potentially disturbing subjects are maintained in the vast majority of cases (84%), and are toned down in only 16% of them. Moreover, most of the translation solutions include strong language (69%), which is toned down in only 31% of cases.[5] In what follows, examples of translation strategies are provided for each of the following subjects:

– Sexual references (5.1);
– Drug consumption (5.2);
– Violence (5.3).

5.1   Sexual references

Striking examples of the tendency towards the retention of potentially disturbing topics are the references to sexual intercourse, exemplified in (1) and (2). The dialogue in (1) is selected from the movie CLU and it is based on a scene where Cher and Dionne are commenting on their teacher, Mr Hall, who is portrayed as a loner in the movie. Their goal is to find a girlfriend for him in order to make him happier, and thus increase his propensity for giving good marks to his students.

(1) CHER	[close-up on Mr Hall walking by himself]		
	Here's the four one one on Mister Hall. He's single, he's forty-seven, and he earns minor ducats for a thankless job. *What that man needs is a good healthy boinkfest.*	Servizio informa-zioni sul Signor Hall. Single, quarantasette anni, guadagna quattro soldi per un lavoro infame. *Conclusione: avrebbe bisogno di farsi una sana scopata.*	Information service on Mister Hall. Single, forty-seven years old, he earns little money for a thankless job. *Conclusion: he'd need a healthy fuck.*

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5.   The present study is part of a broader study focused on creative language, as mentioned in Section 4. For this reason, the quantitative data shown in charts 1–2 are based on an analysis of the creative words encountered in the TFC. However, the tendency towards the retention of sensitive subjects is not limited to the translation of creative words. The manual analysis and the semantic annotation of the corpus confirm retention as the predominant strategy in the overall corpus when sensitive subjects are addressed.

In this case, the reference to sexual intercourse is maintained through an explicit rendering of the source text, i.e., the use of an Italian taboo word indicating the physical activity of sex (*una sana scopata* 'a healthy fuck').

A similar example is the translation of phrases with the meaning of "having sex with someone", for which literal renderings rather than mitigation strategies are used. In some cases, references to obscenities are even added in the Italian versions. An example is provided in the dialogue in (2) selected from the movie MG1. In this scene, Regina helps Cady dismiss a boy named Jason who was bothering her.

(2)	REGINA	*Do you wanna have sex with him?*	*Te lo vuoi scopare per caso?*	*Do you want to get laid with him?*
	CADY	No, thank you.	No, grazie.	No, thank you.
	REGINA to JASON	Good. So it's settled. So you can go shave your back now. Bye, Jason.	Bene, ora è tutto chiaro. Puoi tornare sul tuo albero allora. Addio, Jason.	Good, everything's clear now. You can go back to your tree, then. Farewell, Jason.

In this case, the expression "do you wanna have sex with him" is rendered with a more vulgar solution (*te lo vuoi scopare*? 'do you want to get laid with him?'). The solutions in Examples (1) and (2) definitely clash with those analysed by Zanotti (2012) in the teen movies released in the seventies, where references to sexual intercourse were mostly subject to mitigation strategies. In *American Graffiti* (1973), for example, taboo expressions such as "screw around" were translated as *limonare* ('kissing'), and the act of having sex was not even mentioned (Zanotti 2012: 357).

Strikingly different choices from those adopted by translators in the seventies also concern the theme of virginity. While Zanotti (2012) found that allusions to virginity are kept as implicit as possible in the dubbed versions of movies such as *Grease* (1978), markedly explicit solutions are instead used in the TFC. In the movie MG1, for example, the status of girls as virgins is viewed as a weakness similarly to physical traits such as obesity (see Example 3).

| (3) | KAREN | Dawn Schweitzer is a fat virgin. | Dawn Schweitzer è una grassa verginella. | Dawn Schweitzer is a fat little virgin. |

In the Italian version, the derogatory connotation of being a virgin is maintained with the same degree of retention, i.e., *Dawn Schweitzer è una grassa verginella* ('Dawn Schweitzer is a fat little virgin').

Another difference in these findings emerged from the studies of filmic teen speech in the seventies, which concerns the relationship between rough language and gender roles. While in the dubbed versions of movies such as *Grease* (1978) the girls' rough language is often toned down (Zanotti 2012), in the TFC most girls tend to be linguistically unrestrained (see Example 4).

(4) REGINA *This girl* is *the nasti-* | *Questa ragazza è la* | *This girl is the most*
| *est skunk-bitch I've* | *più schifosa, stronza,* | *disgusting bitch,*
| *ever met.* Do not | *puttana che abbia* | *whore I've ever met.*
| trust her. *She is a* | *mai conosciuto.* | Don't trust her. *She's*
| *fugly slut*! | Non vi fidate di lei. | *such a bitch+whore*
| | *È una grandissima* |
| | *stroia.* |

Taboo words and overt references to the girls' sexual activity are translated with extremely explicit solutions which resort to the use of Italian taboo words (*stronza* 'bitch', *puttana* 'whore', *stroia* 'bitch' + 'whore').[6]

5.2 Drug consumption

Similarly to sexual references, drug consumption is another socio-cultural area where translation solutions tend towards retention. Examples (5)–(7) show how words referring to drugs are maintained in the Italian versions. In these scenes, the speakers are referring to a social clique made up of teenagers who often smoke marijuana, i.e., the so-called "loadies" or "burn-outs". Examples (5)–(6) are selected from the movie CLU. Example (7) is selected from MG1.

(5) CHER [pointing to the boys wearing extra-large clothes, lying on the grass with guitars, skateboards and cigarettes]

Loadies generally	*I drogati* di solito si	*The drugged people*
hang on the grassy	ritrovano sull'erba.	usually meet each
knoll over there.	Quando vengono in	other on the grass.
Sometimes they	classe dicono tal-	When they come to
come to class and	mente tante idiozie	class, they say so many
say bonehead things,	che ti fanno ridere,	nonsense things that
and we all laugh,	ma le ragazze per	they make you laugh,
of course. But no	bene non escono	but respectable girls
respectable girl actu-	certo insieme a loro.	don't date them.
ally dates them.		

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6. "Fugly" ("fucking" + "ugly") is translated as *stroia*, which results from the combination of the Italian taboo words *stronza* 'bitch' and *troia* 'whore'.

(6) TAI   Wow, a party!   Bello! C'è una festa.   Great! There's a
                                                              party.

    CHER   It's in the Valley.   Ah, è nella Valley.   Oh, it's in the
            The cops usually   Di solito la poli-   Valley.
            break them up in   zia gli fa chiudere   The police usually
            less than an hour,   la bottega dopo   makes them shut
            and it takes that   neanche un'ora.   shop after less than
            long to get there.   one hour.

    DIONNE *And besides, it's just* *E poi ci vanno sola-*   *And besides, only*
            local loadies.   *mente quelli fumati.*   *the smoked people*
                                                               go there.

(7) JANIS   Here. [handing her   Tieni.   Here. This map is
            a map] This map is   Questa mappa sarà   gonna be your guide
            gonna be your guide   la tua guida a North   to North Shore.
            to North Shore.   Shore.   Where you sit in the
            Now, where you sit   Il posto dove ti siedi   cafeteria is crucial
            in the cafeteria is   a mensa è cruciale   because everybody
            crucial because you   perché ci sono tutti.   is there. There are
            got everybody there.   Ci sono le matricole,   the freshers, the
            You got your fresh-   i barramentari, i   people who barri-
            men, ROTC guys,   pre-universitari, i   cade themselves, the
            preps, JV jocks, […]   palestrati pompati,   pre-university stu-
                                   […]   dents, the gym-goers
                                                              with pumped bodies
                                                              […]

    JANIS   [close-up on a girl
            staring at her fork
            while laughing
            compulsively]
            burn-outs,   *i fattoni,*   *the stoned people,*

The reference to drug consumption is conveyed by using either very transparent expressions such as *i drogati* ('the drugged people') and *i fumati* ('the smoked people') or creative ones such as *i fattoni* ('the stoned people'). As can be seen in the comments provided in square brackets, close-ups are shot on the teenagers in question while they behave in odd ways. Figure 2, for example, represents the close-up associated to the dialogue in (8), where a "burn-out" girl is laughing compulsively in the school cafeteria. The choice to maintain the references to drugs enables the viewers to understand the reasons behind this odd behaviour (i.e., drug consumption).

Figure 2. Visual reference for "burn-outs"

References to drug consumption in the TFC are maintained in the translated versions even when no visual references are present on screen. A case in point is the dialogue in (8) selected from the movie MG1. In this scene, the speakers are discussing their plan to convince a girl named Gretchen to reveal secrets about the life of a third person named Regina, whom they despise.

(8)	JANIS	*We gotta crack* Gretchen Wieners. *We crack* Gretchen, and then *we crack the lock* on Regina's whole dirty history.	Gretchen Wieners *deve fare crack*. Se Gretchen *fa crack*, allora *fa crack* anche il lucchetto dei segreti di Regina.	Gretchen Wieners *has to crack*. If Gretchen *cracks*, the lock on Regina's secrets also *cracks*.
	DAMIAN	Say *"crack"* again…	Ripeti di nuovo *"crack"*…	*Say "crack" again…*
	JANIS	*Crack.*	*Crack.*	*Crack.*
	DAMIAN	[Nodding]		
	JANIS	All right, let's reconvene tonight.	Va bene, rivediamoci stasera.	All right, I'll see you tonight.

In this instance, the dialogue revolves around the homophones "crack" as a verb and "crack" as a noun, the former figuratively indicating the act of disclosing one's secrets, and the latter indicating a type of drugs. When Damian asks Janis to "say 'crack' again", he implicitly lets the viewers presume that he likes the sound of that word, and thus he probably makes or wants to make use of that drug. In this case, no visual references to drug-related behaviour are provided. Despite this, the Italian translators convey humour based on the same semantic contents as in the original versions.

5.3   Violence

Another linguistic category with socio-cultural relevance in the TFC is made up of references to violent behaviour. Similarly to the other semantic categories mentioned so far, mitigation is not the predominant strategy in the corpus. On several occasions, violent behaviours are translated using explicit solutions. A case in point is Example (9) drawn from the movie TC, where Massie is threatening to kill her friend, Claire, because the latter acted in a way she did not like. Naturally, violence is only mentioned in abstract terms, as no murders are committed in the movie.

(9)   MASSIE   Claire Lyons, *I'm gonna kill you*!   Claire Leoni, *domani ti strangolo*!   Claire Lyons, *tomorrow I'll strangle you!*

In the Italian version, the reference to violence is translated very explicitly by resorting to the action of strangling (*domani ti strangolo* 'tomorrow I'll strangle you').

In the TFC, not only do the translators use explicit solutions, but they also add references to violence when these do not occur in the source text. A case in point is provided in (10) selected from the movie MG1. In this scene, Kevin and his team have just won a maths challenge, and received new jackets as a prize. Proud of their prize, they are now heading to the Spring Fling, the school party.

(10)   KEVIN   [looking to at his jacket]
We're gonna look so kick-ass in these when we roll into Spring Fling.   Stiamo da paura. *Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa.*   We look so cool. *We'll make them all die at the party!*

In this case, an ironical reference to death is used in the translated version, although this is not used in the source text, i.e., *Stiamo da paura. Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa* ('We look so cool. We'll make them all die at the party!'). An even more controversial addition of violent language is provided in (11) selected from the movie TC. The speakers are the most popular girls in school, and they are singing a song in order to criticise a girl they dislike.

(11)   POPULAR GIRLS   [making an "L" with the fingers of one hand]   Loser, loser,   Lutto, lutto,   Sorrow, sorrow,
         POPULAR GIRLS   [making an "L" with the fingers of both hands]   double loser,   doppio lutto,   double sorrow,

POPULAR GIRLS [making a "W" with the fingers of their hands]	whatever,	c'è	there is
POPULAR GIRLS [raising a hand with the palm facing the viewers]	as if,	una foto	a photo
POPULAR GIRLS [making a gesture as if they were framing their faces]	get the picture,	sulla lapide, è la	on the gravestone, it's
POPULAR GIRLS [tossing their hair over the shoulder]	duh!	tua!	yours.

The song contains trendy expressions typically used among young people ("loser", "double loser", "whatever", "as if", "get the picture", "duh"). Each expression is uttered while making a related gesture, as indicated in square brackets (see, for example, Figure 3).

Figure 3. Gesture related to "whatever" in TC

In the Italian version, the song becomes *lutto, lutto, doppio lutto, c'è una foto sulla lapide, è la tua!* ('Sorrow, sorrow, double sorrow. There is a photo on the gravestone. It's yours!'). In order to maintain coherence between verbal and visual items, a radically different content emerges compared to the original version. The words and formulas pertaining to teen speech are substituted with words and expressions related to death and gravestones. *Lutto* ('sorrow') begins with the letter L, which justifies the L-gesture used for "loser". Moreover, the idea of a photo on the gravestone is supposed to justify the speakers' gesture of putting a frame around their faces.

6.   Discussion and conclusion

This study has attempted to shed light on the representation of youth culture in the Italian translation of "teen queen movies", an American teen movie genre centred on the contrasting relationships between different teen cliques, which represent a real social issue in the USA (Driscoll 2011: 57). Within this framework, the focus of the present study was on the translation of potentially disturbing topics (sexual references, drug consumption, violence), which play a central role in constructing the image of youth culture. These topics were examined according to two types of translation strategies: mitigation and retention. References to sensitive subjects are toned down when the mitigation strategy is used and maintained in the case of retention.

The analysis of the TFC revealed a tendency towards the retention rather than the mitigation of sensitive topics, often used in combination with taboo language. As a result, language contributes to creating a particularly licentious and unrestrained representation of young people. This translation trend is diametrically opposed to the one identified by Bianchi (2008) in the TV series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997–2003) and by Zanotti (2012) in the teen movies released in the seventies. In these studies, it was observed that the informal language typically used by teenagers tended to be levelled out, and references to sensitive topics were often omitted or mitigated. It has been suggested that the time slot in which the programmes are aired is one of the primary factors determining the use of mitigation strategies (Chiaro 2007; Bianchi 2008; Bucaria 2009; Ranzato 2009; Zanotti 2012). Prime-time TV programmes such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* are subject to the restrictions imposed by Italian TV regulation, and these are based on the ideological "norms" of the target culture, i.e., ideas and values according to which a certain behaviour should be regarded as more or less desirable (Toury 1995: 51). The results obtained from the TFC seem to suggest that mitigation is no longer the privileged strategy in the translation of prime-time teen movies. In fact, in the movies MG1 and TC, potentially disturbing contents were mostly retained despite the fact that the movies were broadcast in the afternoon or evening on a Mediaset channel.[7]

The seminal studies by Lefevere (1985) have long revealed that translational choices are often the result of the norms imposed by patronage rather than the sensitivity of translators as human beings. Within the context of movies, patronage in the film industry can be identified as consisting of producers and distributors

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7.   For airing times and networks of MG1 and TC, see http://www.donbosco-bo.it/film2. php?fi=1984 and https://www.laguidatv.it/programmazione/the-clique (last visited February 2017).

who act on the basis of marketing strategies. Within this framework, the tendency towards the retention of sensitive topics and taboo language in the TFC can be interpreted as a sign of changing cultural values in the target culture.

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General index

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Despite a long tradition of scholarship and the vast amount of dubbed audiovisual products available on the global market, dubbing is still relatively underrepresented in audiovisual research. The aim of this volume is to give dubbing research its due by showing that, far from being a doomed or somewhat declining form of AVT, it is being exploited globally in the most diverse and fruitful ways. The contributions to this collection take up the diverse strands that make up the field, to offer a multi-faceted assessment of dubbing on the move, embracing its important historical past as well as present and future developments, thus proving that dubbing has really come a long way and has not been less ready than other AVT modes to respond to the mood of the times. The volume will be of interest for scholars and students of translation studies, audiovisual translation, linguistics, film, television and game studies.

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