

# **Towards an empirical approach to the study of dubbing-induced language change in Italian**

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## **ABSTRACT**

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This study develops an innovative method to researching translation interference and language change through dubbing and it takes the Italian language as a case study. By employing an empirical methodology, this research overcomes some of the limitations of previous approaches to the subject and identifies the object of study with much more clarity. The analysis also makes a valid contribution to cognitive research on media-induced language change, indicating that repetition over time, rather than, or as well as, media engagement, is a decisive factor in assimilating and subsequently diffusing innovative linguistic features into the language.

First, I carefully explore current practices and identify a number of limitations in the relevant fields of study. Second, I develop a methodology which encompasses the need for a more precise methodology and empirically substantiates the argument of dubbing-induced language change proposed before. Finally, I apply such a method to 73 present-day Italian linguistic expressions thus demonstrating the method's effectiveness and applicability.

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# **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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<b>AV</b>	Audiovisual
<b>AVT</b>	Audiovisual Translation
<b>CAT</b>	Communication Accommodation Theory
<b>C-ORAL-ROM</b>	Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages
<b>CLIPS</b>	Corpora e Lessici di Italiano Parlato e Scritto
<b>COLLINS-ZANICHELLI</b>	Il Ragazzini Dictionary
<b>CORIS</b>	Corpus di italiano scritto
<b>CRUSCA 1729-1738</b>	Vocabolario Degli Accademici Della Crusca. Quarta edizione
<b>CRUSCA 1863-1923</b>	Vocabolario Degli Accademici Della Crusca. Quinta edizione
<b>DELI</b>	Il nuovo etimologico
<b>DEVOTO-OLI 2009</b>	Il Devoto-Oli. Vocabolario della lingua italiana 2009
<b>DEVOTO-OLI 2014</b>	Il Devoto-Oli. Vocabolario della lingua italiana 2014
<b>DI</b>	Dubbing Interference
<b>DiaCORIS</b>	Corpus diacronico di italiano scritto
<b>DISC 2008</b>	Il Sabatini Coletti. Dizionario della Lingua Italiana
<b>DM 2000</b>	Dizionario della Lingua Italiana De Mauro
<b>FEs</b>	Fixed Expressions
<b>FL</b>	Formulaic Language
<b>GARZANTI 1965</b>	Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana

<b>GDI 2013</b>	Grande dizionario di Italiano. Garzanti
<b>GDLI</b>	Grande dizionario della lingua italiana Battaglia
<b>HOEPLI 2011</b>	Grande Dizionario Italiano - Speciale 150 anni
<b>LIP</b>	Lessico di Frequenza dell'Italiano Parlato
<b>MIGLIORINI 1950</b>	Appendice al Dizionario Moderno
<b>NOCENTINI 2010</b>	L'Etimologico
<b>OED</b>	Oxford English Dictionary
<b>PANZINI 1905-1935</b>	Dizionario Moderno
<b>PMs</b>	Pragmatic Markers
<b>TB 1861-1879</b>	Tommaseo-Bellini. Dizionario della lingua italiana con oltre centomila giunte a precedenti dizionari
<b>TN 1858</b>	Novo Dizionario dei Sinonimi della Lingua Italiana
<b>TRECCANI</b>	Vocabolario Treccani
<b>ZING. 1993</b>	Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana di Nicola Zingarelli 1994
<b>ZING. 2008</b>	Lo Zingarelli 2008

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*Italian is a language spoken by dubbers*<sup>1</sup>

Ennio Flaiano (1976)

## 1.1 Purposes of the thesis

This thesis seeks to overcome some of the limitations of current studies which have investigated the impact of Italian dubbing on the end user's language. More specifically, the study is set out to develop a new empirical methodology for research on translation interference<sup>2</sup> and language change through dubbing. The new method is then applied to the Italian language by analysing a set of linguistic expressions which have been identified in the relevant literature as examples of dubbing-induced interference and language change in Italian.

The project confronts two important challenges. To critically develop a new research method, an innovative account which attempts to fill in the gaps in current literature first needs to explore the domain and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each available approach. Thus, I initially explore the contributions and limitations of present approaches which have investigated the impact of Italian dubbing on the end user's language. I then use the obtained information to develop the new research procedure which, in this way, constitutes the second type of challenge of this thesis. Finally, I apply the method to the Italian language.

The Italian language has been chosen as a case study, as Italy imports more than 90% of all the audiovisual (AV) products, especially for television broadcasting (Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 2005). About 80% of these products are imported from English-speaking countries, predominantly from the USA, and 20% from other European and Latin American countries (Antonini, 2008: 135). Although a small

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<sup>1</sup> L'italiano è una lingua parlata dai doppiatori (in this thesis, unless otherwise specified, all the translations are mine).

<sup>2</sup> Discussions on the notion and definition of translation interference are provided in § 1.4 and § 2.7.

minority of AV products make use of subtitling or voice-over<sup>3</sup> as the preferred audiovisual translation<sup>4</sup> (AVT) technique, the emerging linguistic picture still remains that of a monolingual screen reality as the almost totality of AV products has always been dubbed since 1932, when this practice was first introduced.

These considerations have led previous researchers investigating dubbed Italian (i.e., Alfieri *et al* 2003; Pavesi 2005; Alfieri & Bonomi 2008) to indicate dubbing as one of the major linguistic influences that Italians have been subject to. As argued by Paolinelli & Di Fortunato (2005), dubbing is perhaps even the most powerful and influential process through which interference phenomena between the Italian and the English language and culture have been brought into the Italian language. These authors have claimed that the Italian language is being fed with linguistic expressions that originate from (American) English and that enter the language via translation interference through dubbing. They also affirm that these assumed interference phenomena have affected the end users' language and that these expressions have now become entrenched in spoken Italian. However, such claims are not supported by any validated empirical data and the alleged influence of dubbed Italian on spoken Italian relies on personal opinions and anecdotal evidence.

As it will be shown here, judgements based on the introspective knowledge of the language - such as those ones made in these studies - cannot be considered as valid and reliable sources of evidence (McEnery & Wilson 1996/2001). The studies I review have been carefully explored so as to analyse some of the limitations of their approaches and develop a method for research on translation interference and language change induced by dubbing. During such a review process, I have also gathered a total of 73 present-day Italian expressions - which were claimed in these works to be inherited through interference - and used them as case studies for testing the new analytical methodology.

In this chapter, I first provide a background of the unresolved issues in the field of both media-induced language change and dubbing-induced language change in Italian (§ 1.2). I then use considerations on previous works to formulate a new approach to the study of dubbing-induced language change which is discussed in §

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<sup>3</sup> Voice-over is a production technique in which a voice is read from a script and may be spoken by someone who appears elsewhere in the production or by a specialist voice talent. It is usually pre-recorded and placed over the top of a film or video and commonly used in documentaries or news reports to explain information.

<sup>4</sup> Dubbing represents the most widely used translation technique for audiovisual products in Italy and all discussions explored in this study refer exclusively to dubbing-induced language change in Italian. Therefore, unless otherwise specified, from now on in this thesis, the terms audiovisual translation (AVT) and dubbing are to be considered interchangeable.



1.3. In § 1.4, I present the theoretical framework upon which the method is based and I introduce the notion of dubbing interference (DI), which is instrumental to the analysis. While § 1.5 acknowledges the significance of the study, an overview of the structure of the thesis is finally given in § 1.6.

## 1.2 Background

This section is a brief summary of the major findings from studies in the field of media-induced language change and the impact of dubbing on spoken Italian. I here attempt to clarify achievements and limitations of current research in both fields which I will then use as the foundations for elaborating the new approach to study language change through dubbing.

While there is relevant evidence that television and cinema have an effect on people's knowledge base and language (e.g., Atkin 1982; Calvert & Huston 1987; Rice & Woodsmall 1988; Charkova 2007), it is not entirely clear how exposure to AV media language relates to the core mechanisms underpinning language variation and change. For example, on the one hand, sociolinguistic studies have shown that vocabulary and phrases are easily transmitted by media influence (e.g., Trudgill 1986); significant correlations have also been found between syntactic variation and exposure to specific AV products (Naro 1981). Recently, Stuart-Smith *et al* (2013) have advanced the hypothesis that TV can play a role also in phonetic change and provided some evidence of that. On the other hand, what emerges from these studies is that, with diffusion being the primary locus for language variation and change (Trudgill 1986; Milroy 1992, 2002; Labov 1994, 2001, 2010; Eckert 2000, 2008), television may boost speakers' awareness of innovations, but for any change to occur, a conscious motivation (or imitation) by speakers is required.

This concept is related to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles 1984; Giles *et al* 1991) which claims that people adapt their speech in a number of ways to accommodate to the varieties spoken by their interlocutors. This essentially means that, in order for any language change to occur, live social interaction is required. Thus, since a crucial role in the language change process is played by diffusion, and diffusion is assumed to take place through linguistic accommodation, i.e., face-to-face interaction, television and cinema may not be considered as directly involved in this process because of the lack of such an interaction.

However, in 1998, Auer provided a new perspective to all the possible processes through which accommodation can take place. He developed the ‘identity projection model’, according to which, the adoption or suppression of certain language features reflects the speaker’s wish to identify (or not) with conversational partners who are not physically present in the immediate context but who, in fact, exist in the mind of the speaker. Although it is still not entirely evident how speakers process speech and language from AV media, it appears to be clear that humans can accommodate their language to fictional interlocutors (Reeves & Nass 1996; Staum *et al* 2010). Research also suggests that the way viewers approach AV content is paramount for its assimilation, but the existing literature has not provided conclusive evidence of that.

There are relatively few studies (i.e., Salomon 1981) that have addressed this question yet. Existing research has, for example, tried to understand the impact of people’s viewing strategies (active versus passive) on their learning outcomes (i.e., Salomon 1983a, 1983b), but generally speaking, we still know very little about how viewers process linguistic content from AV media when intentional learning is not involved. It is not clear, for instance, whether viewers need to implicitly connect with media representations of interaction in order to replicate linguistic features from AV media, or whether other processes (i.e., repetition) are the decisive factor in assimilating and subsequently diffusing innovative linguistic features.

Literature on Italian dubbing and, specifically, on the impact of dubbing on spoken Italian, is particularly abundant (i.e., Patuelli 1936; Rando 1973a, 1973b; Maraschio 1982; Dardano 1986; Pavesi 1994, 2005, 2008, 2009; Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 1996, 2005; Galassi 2000; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Alfieri *et al* 2003; 2008; Ferro & Sardo 2008; Rossi 2010). Regardless of the specific objective of each study, they all indicate several linguistic expressions as being the result of translation interference originated during the AVT process. In this, they all share a fundamental limitation: none of the claims concerning the alleged interference phenomena in Italian dubbing is based on empirical investigations. In other words, the identification of the interference instances is determined by the scholar’s personal opinion, introspective knowledge of Italian, and perception of the language. The “method” used to identify the AVT interference instances relied on the scholar’s sensitiveness of what was perceived as ‘non Italian’, or ‘not traditional’. Then, once some sort of similarity with an English expression was detected, the Italian phrase (or word) was described as being the result of the interference due to the AVT process. Similarly,

the claims that these linguistic expressions have entered spoken Italian revolve around anecdotal observations.

Another feature shared by existing research on the impact of Italian dubbing on spoken Italian is the lack of a comprehensive framework, clear definitions of terms, and a classification of the phenomena under investigation. The review analysis has revealed that the linguistic expressions considered as instances of interference have been named in multiple ways; for example, depending on the study, the phenomena are referred to as “stock translations” (Maraschio 1982), “translational routines” (Pavesi 1994, 2005), “phraseological calques/units” (Alfieri *et al* 2003; Alfieri & Bonomi 2008), or simply “dubbese” (Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 1996, 2005). This has naturally led to the listing of a wide variety of linguistic items such as particles, adverbs, connectives, and interjections, the properties of which are not well-outlined and which have all been collected under the loose category of ‘interference phenomena’.

On the basis of the considerations outlined above, I shall present the analytical method that I have developed to investigate more rigorously dubbing-induced language change and which may also be used in future works to study the extent to which dubbing may have affected language use through translation interference.

### **1.3 Towards an empirical approach: a new method for the study of dubbing-induced language change**

Arising from the review of the most current literature, a number of gaps in the scholarship have been found. As it has already been argued (§1.2), existing research on the impact of Italian dubbing on spoken Italian lacks a comprehensive framework, clear definitions of terms, and a classification of the phenomena claimed to be the result of AVT interference. A notion which would define more rigorously the vague concept of ‘non Italian’ previously used by other authors was needed. To address this point, I will introduce the term *dubbing interference* (DI) (see §1.4) which, by specifying more formally the criteria employed for the identification of the linguistic expressions affected by interference, enables the researcher to undertake a more targeted and consistent analysis.

Similarly, to identify more accurately the range and type of the items to be researched in research on translation interference and language change, I propose to undertake a detailed categorisation. The categorisation offers the significant advantage of disambiguating potential overlapping of functions fulfilled by the

expressions and, simultaneously, it provides a clear, rich and detailed picture of the data. As Schmied (1993) and McEnery & Wilson (1996) have observed, before linguistic phenomena are classified and their frequency is measured, the categories for classification must first be identified and defined. Finally, the categorisation allows the linguist to assess whether DI affects some types of categories/expressions of the language more than others.

Translation interference in dubbing is predicted to especially affect features of face-to-face interaction and oral talk such as pragmatic markers, formulaic language, and fixed expressions<sup>5</sup>. The reason lies in the fact that, to help the viewer identify with the fictional world shown on the screen, films and TV series simulate spontaneous dialogues (i.e., Delabastita 1989; Heiss & Leporati 2000; Chaume 2001; Pavesi 2008) and linguistic tools typical of spoken language have been reported to be even overused compared to spontaneous spoken language (i.e., Pavesi 2009). Drawing from these considerations, characteristic features of orality are arguably the most likely to be affected by translation interference. The qualitative analysis and the search for features shared by spontaneous spoken language and dubbed language carried out in chapter 4 will confirm that the three main categories of interference are pragmatic markers, formulaic language, and fixed expressions. By analysing the instances of interference in their context of use, that is by adopting a pragmatic perspective throughout, the qualitative analysis will offer a fine-grained description of the available data, thus revealing which aspects of the language under study are effectively the most subject to interference.

As it has also emerged from the literature review of the field, one of the major limitations of previous studies on Italian dubbing is the lack of any investigation showing to what extent the isolated expressions could effectively be considered as originating from and/or used specifically in dubbing or, in any case, as the result of the interference from the translation process. The “method” used to identify the alleged DI instances has so far relied on the scholar’s sensitiveness of what was perceived as ‘non Italian’, or ‘not traditional’. Similarly, the claims that these linguistic expressions have entered spoken Italian are based on personal accounts and rely on the assumption that their repeated use in AVT products may account for their diffusion in spoken Italian over time; however, no formal investigation has been carried out.

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<sup>5</sup> The detailed account of how such categories have been derived is discussed in § 4.3.

In order to make valid claims on the impact of DI on the language and to exclude the influence of other factors (or at least to reduce it significantly), any discussion concerning the influence of dubbing on the end user's language should start by establishing, beforehand, whether the linguistic expressions can in fact be considered as DI phenomena. Language competence and intuition may be utilised as one of the processes through which the preliminary stage of investigation is developed (for example, when searching for instances of interference). However, once a linguistic item is isolated as being intuitively the result of translation interference, then the initial intuition has to be confirmed by in-depth investigations which can support the linguist's perception. The approach taken in this study innovatively tries to integrate previous positions with the application of a more objective verification.

For this purpose, I propose to conduct etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative analyses within one grammar, historical dictionaries and (diachronic) written and spoken corpora of authentic Italian to explore the use of the selected expressions before and after dubbing was introduced. In this way, the origin of the linguistic expressions can be traced and compared with objective data, so as to assess whether they may be the result of DI. After filtering out more clear-cut cases of DI, the selected items should then be searched for within corpora of AVT products<sup>6</sup>. Through this, valuable information (i.e., their frequency of use, records of their oldest appearance, and so on) can be further compared with the findings acquired in the previous stage of analysis. This comparison may further reduce the number of instances of interference which can be confidently considered as the result of dubbing. For example, their frequency count in AVT products might show an insignificant occurrence rate, thus reducing the possibility that their potential use in the spoken language may be due to the repeated exposure of the viewer to AVT products.

Finally, to investigate the actual use of the selected items at the oral level and to objectively verify the hypothesis of an impact of dubbing on the end user's spoken language, I will use spoken corpora. On the subject of using corpora as more valid tools than the introspective knowledge of the language, McEnery & Wilson (1996/2001: 15) state:

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<sup>6</sup> As the case studies presented here are gathered from previous studies, in this thesis this particular stage precedes the etymological and lexicographic analyses.

Human beings have only the vaguest notion of the frequency of a construct or word. Natural observation of data seems the only reliable source of evidence for such features as frequency. Corpora are sources of quantitative information beyond compare. Not only does it seem that the corpus appears a rather more reliable source of frequency based data, it is also the case that it provides the basis of a much more systematic approach to the analysis of language.

Thanks to the combined use of corpora and dictionaries, the conclusions drawn in this study will be supported by verifiable data and, therefore, based on more rigorous evidence of language use rather than on mere subjective impressions.

In the next section, I will introduce the notion of DI - which is central to the analysis - and explain the reasons why typical features of spoken discourse are considered the focus of this investigation.

#### **1.4 Theoretical framework and DI**

In literature, the research hypothesis of the influence of dubbing on (Italian) language in use is based on the assumption that the AVT process generates interference in the dubbed text. The instances of interference so generated and repeatedly used over the years would then be expected to have crystallised in features which are typical of dubbing (possible reasons for the establishment of such features are advanced in § 2.2). As viewers have been regularly exposed to these features, it is thought that their language may have been affected by such exposure and that these interference phenomena have now become entrenched in spoken Italian.

However, a notion was needed to define more rigorously the vague concept of 'non Italian' previously used by other authors to detect instances of translation interference. Such a notion is derived from Weinreich's (1953: 1) classic definition of linguistic interference, described as "those instances of deviation from the norm of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact". In Translation Studies, translation interference has also been discussed from different perspectives and within the framework of various translation theories. Generally speaking, the debate has concerned, on one side, those scholars who favour interference as a strategy that enhances 'otherness' (e.g., Benjamin 1923/2000; Berman 1984; Gutt 1991; Venuti 1998) and on the other side, authors who denounce

interference as an obstacle to the inherent purpose of translation itself, which is seen as a communicative act (e.g., Delisle 1988; Newmark 1991; Gottlieb 2001; Munday 2005). The definition of interference itself also appears to be quite problematic and somewhat vague. Interference would be concerned with instances of deviation from the target language norm towards the source language norm (Toury 1995). This would however not necessarily mean that the instances of interference are such because they break obvious rules in the target language. Rather, they are understood as instances which are simply not found in original texts of the target language (Mauranen 2000).

Whatever the perspective, interference is seen as “an intrinsic factor in any translation” (Newmark, 1991: 78) and as such, AVT has been told to be even more vulnerable to interferences from the source text than other forms (among others, Toury 1995; Gottlieb 2001; Zaro 2001). According to Toury’s *law of interference*<sup>7</sup> (1995: 275), this is due to the necessity of ‘mirroring’ the AV source text. In addition, I maintain that, although interference can potentially involve any aspect of a language, dubbing interference seems to especially affect the most conventionalised linguistic features of spontaneous spoken conversation, such as discourse markers, formulaic language, conversational routines. This is due to the fact that, to help the viewer identify with the fictional world shown on the screen, films and TV series simulate spontaneous dialogues (i.e., Delabastita 1989; Heiss & Leporati 2000; Chaume 2001; Pavesi 2008). It has been observed (e.g., Pavesi 2008) that in film translations, typical features of spontaneous spoken language, such as discourse markers, repetitions, interjections, but also freer word order and a more frequent use of deixis, are so intensified that they have become a peculiarity of dubbing, regardless of the language.

In addressing language interference issues, particularly during face-to-face interaction and oral talk, several terms, definitions and concepts have been proposed. Suggested terms include *pragmatic interference* (Thomas, 1983: 101), *pragmatic transfer* (i.e., Odlin 1989; Ellis 1994), *influence* (e.g., Sharwood-Smith & Kellerman 1986), and *transferability* (e.g., Kasper 1992; Takahashi 1996). As these terms have been proposed within the frameworks of Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies, such definitions do not fully fit with the scope of this study, and for this reason, they will not be adopted.

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<sup>7</sup> “In translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text”.

In Translation Studies, on the contrary, *interference* is the term typically utilised, and it will be also preferred here, though in a sense detached from all ideological or theoretical accounts (i.e., language competence), and therefore not linked to any concept of either a positive or a negative process. Moreover, to distinguish it from other conceptual definitions which have been proposed within fields of study other than Translation Studies, and to better specify the context of AVT practice, I propose to adopt the term *dubbing interference* (DI) – briefly defined below – which I will develop further in chapter 2.

The transference, intentional or not, into the target AV text of features which are unusual or non-documented in the target language, at least as original instances of communication in that specific context. It especially affects items typical of oral talk and spontaneous conversation which fulfil interactive functions and the linguistic realization of which may be performed by lexical, syntactic, cultural or phraseological items.

In other words, DI predominantly concerns the transfer from one language into another of conventionalised linguistic features of spontaneous spoken conversation such as discourse markers, formulaic language, and fixed expressions.

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

This thesis advocates an important shift of perspective from traditional studies on the influence of dubbing on the Italian language - where claims were based on the scholar's personal perception of the language - to a more rigorous approach which uses objective data rather than mere subjective impressions. The new method elaborated in this study is based on the belief that any discussion concerning the influence of dubbing on the end user's language should start from establishing beforehand whether the linguistic expressions believed to be the result of such influence can, in fact, be considered as interference phenomena. In this way, the method meets the need in the existing literature for a more objective approach which would substantiate claims on the influence of dubbing on spoken Italian advanced before.

The new methodology also fulfils the demand for evidence arising from traditional studies on media-induced language change. Once the linguistic



expressions are proven to be plausible instances of translation interference, and their recurrent presence is found in dubbed products as well as in corpora of spoken Italian, dubbing can be envisaged as playing a decisive role in language change. However, although the results obtained in this research could influence the debate in media-induced language change studies, the main aim of this research is not to explore or clarify the cognitive mechanisms underpinning language change through media exposure, but to develop an objective method for investigating translation interference and language change through dubbing. By introducing and testing a new methodology, this study will contribute to the debate and future research practice in these areas of study.

The study is not in contrast with Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles 1984; Giles et al 1991); live social interaction remains the primary locus for any language change to occur. Instead, in accordance with the 'identity projection model' (Auer 1998, *cf.* § 1.2) the research hypothesis aims to show that humans can also accommodate their language to fictional interlocutors.

This thesis also significantly contributes to the field of Translation Studies by providing a definition of dubbing interference (DI). Although interference in translation is ascertained as unavoidable, in literature, the definition of interference itself has turned out to be problematic and somewhat vague. According to Toury (1995), interference would be concerned with instances of deviation from the target language norm towards the source language norm. However, the way such a deviation is detected has so far relied on the scholar's sensitiveness of what is perceived as 'not traditional', that is on mere intuition, and no further action is ever taken or a procedure is suggested to establish whether the deviation in question has indeed taken place. In other words, Translation Studies is missing an approach which would not be exclusively descriptive. The innovative methodology proposed in this thesis is on the contrary based upon a solid analysis of the instances of interference themselves, which paves the way for an objective and verifiable definition of dubbing interference.

Although interference can potentially involve any aspect of a language, in § 1.4, I maintained that dubbing interference can be predicted to especially affect features of face-to-face interaction and oral talk such as discourse markers, formulaic language, and conversational routines. The qualitative analysis is a valid methodological tool to initially confirm such a prediction which can be conclusively established by the following investigations. Furthermore, the categorisation may

contribute to related linguistics fields such as cross-cultural pragmatics and contact-induced language change in that it provides a qualitative classification of the features that are likely to be transferred during spoken interaction between speakers of different languages.

## **1.6 Outline of the thesis**

The thesis consists of seven chapters which present the formulation of the new analytical method and its application to 73 present-day Italian expressions which are claimed in the literature to have been generated by translation interference. After providing an overview of some sociolinguistic considerations concerning the practice of dubbing in Italy and a brief explanation of the dubbing process itself, chapter 2 explores the main arguments, achievements and weaknesses of previous approaches in two fields of study: dubbing-induced language change in Italian and media-induced language change. I here attempt to clarify findings and limitations of current research in both fields, and to use these as the foundations for formulating the new approach. I also argue that in both areas of investigation, there is a pressing need for a conceptual and objective practice-based approach to validate the influence of dubbing in spoken Italian and to provide evidence of the effective role played by media in language change. I here explain how, in light of the limitations identified in the existing literature, the new method is developed as the basis for an objective approach to the subject.

The new method overcomes some of the weaknesses in previous research and contributes new insights to the field. I reason that, only by determining that linguistic expressions are instances of translation interference and by validating their presence in spoken language, can a link between dubbing and their use in spoken Italian be established and claimed. Starting from these considerations, the new method is presented. Finally, I discuss the need for a more coherent and comprehensive definition to be attributed to the linguistic expressions resulting from translation interference, instead of the vague and personal notion of ‘non Italian’ employed so far. To this purpose, I introduce the definition of *dubbing interference* (DI).

While chapter 3 provides a detailed description of all the resources used during the analysis, chapters 4, 5 and 6 show how the method is applied to the 73 linguistic expressions that, in previous studies, were claimed to have been due to translation interference through dubbing. Chapter 4, in particular, shows the qualitative analysis,

the proposed categorisation of the 73 expressions, and the process through which the categories for the analysis are derived. In this chapter, each expression is categorised according to its specific function, i.e., to its use in context, so as to avoid ambiguity and functional overlapping, and to identify and describe aspects of usage of these items.

Chapter 5 illustrates the etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative analyses of the expressions in one grammar, two etymological dictionaries, six historical dictionaries, ten contemporary dictionaries, and two corpora of written Italian. These resources are employed to analyse the actual use of the selected items in Italian, if at all, throughout the years and to establish if any change occurred before the coming of dubbing and, eventually, afterwards. In other words, the origin of these items in Italian and their use in context are investigated together with their frequency and evolution over time (in terms of lexical innovation and/or replacement of older terms, for example). This preparatory stage allows the researcher to select the expressions more likely to have been affected by DI, which are then considered for the following stage of the analysis shown in chapter 6 (quantitative analysis within spoken Italian corpora).

In chapter 6, these expressions are further investigated within corpora of spoken Italian. This stage is crucial to the study: thanks to the use of the corpora, it is possible to verify whether the instances of interference have entered the spoken level of the language. All the relevant linguistic phenomena are investigated from a diachronic perspective. The corpora were built in different periods so that conclusions can be drawn not only on the use of the relevant expressions over time, but, more importantly, on the link between the degree of interference and the role played by the repetition of the expressions in dubbed products over time.

Finally, chapter 7 draws together the considerations afforded by the application of the method and summarises the findings of the preceding chapters. In addition, I discuss the implications of the findings and of adopting this more objective research approach. I also argue that, by establishing a link between the repetition of the instances of interference over time and their use in spoken Italian, a new perspective is given. This perspective could influence the debate in the field of media-induced language change and affect future research practices in this area of study. I use such considerations to conclude the thesis, to acknowledge the limitations of the study and to advocate prospective research in the fields of dubbing-induced and media-induced language change.

# TOWARDS AN EMPIRICAL METHOD 2

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## 2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this thesis is to develop an empirical method for research on translation interference and dubbing-induced language change in Italian. The research hypothesis is that the repeated occurrence of instances of DI in dubbed products over time accounts for their diffusion in spoken Italian. The Italian language is, arguably, particularly subject to this type of interference as in Italy, over 90% of all the AV products are imported, and therefore dubbed (Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 2005); moreover, dubbing has been steadily in use since 1932. Perhaps for these reasons, claims on the impact of dubbing on the Italian language have been made by numerous authors (Patuelli 1936; Rando 1973a, 1973b; Maraschio 1982; Dardano 1986; Pavesi 1994, 2005, 2008, 2009; Alfieri *et al* 2003; 2008; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 1996, 2005; Galassi 2000; Ferro & Sardo 2008; Rossi 2010). While some of these works (i.e., Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Pavesi 2005; Rossi 2010) aimed to describe the characteristics of dubbed Italian or features of AVT in general, some others (i.e., Alfieri *et al* 2003) were specifically meant to investigate the extent of translation interference in Italian dubbing.

In this chapter, I review these works and identify three main existing approaches to the study of dubbing-induced language change in Italian. This provides the background for the new methodology developed in my study. The first consideration to be made is that, regardless of the specific objective, these works share a fundamental limitation: they all claim that numerous present-day Italian expressions are the result of translation interference that originated during the AVT process, but none of these claims has been based on objective investigations. The instances of translation interference are identified according to the scholar's sensitiveness and personal intuition of what was perceived as 'non Italian', or 'not traditional' at the time the study was carried out. Secondly, the claims that these linguistic expressions have entered spoken Italian rely on the assumption that the high occurrence and repetition of these expressions in AVT products may be accountable for their unverified diffusion in spoken Italian over time. Alfieri *et al* (2003: 145), for example, claim: "[from the analysis of AVT products], it seems obvious that there are numerous phraseological units resulting from the interference

of English translations which have presumably entered the speakers' language, at least at a less controlled and informal level<sup>8</sup>." Analogously, Pavesi (2005: 51) claims: "The spreading of translational routines<sup>9</sup> can go beyond dubbed Italian to pass into [...] Italians' Italian<sup>10</sup>".

After describing the sociolinguistic context in which Italian dubbing developed (§ 2.2), a brief explanation of the dubbing process itself is given in § 2.3. I then identify three main approaches in current research on dubbing-induced language change in Italian (from § 2.4 to § 2.4.3). Present research on media-induced language change is also reviewed in this chapter; specifically, achievements and limitations of studies on the impact of television on the viewer are explored. The conclusions drawn from this review also set the scene for the formulation of the innovative method. Findings and gaps in the existing literature of media-induced language change and of the impact of television on the viewer are profiled in § 2.5, while § 2.6 outlines the strategy that will be pursued for the development of the new, more rigorous methodology. In § 2.7, I introduce the definition of *dubbing interference* (DI), which specifies a definite type of translation interference and answers the need in the field for a more accurate and precise explanatory framework. Finally, § 2.8 summarises the main arguments put forward in this chapter and introduces chapter 3.

## 2.2 The sociolinguistic context of Italian dubbing

In Italy, sound cinema in the 30s came at a time when Fascism was exerting a strong pressure towards the process of Italianization, a 'purist' cultural and linguistic regulation<sup>11</sup>. The task of operating a strict surveillance of foreign content in imported films became, therefore, particularly hard for the Italian censorship committee. For this reason, on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1930, the Government issued a formal notice according to which any foreign films and, in general, any films containing dialogues not spoken in Italian, must not be authorised.

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<sup>8</sup> Sembra emergere con grande evidenza come ormai siano numerose le unità fraseologiche risultanti da interferenze con l'inglese presumibilmente entrate nella produzione comunicativa dei parlanti, almeno in quella meno sorvegliata o tipica di un contesto informale.

<sup>9</sup> These are understood as "Translations shaped after the source language which are repeated in several films" (Pavesi, 2005: 48) (Soluzioni traduttive modellate sulla lingua di partenza che si ripetono in più film.).

<sup>10</sup> Il diffondersi delle routines traduttive può oltrepassare l'italiano del doppiaggio per entrare nell'italiano [...] degli italiani.

<sup>11</sup> For a full account of the relationship between Italian cinema and Fascism, please refer to Steven Ricci's "Cinema and Fascism: Italian Film and Society, 1922–1943" (2008).

To access the Italian market, at first North American motion pictures attempted to produce several versions of the same film in different languages; the initiative, however, turned out to be a fiasco as the actors were not Italian mother tongue speakers and often there were mispronunciations. In 1932, the multiple versions technique was put to an end by the introduction of dubbing which, shortly afterwards, was declared mandatory by the Fascist law of 5<sup>th</sup> October 1933. This decision was taken for two reasons; first of all, in this way the need for safeguarding the “purity” of the Italian language could be assured by professional Italian mother tongue dubbers. Secondly, dubbing gave the censorship committee the considerable advantage of accessing the original versions so as to easily manipulate the scripts during dubbing.

Being the preservation of language ‘purity’ one of the priorities of Fascism, dubbed Italian was based on the literary variety of standard Italian, it employed a formal lexicon and, on the whole, a high register (Raffaelli, 1996: 27). Foreign words were systematically banned. This levelled, hyper-correct and rigorous Italian became the established language variety spoken in dubbed products, normally referred to as *dubbese* (“doppiaggese” in Italian) (D’Aversa 1996). Even after Italy had become a Democratic Republic (1946) and fascist laws were no longer in force, all imported movies continued to be dubbed. Moreover, dubbing language had remained essentially unvaried; according to Raffaelli (1996: 27), the main reason is to be found in the fact that the dubbers trained during the Fascist period seemed to have retained the pedantry and rigor typical of the regime.

As time passed, dubbed Italian gradually became closer to everyday Italian and its strict formalism gave way to a more familiar language. Scholars nowadays agree that current dubbed Italian is much closer to oral Italian than it was in the past; on the whole, however, it still does not entirely replicate real use (Pavesi 2005, 2009). Antonini (2008: 136), for instance, claims that Italian dubbese is “*the language variety* [emphasis mine] that most Italian screen translators resort to when they translate and adapt a film or any other fictional and non-fictional programme”. In other words, it tries to emulate real language, but it still has features of its own which clearly distinguish it from real use Italian.

One of the peculiarities of dubbed language, as obvious from the analysis of corpora of dubbed films, is the constant presence of the same translational choices, a repeated use of identical solutions to translation problems which have been so frequently employed over time that they have led to the establishment of a norm (Toury 1995). These automatisms are known as stock translations (Maraschio 1982)

or translational routines (Pavesi 1994, 2005). According to Pavesi & Perego (2006: 101-103), the process of establishing and/or reinforcing such translational norms has been intensified by the scant number of operators<sup>12</sup> in charge of dubbing in Italy. They state:

A very limited number of adapters out of an overall number of 83 is [...] responsible for the majority of films being translated [...]. In other words, film translations are concentrated in the hands of a few people who have been responsible for a great amount of dubbed language to which Italian audiences have been exposed to daily. [...] Overall, no more than 27 people out of the 83 listed have translated more than 30 films each, whereas the remaining 56 adapters have translated fewer than 30 films, with 43 having translated fewer than 10. (Pavesi & Perego, 2006: 101-103)

These scholars point out that uniformity was further intensified by the similarities in the operators' background and practice: their training (or lack of) and language proficiency, the recruitment policy in the dubbing milieu, and finally their working trends. It was found that dubbers in Italy are not required to undergo any specific training, that family or acquaintance relations are crucial to gaining access to this environment, and that an actual quality control of Italian adaptations does not exist (ibid.: 103-105). Finally, the working pace seems to be particularly relevant to the process of establishing automatisms. As reported by Paolinelli & Di Fortunato (2005: 22), the dubbing industry imposes very strict times on adapters who, in order to meet their deadlines, often choose the most overused solutions. TV cartoons seem to be particularly affected by this process, perhaps because they belong to the lowest category of the dubbing employment contract (ibid.: 22). For example, it has been calculated (D'Amato, 1996: 59) that translated TV cartoons dialogues all contain the same 250 words in total. Furthermore, according to the 11<sup>th</sup> survey on TV consumption carried out by Eurodata TV Worldwide and Auditel (2014: 1), Italian children are among the biggest consumers of small screen content in Europe, with a daily viewing time of 2 hours 51 minutes, 7 minutes longer than in 2013. It should be noted that the TV consumption on other screens is not included in this calculation and that children and adolescents do not exclusively watch cartoons and youth series but they also appreciate family films and series, thus increasing their viewing time.

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<sup>12</sup> These are also referred to as *adapters*, please see § 2.3

Such considerations have important sociolinguistic repercussions in terms of the relationship between the viewer's exposure to such automatisms and their assimilation and subsequent entrenchment in language in use. In the past, interference phenomena were thought to be brought about mainly by translated books, albeit to a fairly limited extent, as these books were accessible to a minority of highly educated people and any potential impact on the language was certainly restricted by their limited readership. Even as recently as after the Second World War, the number of illiterates in Italy was still 14% and among those who were not illiterate, only 18% had a post-elementary education (De Mauro, 2005: 431-432). On the contrary, unlike books and printed media, cinema spread evenly across the country; in 1958, for example, 64.9% of Italians went to the cinema on a regular basis (ISTAT 2012). At the same time, TV became easily accessible to everyone and quickly entered the living rooms of all social classes, regardless of literacy levels. As both TV and cinema have become predominant in people's everyday life, and the amount of broadcast dubbed products has increased exponentially, Italian viewers have been constantly exposed to dubbed Italian for about seven decades now and, in the case of TV, also for many hours a day.

Today, it appears that the main linguistic unifying medium is still the audiovisual product as, according to the Associazione Italiana Editori – AIE (Association of Italian Publishers), 54.7% of the Italians read less than one book per year, 45.6% are occasional readers (from one to three books per year), and only 13.8% of the population read more than 12 books per year (AIE, 2013: 1). Moreover, Italy is a leading country regarding the overall import of AV products, especially for television broadcasting; RAI (the Italian national television broadcast corporation) imports about 88% of films and series; products imported by Mediaset (one of most popular private television corporations in Italy) comprise up to 97% of all broadcasts (Paolinelli & Di Fortunato 2005). About 80% of these products are imported from English-speaking countries, predominantly from the USA, and 20% from other European and Latin American countries (Antonini, 2008: 135). Finally, all films, both for cinema and TV, are dubbed.

These general sociolinguistic considerations have given rise to the fundamental hypothesis expressed by researchers on dubbing-induced language change in Italian; the high occurrence and repetition over time of the linguistic expressions identified as instances of AVT interference from the (American) English language onto Italian are accountable for their diffusion and entrenchment in spoken Italian. In the next section, I will review a number of studies that have addressed the



impact of Italian dubbing on language change and I will divide them into three groups according to the approach used. Whilst I will critically analyse and discuss achievements and limitations of their approaches, the hypothesis clarified above will be incorporated in the formulation of the new methodology which is the object of this thesis.

### **2.3 The dubbing process**

Chaume (2012: 1) defines dubbing as “replacing the original track of a film’s (or any audiovisual text) source language dialogues with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language”. The replacement of the new track has to be carried out while synchronising all the respective components of the audiovisual product; in particular, Chaume (2004: 43-4) distinguishes between three main types of synchronisation: the lip synchrony, the kinesic synchrony, and the isochrony. The lip synchrony (also referred to as phonetic synchrony) is defined as “adapting the translation to the articulatory movements of the on-screen characters, especially in close-ups” (ibid.: 43); when the translation is synchronised with the actors’ body movements is called kinesic synchrony; finally, isochrony refers to the “synchronisation of the duration of the translation with the screen characters’ utterances” (ibid.: 44).

The process of synchronisation is sometimes indicated as *adaptation* (Chaume, 2012: 67); however, the term adaptation also refers to recreating the illusion of spontaneity in the dubbed dialogues. For this reason, the operators in the sector are often called *adapters*. Once the audiovisual product is translated, adapted, and synchronised, dubbing actors finally interpret it.

### **2.4 Three approaches to the study of dubbing-induced language change in Italian**

For the formulation of the new methodology, I identify three main approaches adopted by studies which have specifically attempted to investigate the influence of Italian dubbing on real use Italian. Works carried out on Italian dubbing with no specific reference to its potential impact on language in use are excluded from the analysis. For instance, the studies made on the Forlinox corpus (Valentini 2007, 2008; Heiss and Soffritti 2008) have not been included, for the Forlinox corpus has been designed “to access empirical AV data and to infer generalisations about dubbing strategies and patterns of AV constructs” (Valentini, 2008: 50). Such patterns are not

explicitly claimed to be the result of translation interference, nor are they believed to have impacted Italian in use. Similarly, Forchini (2013: 504-513) uses corpora of AV products, both original and dubbed into Italian, “to illustrate the applicability of corpus linguistics to AVT” (ibid.: 511), while Bonsignori and Bruti (2013) focus on how frequent greetings and leave-takings are in both original and dubbed film dialogues.

As it can be seen, none of these studies aims to analyse translation interference in dubbing or the extent to which dubbing may have influenced Italian language in use. Slightly different is the case in Pavesi (2009a: 88-107), where the author does use a corpus of spontaneous spoken Italian to compare pronouns’ frequency rates between dubbed products and spontaneous Italian, but only to find out “the degree of orality exhibited by the language of dubbing” (ibid.: 88). Similarly, works carried out in dubbed and spontaneous Spanish by Romero Fresco (2006, 2009) and Gómez Capuz (2001) are not considered for the analysis because, although valuable reference works which have partially inspired the methodology used in this research, they, too base their identification of translation interference instances on intuition and personal perception of the language. In other words, they do not focus their attention on objectively verify whether the linguistic expressions perceived as instances of translation interference were as such; on the contrary, they use previous alleged Anglicisms isolated in literature as the dataset for their analysis. For instance, about the translation of *let’s see* in Spanish dubbing, Romero Fresco (2009: 65) states (bold mine): “[...] occurrences of *let’s see* in the ST [source text] are translated as *veamos*, which is a literal translation and could **probably** be considered as an Anglicism of frequency”. Finally, these works will not be used here as a source of potential instance of DI because they do not harvest instances of language interference in Italian.

While the main limitations outlined in § 1.2 (lack of a categorisation of the linguistic expressions, lack of a comprehensive framework and clear definitions of terms, lack of any objective evidence) are shared by these works regardless of the adopted approach, each study represents a step towards the achievement of more adequate evidence substantiation. Studies based on Approaches 2 and 3, in particular, contribute to the field with a more objective methodology than the ones adopting Approach 1. While Approach 1 is entirely based on the introspective knowledge of the language as a valid method to support the scholar’s claims, Approach 2 uses corpora of dubbed products to investigate the presence of translation interference in Italian dubbing, and finally, Approach 3 demonstrates the presence of recurrent

patterns in AVT products by providing frequency wordlists in Italian dubbed corpora. From these works, we gather evidence that some (American) English expressions are recurrently translated in the same way in different AV products. However, still no proof is provided that these expressions may be the result of translation interference, i.e., that they do not belong to natural use of Italian, nor that they are actually in use in spoken Italian. In the following sections, each approach is expanded separately.

#### **2.4.1 Approach 1: claims based on the scholar's observation of dubbed AV products**

The claims advanced by the studies adopting this approach (Patuelli 1936; Rando 1973a, 1973b; Maraschio 1982; Dardano 1986; Pavese 1994; Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002; Rossi 2010) are based on the scholar's own observation of AVT products and are not supported by verifiable data. In these works, a number of linguistic expressions are listed as being typical features of Italian dubbing. However, in addition to the limitations outlined above, no use of samples of dubbed programs are used to check the actual presence and frequency of occurrence of such expressions.

It is certainly true that some of the expressions<sup>13</sup> singled out by these authors are traditional stereotypes of dubbed Italian which are easily recognised as such by an Italian audience. At the same time, however, claims based on personal accounts do not have the same validity as demonstrable data; in that, only the latter render public and observable the point of view used to support a theory (McEnery & Wilson, 1996/2001: 14).

In this respect, four expressions analysed in this thesis (§ 5.2.1.4 point 11, § 5.2.1.5 point 12, § 5.2.1.6 point 27, § 5.2.1.6 point 28) come from the author's own observation of dubbed products and they will be referred to as Viola (forthcoming). These examples are included to show that the method can equally be applied to new expressions not identified in the literature. It will however remain necessary to corroborate their presence and frequency of occurrence through the analysis of audiovisual corpora (see § 7.5).

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<sup>13</sup> For example, *amico* (friend) which often in Italian dubbing translates *buddy/man/dude* and similar, but which does not correspond to any real use in Italian. The complete list of linguistic expressions from all the three approaches is provided in chapter 4.

## 2.4.2 Approach 2: claims based on the observation of AVT corpora

Unlike researchers adopting Approach 1, other authors (Alfieri *et al* 2003, 2008; Pavese 2005, 2008, 2009; Ferro & Sardo 2008) have used corpora of dubbed products to investigate the presence of translation interference in Italian dubbing. Each study is described in detail here below.

Alfieri *et al* (2003, 2008) start from the following hypothesis: there are phraseological interferences from English into Italian in television dubbed products; some of these instances of interference have so regularly occurred as to lead to the establishment of automatisms when translating the two languages. Because of their repetition over time, such automatisms have finally entered the end user's language. To investigate this hypothesis, these authors built a parallel corpus collecting 13 hours and 30 minutes of recorded episodes of two dubbed programs: *E.R.* (Crichton 1994-2009) and *The Bold and the Beautiful* (Bell & Bell 1987 - today). These programs, they claim, have been chosen in virtue of their eligibility to constitute a representative sample of the potential impact on the end users' language in Italy, i.e., a high number of viewers and length of broadcasting time (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 140). However, the corpus itself is not available and, although the authors make use of quantifiable data to substantiate their claims, there are limitations in both their analysis and the way they present their results.

Firstly, the reader is given a list of expressions indicated by the authors as phraseological interferences retrieved from the corpus, alongside their corresponding original from the source text. The only 'evidence' which would prove them to be instances of translation interference is the authors' provision of their own alternatives which, they argue, in similar communicative situations would be perceived as 'traditional' and 'more natural'. In other words, these expressions are intuitively 'non Italian', therefore, they are the result of translation interference. Moreover, only partial and nonspecific details of the frequency (raw or relative) of the items described as instances of interference are given. The limitations of this approach, i.e., claims based on the scholars' subjectivity and the lack of precise information and detailed data, are particularly evident in the parts I have highlighted in bold in the quote below:

[...] the interferences concern adverbial or definite constructions which interest everyday Italian usage as in *Io sono assolutamente convinta che sia Eric il responsabile*, back translation of *I'm*

*absolutely convinced...*, which in Italian **would be better conveyed by** *Io sono del tutto certa che...*. The use of adverbs such as *assolutamente, incredibilmente, certamente, esattamente, eventualmente* seems **now** to be largely spread in adjectival constructions, especially among younger generations. The relevant incidence of these syntagmatic interferences is shown by the **high number** of occurrences found in the corpus of both the series<sup>14</sup>. (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 331).

From the analysis of the corpus, the conclusion drawn by these authors is that Italian dubbing carries considerable traces of translation interference; they claim (2003: 143) that: “The initial hypothesis of this research on the presence of phraseological interference in television dubbing and on the establishment of automatisms between the two languages has been strongly supported by the high number of occurrences of this kind, 76 in total<sup>15</sup>”. Finally, claims on the alleged impact of such assumed interferences on the viewers’ language are made: “[such interferences] will presumably contribute to remarkably vitalise and increase the set of phrases available to the Italians<sup>16</sup>” (ibid.: 140).

An analogous procedure is the one adopted by Pavesi (2005) who uses a small parallel corpus of AV products (55,830 words in English and 51,538 words in Italian). This is a sample of a larger corpus – the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogues (PCFD) (Freddi & Pavesi 2009) – and it is made up of 5 movies released in Italy between 1995 and 2000. From the analysis of the dialogues, the scholar detects seventeen translational routines<sup>17</sup> (Pavesi, 2005: 48). Her starting hypothesis is similar to Alfieri *et al*’s: Italian dubbing is characterised by a repeated use of identical

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<sup>14</sup> Le interferenze [...] riguardano i costrutti avverbiali o determinativi che intaccano l’uso abituale italiano, come in “Io sono assolutamente convinta che sia Eric il responsabile” traduzione automatica di *I’m absolutely convinced...* espressione che si sarebbe potuta rendere meglio con “Io sono del tutto certa che”. Tale uso degli avverbi *assolutamente, incredibilmente, certamente, esattamente, eventualmente* sembra ormai del tutto diffuso nei costrutti aggettivali, specie in quelli usati dalle generazioni più giovani. Il grande rilievo di tali interferenze sintagmatiche è testimoniato dalle numerose occorrenze riscontrate nel corpus, per entrambe le fiction.

<sup>15</sup> L’ipotesi di partenza di questa ricerca, relativa alla presenza di interferenze fraseologiche nel doppiaggio televisivo e allo stabilizzarsi di equivalenze automatiche fra lingua e lingua, è stata ampiamente suffragata dal gran numero di occorrenze riscontrate di questa tipologia, in tutto 76.

<sup>16</sup> [tali interferenze] contribuiranno efficacemente a movimentare e incrementare il repertorio fraseologico dei parlanti italiani.

<sup>17</sup> See footnote 9.

solutions to translation problems which have been so frequently employed over time that they have led to the establishment of a norm. However, such automatisms are perceived as “non Italian” by the viewer because, she claims, either they do not exist in spontaneous Italian or they are of marginal use. At the same time, dubbing is claimed to be accountable for the spreading of a number of expressions in present-day Italian; about the use of *salve* (hello), for instance, the author (ibid.: 51) affirms (bold is mine):

Dubbing probably also **originated** the spreading of *salve* among Italian speakers, especially among young people. This word neutralises the differences between formal and familiar forms of greeting among interlocutors. By avoiding the choice between *ciao* and *buongiorno/buonasera*, in the initial position it fills a socio-pragmatic gap. In Italian dubbing *salve* is a **translational routine** of *hello/hi*, greeting formulae that can be used even when there is no familiarity among the speakers<sup>18</sup>.

Though cautiously, dubbing is held accountable for the use of *salve* in everyday Italian, yet no evidence is provided that could endorse such statement. Furthermore, the claim that this Italian greeting formula “is a translational routine of *hello/hi*” is in fact not substantiated by corpora investigations, for the relevant data are not provided.

Finally, the same approach is adopted by Ferro & Sardo (2008) whose study specifically focusses on TV products for children and teenagers. For this purpose, they built a corpus of eight TV programs (both dubbed and original) to analyse the linguistic model offered to this particular audience (ibid.: 381). From their investigation, the scholars list several features inherent to the TV language in products for children and teenagers, among which a strong influence from English is identified and attributed to dubbing (ibid.: 420). Such interference would be apparent, for instance, in the recurrent use of the progressive form (ibid.: 405), and in the use of *assolutamente* (interference from *absolutely*) and *super* (ibid.: 409). However, once more it is not possible to establish whether the selected examples are indeed instances of translation interference or whether they are only perceived as such, as

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<sup>18</sup> Il doppiaggio è d’altro canto probabilmente all’origine della diffusione di *salve* tra i parlanti italiani, in particolare i giovani. La forma di saluto neutralizza le differenze tra forma di rispetto e forma di familiarità nel rapporto tra gli interlocutori, riempiendo, in posizione iniziale, un vuoto socio-pragmatico in italiano e permettendo così di evitare la scelta tra *ciao* e *buongiorno/buonasera*. *Salve* è nel doppiaggio italiano una routine traduttiva dell’inglese *hello/hi*, formule di saluto utilizzabili anche quando non c’è familiarità tra interlocutori.

no lexicographic or etymological investigation is carried out. Finally, general claims on the impact of TV language on the viewer's language, especially on children, are also made (ibid.: 391): "TV spoken language plays a core role in the crucial moment of children's acquisition of language competence at all levels: pragmatic, lexical, even phonological<sup>19</sup>".

### **2.4.3 Approach 3: claims based on frequency lists**

This approach is slightly different from the ones outlined above, as the starting point to identify recurrent patterns in AVT texts is not intuition, personal language competence or mere observation; instead, overall corpus frequency wordlists are obtained and used to detect frequent clusters. Freddi (2008) analyses the phraseology in film dialogues using the PCFD (Freddi & Pavesi 2009). This corpus, which is not publicly available, includes 12 American and British films dubbed into Italian and released between 1995 and 2005, for a total of 111,865 words in Italian and 117,956 words in English. Though the research question is similar to Approach 1 and 2, the methodology is different. Once a phraseology unit is detected via frequency wordlists, its corresponding translations are analysed to locate potential equivalent recurring patterns, to investigate their specific pragmatic functions, and to compare how the same functions are expressed in both original and translated texts. These findings are finally compared to the instances of dubbese found in the literature (Freddi, 2008: 55), for one of the aims of the study is to corroborate claims made in previous works.

From such investigations, it is found that a number of set phrases, which were described in previous studies as typical features of dubbed language and translational routines, show indeed a high frequency in the film corpus, albeit with a certain degree of variation (ibid.: 68). Thus, the information given on the frequency of these linguistic expressions and correspondence with their translated strings is decisive to support the hypothesis of a link between their high frequency of occurrence and potential diffusion in spoken Italian. The approach adopted in this study unquestionably shows a replicated use of certain linguistic expressions chosen to translate specific phraseologies; however, still no evidence is provided that the "routinised translations" are "neither the source nor the target language norm" (ibid.:

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<sup>19</sup> Il parlato televisivo rappresenta un nucleo importante nella formazione della competenza linguistica dei bambini in un momento cruciale della costruzione della competenza comunicativa a tutti i livelli, da quello pragmatico a quello lessicale, se non anche fonologico.

53). In other words, that these instances are the result of translation interference, i.e., not traditionally part of the Italian language system, is yet to be proven.

The methodology developed in this thesis (§ 2.6) represents a further contribution to the establishment of a direct link between the role of dubbing and language change as it aims to determine whether specific phraseologies can be considered as interference phenomena originated from the dubbing process. Crucially, the innovative method uses verifiable data to investigate the presence of such phraseologies in the spoken language (rather than relying on the scholar's language competence or mere observation).

## **2.5 Findings and gaps in studies on media-induced language change and on the impact of television**

In this section, I review studies on media-induced language change and on the impact of television on the viewer, highlighting views, achievements and limitations in these fields, in an attempt to lay the foundation for my contribution to the existing debate.

The potential impact of television, particularly on language systemic changes, has always been highly controversial with sociolinguists. The general traditional view (i.e., Trudgill 1986, 1988; Milroy 1992, 2002; Labov 1994, 2001, 2010) is that speakers can take television language as a model, especially as a source for new lexis and idioms, but for any change to occur, a conscious motivation by speakers, i.e., imitation, is required. This concept is related to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles 1984; Giles *et al* 1991) which claims that people adapt their speech in a number of ways to accommodate to the varieties spoken by their interlocutors. This consequentially means that any language change can take place exclusively via live social interaction and diffusion (Trudgill 1986; Milroy 1992; Labov 1994, 2001, 2010; Eckert 2000, 2008; Milroy 2002). Thus, because of the lack of live face-to-face interaction, television and cinema may not be considered as directly involved in language change processes. In other words, according to this view, audiovisual media can play a role in systemic language changes, but only alongside already existing changes in communicative behaviours towards specific linguistic varieties (Stuart-Smith 2006).

However, within CAT, Auer's (1998) "identity-projection model" provides a new perspective on all the possible processes through which linguistic accommodation may take place. Auer based his model on Bell's (1997) theory of "audience design" where CAT is applied to mass media. According to this model,



the speaker is able to modify his or her communicative style depending on the idea of audience he or she has in mind, i.e., according to the audience design. Bell developed an audience design framework which, formalising the findings of his research, proved how audience design produces a variation effect. Starting from the idea of audience design, Auer's identity-projection model claims that the adoption or suppression of certain language features reflects the speaker's wish to identify (or not) not only with conversational partners who are present, but also in response to "images, or stereotypes, of the group the interlocutor belongs to, or of a socially attractive group not actually represented in the immediate context." (Kerswill, 2002: 680– 681).

In this way, it is suggested that accommodation may occur in communicative situations other than face-to-face interactions when, for instance, the interlocutor the speaker desires to accommodate to exists in the mind of the speaker (Stuart-Smith 2006). Such a model has been used in Carvalho's (2004) study, the aim of which was to find a direct correlation between palatalization spreading from Brazilian Portuguese into Uruguayan Portuguese and exposure to television. Although such a correspondence was not found, the conscious effort to replicate the language of Brazilian television shows was listed by the study's subjects as one of the factors responsible for the spreading of the language feature under investigation.

Naro's (1981) study on syntactic variation in Brazilian Portuguese, on the contrary, revealed positive correlations between the increase in the use of the standard construction in South America and exposure to soap operas. Muhr (2003) also attributed a number of lexical and grammatical changes in Austrian German to exposure to German television programs. Recently, Stuart-Smith *et al* (2013) have provided evidence that TV can play a role also in sound change. Positive correlations were found between two instances of linguistic change in Glaswegian vernacular - th-fronting and l-vocalization - both typically associated with the Cockney dialect of London, and strong psychological engagement with the London-based TV soap drama *EastEnders*.

While on the whole all these results point out the need for the speaker's active emulation of (i.e., desire to accommodate to) television forms for any assimilation and replication to occur, the direct role of media, even when openly admitted by the informants, is far from having been unequivocally established. In fact, the influence of media has only been determined as a concurrent factor. Moreover, although it appears evident from these studies that discussions on the viewer's positive engagement with media are still central to substantiate media role in language

change, it remains unclear how speakers accommodate their language to fictional interlocutors (Reeves & Nass 1996; Staum *et al* 2010; Stuart-Smith 2013). Research on the relationship between media effects and individuals' cognitive psychological engagement (i.e., Berkowitz 1984; Bargh *et al* 1996; Gunter 2000), for instance, clearly suggests that the way viewers approach television has an important impact on what they learn from or on how they respond to it; however, still very little is known about how viewing processes influence learning outcomes. The research literature suggests that the AV content can have four broad types of effects on people: behaviour, beliefs and values, knowledge, and cognitive skills. Although there exists evidence for all the four kinds of impact, I will talk more extensively only about behavioural and cognitive skills effects, as they are more relevant to this research.

Behavioural effects of television have been investigated in advertisement research and in research on the relationship between television and aggressive behaviour. Three main mechanisms have been suggested to explain how television can affect behaviour: imitation, arousal, and disinhibition. As arousal is not directly relevant to this study, I will here focus more on imitation and disinhibition. Imitation takes place when the viewer observes and imitates the social behaviour performed on television (e.g., Bandura 1973, 1986). However, far from being mere mimicry, such a process appears to be the sum of complex cognitive mechanisms (e.g., memory). More recently, imitation studies have investigated the ability of preverbal and early-verbal infants to learn from television programs (Barr & Hayne 1999; Hayne *et al* 2003; Huang & Charman 2005). What emerges from these works is that learning that infants derive from a televised demonstration, though possible, is significantly less than the infant's ability to learn from a live demonstration (Barr *et al* 2007).

The effects of repetition on imitation from television have also been addressed (Sell *et al* 1995; Crawley *et al* 1999; Skouteries & Kellie 2006; Barr *et al* 2007; Barr *et al* 2009). The results obtained in these studies show that increasing the frequency of exposure to televised content, i.e., repetition, enhances the learning of the targeted actions. These results are also consistent with advertisement research (Belch 1982; Rethans *et al* 1986; Singh & Cole 1993) and studies on first and second language learning and teaching (Keenan 1977; Kuczaj 1983; Rydland & Aukrust 2005).

Disinhibition has also been proposed as a possible mechanism through which behaviour can be influenced by television exposure (e.g., Berkowitz, 1974). According to this theory, viewers repeatedly exposed to specific behaviours are more likely to free their constraints on their actions and to replicate such behaviours. It is also suggested that television may affect viewers' performance of already acquired

behaviours, as a sort of trigger for the performance of a repertoire of actions already available to them. Similarly, Foulkes & Docherty (2001) theorise that, when some sort of similarity between the language heard and the language spoken is present, a passive exposure to varieties can be assumed to act as a catalyst for the speakers' reuse of the resources already available to them. Finally, the mechanisms proposed to understand the effects of television on cognitive skills are mainly observation and imitation, and television is believed to help activate already existing mental skills in the viewer (e.g., Salomon 1979; Brown 1986).

Research has also tried to shed light on understanding how people's viewing strategies relate to what they learn from television. The few studies that have addressed this question so far have concentrated on investigating active versus passive processing, and the effects of different levels of interactivity and social mediation. For instance, to describe the viewers' attitude when watching television, Salomon (1981) introduced the concept of Amount of Invested Mental Effort (AIME), which is defined as the relationship between mental elaboration of information and level of automaticity employed in information processing. More elaboration and less automaticity result in greater AIME, which, in turn, influences the viewers' learning outcomes. It should be said, however, that increased mental effort does not necessarily entail more learning (Reeves & Thorson 1986; Cennamo 1993). Though there are some limitations in Salomon's work (e.g., AIME is identified by self-reports), the AIME measure has been found, on the whole, acceptable (i.e., Beentjes 1989).

The relationship between different levels of interaction and learning outcomes has not been systematically examined yet. It is often hypothesised that a higher user control/interactivity with the audiovisual content would result in higher learning; at the same time, however, the existing studies are inadequate in determining the degree or form of interactivity in relation to learning (Cronin & Cronin 1992). Some empirical substantiation is given by Kettanurak *et al* (2001), who found positive correlations between interactivity and user attitude, with enhanced user performance. Finally, the role of social mediation in learning outcomes has been explored, though primarily for children (e.g., Anderson & Collins 1988); as far as adult audiences are concerned, the effects of co-viewing television with other people are not well understood yet.

From the review of up-to-date results from studies on media-induced language change research and on learning from television, it can be concluded that exposure to television and AV content has a considerable potential impact on viewers.

Available research in both these areas in particular suggests that the way viewers approach television plays an important role in what they learn/assimilate from the medium. At the same time, repetition has also been investigated as the contributing factor in processes such as enhanced learning and imitation. On the whole, then, it appears clear that there is a need for better understanding if and how learning/assimilating under incidental conditions (i.e., passive exposure) is different from intentional learning (i.e., active engagement), and to what extent interaction may not always be an essential prerequisite for accommodation.

In light of this growing evidence for potential of AV content to influence language use, I argue that, by providing an alternative approach to testing such influence, my investigation is justified and credible.

## **2.6 Towards an empirical approach**

The main objective of this thesis is to advance an analytical method for research on translation interference and language change through dubbing that is both innovative and valuable with respect to the current explanatory frameworks discussed above. The strategy adopted for this purpose consists in using the findings and limitations of previous research as the foundation of the new approach. Specifically, it is maintained that available research lacks an empirical approach to validate the influence of dubbing in spoken Italian and to establish the role played by media in language change.

This thesis advocates an important shift in perspective from traditional studies on the influence of dubbing on the Italian language, where, as stated above, claims were based on the scholar's personal perception of the language, to a more rigorous approach, which uses observable data. The new method elaborated here focuses on the analysis of linguistic expressions previously identified as instances of translation interference, in order to establish whether they can indeed be considered as interference phenomena. The method can however be applied to any expression perceived as the potential result of translation interference. Once the linguistic expressions are proven to be plausible instances of translation interference and their recurrent presence is found in both corpora of dubbed products and spoken Italian, dubbing can be envisaged as playing a decisive role in language change (in terms of introducing and spreading these features). In this way, it is overcome one of the weaknesses of previous research, in which the role played by media in language change, even when it is demonstrable, cannot be separated from other factors (e.g.,

other media, language change processes already in progress). The innovative method meets therefore the need in the existing literature for an objective approach which would substantiate claims on the influence of dubbing on spoken Italian.

The methodology is primarily centred on the rigorous analysis of the selected phenomena so as to establish whether the isolated linguistic expressions are the result of translation interference. In this stage, the linguist needs to identify and define the specific linguistic type of translation interference taking place during dubbing. In particular, it is suggested that, as dubbing is a particularly tightly constrained form of translation that requires a close mirroring of the source structure, it typically results in a high degree of interference. I then propose that the simulation of spontaneous dialogues, i.e., face-to-face interaction, and the intensification in fictional dialogues of the formulaicity typical of spontaneous spoken language pave the way specifically for translation interference to affect the most conventionalised linguistic features of spontaneous conversation (e.g., discourse markers, formulaic language, conversational routines). This argument is further explained in § 2.7 along with the definition of DI.

The literature review revealed that the driving principle according to which the assumed instances of translation interference were selected was their alleged ‘non Italianess’. However, a detailed linguistic analysis and classification have never been carried out and the collected instances of translation interference encompass a range of disparate linguistic items including adverbs, connectives, interjections, and so on. In consequence, after having defined more accurately the linguistic level of analysis and the criteria for identifying the instances of interference (see chapter 4), the next main challenge consists in classifying the instances of DI. It is maintained that a qualitative analysis is necessary to define the wide sphere of functions performed by the linguistic expressions, to consider the items only in the role they played in the specific context examined by the scholar (i.e., pragmatic function), to differentiate between overlapping words/locutions and to facilitate the subsequent quantitative investigations within corpora of written and spoken Italian. Finally, the rich description of the data provided by the qualitative analysis will also be the foundation for drawing wider inferences about the nature of the interference and the language as a whole; for instance, the linguist can verify whether translation interference from dubbing affects some types of categories/expressions of the Italian language more than others. The qualitative analysis is presented in detail in chapter 4.

As already mentioned, the innovative method seeks to elucidate whether the linguistic expressions under analysis are plausible instances of interference derived

from the dubbing translation of AV products from (American) English into Italian. In-depth etymological, diachronic lexicographic and quantitative investigations are pursued in chapter 5 within historical dictionaries and corpora of written Italian against the development of dubbing tradition. In this way, the origin of the linguistic expressions can be traced and compared with attested and verifiable data so as to eliminate cases in which the linguistic expressions were found in use before the introduction of dubbing in Italy. After having obtained a list of more clear-cut cases of dubbing interference, it is advanced that such selected items should be searched within corpora of dubbed products in order to gain valuable information (e.g., their frequency of occurrence, records of the oldest appearance in AVT products, and so on), which can be further compared with the findings obtained in the previous stages of analysis. However, as the method formulated here is applied to linguistic expressions gathered from previous studies, this particular stage of dubbed corpora analysis precedes the etymological and lexicographic analyses. This is especially true for the phenomena derived from studies adopting Approach 2 and 3, while for studies adopting Approach 1 this phase is missing altogether. This argument will be further discussed in chapter 7, alongside other perspectives for future research.

One general issue which arises from the review of the existing research is that the claims on the entrenchment of the instances of translation interference into spoken Italian are not substantiated by any evidence of their actual presence in spoken Italian. The adoption in this thesis of an evidence-based perspective is therefore also reflected in the strategy followed in chapter 6 where, to vindicate the hypothesis of the impact of dubbing on the end user's language, I will run quantitative investigations in four corpora of spoken Italian. As the corpora were built in different periods (from 1965 to 2004), it will be possible to monitor the use of the selected linguistic expressions throughout time. More importantly, in this way a direct link between DI and spoken language can be finally objectively established, thus corroborating the role of audiovisual media in language change in Italian. The task of the following chapters is then to pursue such in-depth rigorous investigations thus showing the applicability of an evidence-based practice in studies on translation interference and language change through dubbing.

## **2.7 Dubbing interference (DI)**

Dubbing-induced language change research claims that the AVT process has generated instances of interference which have been used repeatedly, to the extent

that, over the years, they have crystallised in features which are typical of dubbing. Because viewers have been regularly exposed to these features, it is thought that these interference phenomena have now become entrenched in their language. In order to detect translation interference instances, authors have so far relied on what they perceived as ‘non Italian’. A rigorous notion is therefore needed, that is distanced from any subjective approach previously used by other scholars. Such a concept is derived from the classic definition of linguistic interference given by Weinreich (1953: 1) who described it as “those instances of deviation from the norm of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact”. Linguistic interference may also be understood as an induced language change, that is to say, as a process by which some elements, originally foreign to a given language, enter that language and modify it (Payrató 1985: 22). In this sense, a further qualification is proposed in Thomason & Kaufman’s framework for contact-induced language change where two main types of linguistic interference are listed: borrowing and substratum interference (1988: 37). Borrowing occurs when foreign features are incorporated into a language by speakers of that language: the recipient language is maintained but modified by the incorporation of the new features. Substratum interference, on the contrary, occurs during a process of language shift: a group of learners fails to learn the target language correctly and introduces features of their mother tongue in the new language (ibid: 38-39).

Linguistic interference is also often referred to as *language transfer* in classic adult second language acquisition studies (SLA) (Porter & Duncan 1953; Lado 1957; Odlin 1989), where it is defined as “the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (perhaps imperfectly) acquired.” (Odlin, 1989: 27). Lado (1957: 2) affirms: “Individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture – both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives.”.

Similarly, in Translation Studies, interference has been a greatly discussed topic, from different perspectives and within the framework of various translation theories. Generally speaking, the debate has concerned, on one side, those scholars who favour interference as a strategy that enhance “otherness” (e.g., Benjamin 1923; Berman 1984; Gutt 1991; Venuti 1998) and on the other side, authors who denounce

interference as an obstacle to the inherent purpose of translation itself, which is seen as a communicative act (e.g., Delisle 1988; Newmark 1990; Gottlieb 2001; Munday 2005). Regardless of their theoretical account, however, interference is acknowledged as “an intrinsic factor in any translation” (Newmark, 1991: 78); studies in AVT (among others, Zaro 2001, Gottlieb 2001) have indeed claimed this form of translation to be even more vulnerable to interferences from the source text than other forms. This could be explained by Toury’s (1995: 275) *law of interference*<sup>20</sup>, in terms of ‘mirroring’ the AV source text, and of the constraints typical of dubbing, such as respecting the lip-synch and recreating the same pauses, the same length and, more generally, the same structure as the original. These constraints, which normally are not present in other kinds of translation, would trigger a higher degree of interference in the dubbed text.

I argue, however, that research on translation interference and language change through dubbing needs to define more clearly the type of interference that dubbing is most subject to and, although a number of features have been highlighted, a defined explanatory framework is still missing. Specifically, I maintain that, though interference can virtually concern any aspect of a language, translation interference in dubbing can be predicted to affect features of face-to-face interaction and oral talk. The reason lies in the fact that, to help the viewer identify with the fictional world shown on the screen, films and TV series simulate spontaneous dialogues (i.e., Delabastita 1989; Heiss & Leporati 2000; Chaume 2001; Pavesi 2008). These authors have observed that, regardless of the language, typical features of spontaneous spoken language, such as discourse markers, repetitions, interjections, but also freer word order and a more frequent use of deixis, are particularly abundant in film translations. This is due to the fact that, although it is undeniable that film dialogues resemble real life dialogues, screen language is in fact extremely planned<sup>21</sup>, as actors simulate reality and “speech acts are not performed; but are represented.” (Pavesi, 2008: 80). In their attempt to recreate in the dubbed version the *prefabricated orality*<sup>22</sup>, i.e., the illusion of spontaneous conversation, dubbing translators have to recur to the linguistic tools typical of spoken language. Being characteristic features of orality, these language devices certainly contribute to make film dialogues appear unplanned and realistic, but at the same time, because of the constrained nature of

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<sup>20</sup> See § 1.4.

<sup>21</sup> In the famous words of Gregory & Carrol (1978: 47), film dialogues are “written to be spoken as if not written”.

<sup>22</sup> Chaume (2004: 168) has coined the term *prefabricated orality* to define the planned spontaneity of AV dialogues



dubbing (i.e., Toury's law), they are arguably the most likely to be affected by translation interference.

In addressing interlanguage issues in face-to-face interaction, several terms, definitions and concepts have been proposed. Thomas (1983: 101), for instance, defined this type of interference as "The inappropriate transfer of speech act strategies from one language to another, or the transferring from the mother tongue to the target language of utterances which are semantically/syntactically equivalent, but which, because of different 'interpretive bias', tend to convey a different pragmatic force in the target language". In this definition, interference is strictly linked to the notion of pragmatic competence<sup>23</sup> and it is therefore seen as an obstacle against the achievement of a successful communication. In this sense, such a definition appears to be too restrictive for the instances of translation interference, as it does not accurately describe all the linguistic expressions under analysis. For example, not all of them fulfil different functions in the two language while all of them appeared to be simply unusual in the target context. More importantly, this definition would not account for language change, which is equally the focus of this thesis.

The term *pragmatic transfer* (i.e., Odlin 1989; Ellis 1994), rather than interference, has also been proposed, especially in SLA studies, as a general cover term to refer to a number of different language influences (both 'positive' and 'negative'). Other suggested terms include *influence* (e.g., Sharwood Smith and Kellerman 1986) used as a sort of umbrella term to incorporate all factors, and *transferability* (e.g., Kasper 1992; Takahashi 1996) to refer to the process of transferring rather than the results of it. As these terms have been proposed within the frameworks of Interlanguage Pragmatics (ILP) and SLA studies, such definitions do not fully fit with the scope of this thesis and, for this reason, will not be adopted.

The term *interference*, although vague to an extent, is the one typically utilised in Translation Studies, and it will be also preferred here with a neutral (neither positive nor negative) connotation. Moreover, to distinguish it from other conceptual definitions given in fields of study other than Translation Studies, and to better specify the context of dubbing practice, I propose to adopt the term *dubbing interference* (DI), which I define as follows:

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<sup>23</sup> In the classic meaning of a language user's knowledge about how and when using utterances appropriately beyond just the grammatical level.

The transference, intentional or not, into the target AV text of features which are unusual or non-documented in the target language, at least as original instances of communication in that specific context. It especially affects items typical of oral talk and spontaneous conversation which fulfil interactive functions and the linguistic realization of which may be performed by lexical, syntactic, cultural or phraseological items.

DI would then be concerned with instances of oral talk that do not necessarily break obvious rules in the target language. Rather, they are defined as instances which are simply atypical or non-belonging to the system of the target language (Mauranen 2000). An in-depth analysis of typical instances of spontaneous spoken conversation, such as discourse markers, formulaic language, and fixed expressions is carried out in § 4.3.

## **2.8 Summary**

In this chapter, I discussed the sociolinguistic context in which Italian dubbing developed and the general sociolinguistic considerations which underpin the fundamental hypothesis of research on dubbing-induced language change in Italian. The hypothesis of a link between specific features of dubbed Italian and their entrenchment in language use emerges from the fact that Italians are repeatedly exposed to such features, given the high number of dubbed products broadcast in Italy (about 90% of all the broadcast programs) and a very low reading rate.

After briefly explaining the dubbing process, I also identified gaps in the knowledge concerning research on dubbing-induced language change in Italian. Although some issues have been found generally shared by previous works (lack of a categorisation of the linguistic expressions, lack of a comprehensive framework and clear definitions of terms, lack of any empirical evidence), I divided the studies into three groups, depending on the specific approach adopted. I then analysed each approach individually, in terms of limitations and contributions to the field. Studies on media-induced language change and on the impact of television on the viewer have been revised in order to further assess the likelihood of interference from dubbing on spoken language use. Additionally, I presented the innovative approach taken in this thesis and proposed the DI definition which specifies more clearly

translation interference in dubbing. Finally, I outlined the general strategy which will be pursued throughout the thesis.

In the following chapter, I will provide an overview of all the resources employed during the investigations, such as written and spoken corpora, AV corpora, etymological and historical dictionaries.

## 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to advocate an evidence-based practice for research on translation interference and language change through dubbing, and it develops an innovative method that uses objective and verifiable data to pursue in-depth rigorous investigations. This chapter provides an overview of all the resources employed during the investigations, such as AV corpora, etymological and historical dictionaries, a grammar, and written and spoken corpora. The corpora of AV products listed in this thesis, not being available for consultation, have been used as resources from which a number of linguistic expressions have been derived as alleged instances of interference. As stated in § 2.4, these corpora have been chosen because the claims on the influence of Italian dubbing on real use Italian have been based upon their consultation.

The description of all the resources follows the stages of the analysis in which they have been used. Thus, I first provide an overview of the AV corpora from where some of the instances of translation interference are derived (§ 3.2); then, the resources used to carry out the etymological and lexicographic investigations (one grammar, six historical dictionaries and nine modern and contemporary dictionaries) are described in § 3.3. In § 3.4, the diachronic corpora of written Italian used for the quantitative analysis are presented, while § 3.5 describes the corpora of spoken Italian used to conduct the last stage of the analysis together with the tagging criteria utilised in each corpus. Finally, § 3.6 summarises the chapter and introduces the arguments that will be put forward in chapter 4.

## 3.2 AV Corpora (previous studies): first stage – gathering the expressions

This section presents the AV corpora that have been used in those studies adopting Approaches 2 and 3, from where a number of linguistic expressions defined as instances of translation interference is been isolated. The viewer's repeated exposure to such linguistic expressions over the years is believed to have played a key role for

their reuse and diffusion, thus producing a change in the language. As a direct methodological consequence, information on the frequency of such expressions in dubbed products is important. However, the method elaborated in this thesis is also applied to data derived from studies which did not necessarily consider frequency of use (i.e., Approach 1). Moreover, even from those studies using AVT corpora (i.e., Approach 2), it was possible to obtain only partial information on the frequency of the investigated expressions, for the actual AVT corpora are not available. On the other side, because the linguistic expressions had indeed been found in AVT products, the limitation does not ultimately affect the validity of the findings obtained in this thesis. This argument will be more extensively discussed in Chapter 7, where I advocate prospective research in the field.

### 3.2.1 “E.R. and Beautiful” (Alfieri *et al* 2003)

This corpus (Alfieri *et al* 2003) was built to corroborate the hypothesis that there are phraseological interferences from English into Italian in television dubbed products and that some of these instances of interference have so regularly occurred as to lead to the establishment of automatisms when translating this language pair. Because of their repetition over time, such automatisms are believed to enter the end user’s language. This parallel corpus collects 13 hours and 30 minutes of recorded episodes of two dubbed programs: *E.R.* (Crichton 1994 - 2009) and *The Bold and the Beautiful* (Bell & Bell 1987 - today).

*E.R.* is an American medical drama television series created by the novelist Michael Crichton; in Italy, it was aired with the title *E.R. - Medici in Prima Linea* on channel Rai 2 from 11<sup>th</sup> January 1996 to 19<sup>th</sup> June 2009, achieving considerable success (Alfieri *et al* 2003). The *E.R.* Corpus is 9 hours long and is made up of nine episodes broadcast in Italy between 2000 and 2001.

*The Bold and the Beautiful* is an American television soap opera created by William J. Bell and Lee Phillip Bell. It premiered in Italy on 4<sup>th</sup> June 1990 with the title *Beautiful* on channel Rai 2. Starting from 5<sup>th</sup> April 1994, it has been regularly broadcast on channel *Canale 5* from Monday to Friday. The *Beautiful* corpus is 4 hours and a half long and the chosen episodes<sup>24</sup> were broadcast in Italy between January and February 2002 (ibid.: 142).

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<sup>24</sup> The actual number of episodes is not specified by the authors.

### **3.2.2 The Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (PCFD) (Freddi and Pavesi 2009)**

This corpus (Freddi and Pavesi 2009) is a collection of 12 American and British films<sup>25</sup> dubbed into Italian and released between 1995 and 2005, and it comprises about 500,000 words (Freddi 2013). This parallel corpus was specifically designed to investigate sociolinguistic and pragmatic features of dubbed Italian, translational patterns and norms (Freddi, 2013: 495 - 496). The orthographic transcriptions of the film lines and their alignment with the dubbed version were used to observe continuity or variation across translations of certain features of the source texts.

### **3.2.3 Pavesi 2005**

The corpus is a sub-corpus<sup>26</sup> of the PCFD and it contains 55,830 words in English and 51,538 words in Italian. This small corpus was used to describe the characteristics of AVT in general, and the features of dubbed Italian in particular. Specifically, from the analysis of the dialogues of these films and their correspondent dubbed version, Pavesi detects seventeen “translational routines”, which she defines as “translations shaped after the source language which are repeated in several films<sup>27</sup>” (Pavesi, *ibid.*: 48). In other words, it is possible to notice patterns in the way a number of expressions is translated in dubbing; moreover, the viewer perceives these translation automatisms as “non-Italian” because, she claims, they do not exist in spontaneous Italian.

### **3.2.4 “La fiction” (Alfieri *et al* 2008)**

The corpus (Alfieri *et al* 2008) was built to provide an overview of the characteristics of the language used in original Italian fictional products, such as dramas and series, to ultimately analyse the linguistic screen model the Italians are exposed to. To this purpose, these scholars selected high audience’s share programs suitable to be

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<sup>25</sup> The films are: “Ae Fond Kiss” (Ken Loach, 2004); “Billy Elliott” (Steven Daldry, 2000); “Crash” (David Cronenberg, 1996); “Dead Man Walking” (Tim Robbins, 1995); “Erin Brockovic” (Steven Soderbergh, 2000); “Finding Forrester” (Gus Van Sant, 2000); “Notting Hill” (Roger Michell, 1999); “Ocean’s Eleven” (Steven Soderbergh, 2001); “One Hour Photo” (Mark Romanek, 2002); “Secrets & Lies” (Mike Leigh, 1996); “Sliding Doors” (Peter Howitt, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> The films are: “Dead Man Walking” (Tim Robbins, 1995); “Finding Forrester” (Gus Van Sant, 2000); “Notting Hill” (Roger Michell, 1999); “Secrets & Lies” (Mike Leigh, 1996); “Sliding Doors” (Peter Howitt, 1998).

<sup>27</sup> Soluzioni traduttive modellate sulla lingua di partenza che si ripetono in più film.

considered in their potential role of influencing the viewers' language (ibid.: 260). "La fiction" includes episodes taken from nine original Italian dramas and soap operas<sup>28</sup> broadcast in Italy from 1996 to 2007. The most interesting finding of this study is that some of the expressions found in their corpus of original Italian programs had been previously described in Alfieri *et al* (2003) as phraseological interferences from dubbing. The authors indicate this result as a clear sign of the influence of dubbed language on original Italian AV language; however, no evidence is beforehand provided that these expressions are the result of translation interference. In the second stage of the analysis, this study specifically addresses this issue.

### **3.3 The grammar and dictionaries: second stage - the lexicographic and etymological searches**

This section provides a description of the resources used for the etymological and lexicographic searches of the linguistic expressions gathered in the previous stage of the analysis. By tracing their origin and use within one grammar, two etymological dictionaries and six historical dictionaries, the investigations aim to establish whether they are plausible instances of interference derived from the translation of AV products from (American) English into Italian. In this way, the shift towards a more rigorous approach is put into practice by using verifiable data rather than personal observations. These linguistic resources have been selected according to criteria of completeness, authoritativeness, and representativeness of diaphasic, diastratic, diamesic, diatopic, and diachronic variation; such characteristics are expanded in the description of each resource.

Because of the claimed recurrent frequency of the linguistic expressions in AVT products, when the findings indicate them as plausible instances of translation interference, the potential diffusing role of other factors can be excluded (or at least, significantly reduced). Thus, it is possible to overcome one of the weaknesses of current research in which the role played by media in language change, even when demonstrable, could not be separated from other factors. Furthermore, these resources allow the researcher to advance hypotheses that potential changes in the

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<sup>28</sup> The programs are: "Orgoglio" (Serafini and Sisti, 2004-2006), "Elisa di Rivombrosa" (Cinzia Th. Torrini, 2003), "Incantesimo" (Lepre et al., 1998-2008), "Commesse" (Giorgio Capitani, 1999-2002), "Centovetrine" (Michele Rovini, 2001-today), "Una famiglia in giallo" (Alberto Simone, 2005), "Un medico in famiglia" (Di Francisca et al., 1998-today), "La squadra" (Stefano Sollima, 2000-2007), "Un posto al sole" (Stefano Sollima, 1996-today), "Il commissario Montalbano" (Alberto Sironi, 1999-today).

use of the linguistic expressions (e.g., variations of the communicative situations in which the speaker uses them) are likely to be due to AVT influence.

Finally, to compare the findings of the lexicographic investigations with dictionaries of Italian from 1965 to present day, a number of modern and contemporary dictionaries are used. These dictionaries are: *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (henceforth, Garzanti 1965), *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana di Nicola Zingarelli* (henceforth, Zing. 1993), *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana De Mauro* (henceforth, DM 2000), *Il Sabatini Coletti* (henceforth, DISC 2008), *Il Devoto-Oli 2009* (henceforth, Devoto-Oli 2009), *Il Devoto-Oli 2014* (henceforth, Devoto-Oli 2014), *Grande Dizionario Italiano - Speciale 150 anni* (henceforth, Hoepli 2011), *Grande dizionario di Italiano* (henceforth, GDI 2013), *Vocabolario Treccani* (henceforth, Treccani).

### **3.3.1 Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione**

The “Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione” (Reference Italian Grammar) is a grammar book in three volumes published between 1988 and 1995; it is considered the most complete and advanced description of the Italian language, as well as one of the most comprehensive grammars in the world (Stammerjohann, 1989). 36 linguists were involved in both the compilation of this work and the accurate selection of the linguistic data used for the examples, which show the real use of the language at any level, from colloquial to highly formal (Renzi *et al* 2001).

This grammar was used as a valuable reference resource for the analysis of the linguistic expressions and the alleged interference from English, for example to confirm or discard previous claims. This was especially true for those cases when a particular structure had been indicated by previous scholars as not traditionally belonging to the Italian language (see for example the analysis of *assolutamente* in § 5.1.1 point 38, or the use of deictic expressions in § 5.1.2 point 40).

### **3.3.2 The DELI and l’Etimologico**

The Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana – DELI (Etymological Dictionary of the Italian Language, henceforth DELI) (Cortelazzo and Zolli 2008) gathers etymological information of about 47,000 words in use in the Italian language and investigates the evolution of each word in its cultural use. This resource is particularly useful to look into the origin and the historical evolution of the Italian lexicon, taking into consideration formal or semantic changes, whether any conflict with other words



has occurred, or if the analysed word had been replaced by others in its use, or in some of its uses, by other items.

L'Etimologico (The Etymological Dictionary, henceforth Nocentini 2010) (Nocentini, 2010) provides information about the first official appearance and the oldest sentence collocation of more than 48,000 words together with information on their meaning and grammar use. It also contains more than 27,000 derivatives, compounds and variants. Both these resources are used to investigate the first appearance and use, or changes in the use, of the linguistic expressions, in contrast with the introduction of dubbing in Italy.

### **3.3.3 The Tommaseo-Bellini (1861-1879)**

The Tommaseo-Bellini (henceforth TB 1861-1879) is a monumental work published in eight volumes between 1861 and 1879. It contains about 120,000 definitions and it is considered the most important dictionary of the Italian language produced during the Italian Risorgimento (Marello 1996). The TB 1861-1879 represents one of the most concrete attempts to provide the foundations for the establishment of Italian as a language not only of literary use. The dictionary was indeed a powerful tool for the spreading of the Italian language, and afterwards, a valuable resource of lexicographic investigation beyond compare (Zingarelli, 2004).

The resource plays a fundamental role within the lexicographic investigations allowing the researcher to study examples of the use of words and expressions, proverbs and phraseology at the time, to investigate the specialised lexicon of various disciplines (history, medicine, art, etc.), and to trace their literary sources and their use. Even more importantly, it can be considered as a plausible dictionary of real-use Italian of the time (Migliorni, 1994), such that the use in context of the linguistic expressions can be investigated from a diachronic perspective.

### **3.3.4 The Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca**

The Accademia della Crusca is the most important centre for scientific research dedicated to the study and promotion of the Italian language, as well as the institutional reference centre for Italian. The Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca (henceforth Crusca 1729-1738 and Crusca 1863-1923) referred to in this research is the fourth and fifth edition of a colossal lexicographic work started in 1590. The resource provides a rich picture of Italian exploring different levels of the language: literary, technical, scientific, academic and spoken.

The dictionary has been entirely digitalised and made freely accessible online<sup>29</sup> where, by selecting specific sections of each edition, it is possible to launch advanced queries. The results show definitions, examples, locutions, proverbs, and sources; the platform also allows the researcher to consult each edition for the same item, to follow lexicographically potential changes throughout the centuries. The fifth edition, in particular, has been enriched with a glossary in which words and expressions perceived at the time as being ‘antiquated, foreign, corrupted and uncertain<sup>30</sup>’ are collected, thus providing useful information of what was perceived as new at the time.

### **3.3.5 The Dizionario Moderno and the Appendice**

The Dizionario Moderno (Panzini 1905-1935) is a lexicographic work which is considered atypical for the remarkable amount of neologisms that it gathers and its style, which is deliberately ironic and non-scientific. Thanks to the comments made by the author on terms derived from science, technology, dialect, and foreign languages, this resource can be considered as an encyclopaedia of the Italian language and culture at the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. Its linguistic and historical importance lies in its very comprehensive annotation of customs, traditions and values of the Italian petty bourgeoisie of the time. The resource is particularly helpful in placing the appearance of the linguistic expressions before the establishment of dubbing in Italy, which would naturally exclude the role of AVT.

The Appendice al Dizionario Moderno (Migliorini 1950) is an appendix to the Dizionario Moderno, which incorporates about 8,000 new items, including all the loanwords which had been banned by the Accademia della Crusca. This resource shows new aspects of the Italian language of the decade 1940-1950, giving the linguist abundant material for investigating the origin of new words and expressions.

### **3.3.6 The Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana**

The Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana (henceforth GDLI) is a historical dictionary of the Italian language whose compilation started in 1961 and finished in 2002. It is divided in 21 volumes and analyses 183,594 Italian words investigated within 14,061 works of 6,077 authors of literature, poetry, press, bureaucracy and

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<sup>29</sup> <http://www.lessicografia.it>

<sup>30</sup> [...] parole e locuzioni antiche, straniere, corrotte e incerte della nostra lingua ([www.accademiadellacrusca.it](http://www.accademiadellacrusca.it)).

many other fields. Later supplements (2004 and 2009) updated the dictionary with additional words, and a complete index of bibliographic references was published alongside the 2004 supplement (UTET, 2015).

The project had started as an updated version of the TB, and today it provides definitions of all possible meanings of each linguistic item, the usage of which is given in chronological order. This historical dictionary is a powerful lexicographic tool as it lists all the words, even those which were obsolete at the time of the compilation, up to the most recent neologisms, allowing the linguist to trace the history of each item through the many examples provided.

### **3.4 The written corpora: third stage – the quantitative investigations (1 of 2)**

As maintained in previous chapters, dubbing has been claimed to be not only the source for new expressions, but also the main channel through which some linguistic features have been increasingly used; such claims, however, have been based upon the scholar's own perception of the language. In this study, the corpora of written Italian are used especially to verify previous statements made about the frequency of a construct or word. These resources are employed to analyse the actual use of the selected items in Italian, if at all, throughout the years, and if any change has occurred before the coming of dubbing and, eventually, afterwards. Corpora are sources of quantitative information beyond compare, as "human beings have only the vaguest notion of the frequency of a construct or word" (McEnery and Wilson, 1996/2001: 15). The use of corpora is then crucial to verify the results of the lexicographic searches and, at the same time, to capture a more realistic picture of the language. Finally, these findings allow the linguist to further reduce the number of expressions that might be likely products of linguistic interference from dubbing so as to obtain a list of only the most valid candidates.

#### **3.4.1 The CORIS and the (Dia)CORIS Corpus<sup>31</sup>**

The CORIS Corpus - Corpus dell'Italiano Scritto (Corpus of written Italian) collects 130 million words from authentic texts of written Italian chosen by virtue of their representativeness of modern Italian. This fully available corpus was designed to

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<sup>31</sup> The description of the corpora is taken from [http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it/coris\\_itaProgett.html](http://corpora.dslo.unibo.it/coris_itaProgett.html)

create a representative and sizeable general reference corpus of written Italian. To avoid the corpus obsolescence, it has been updated every three years by means of an inbuilt monitor corpus, which records innovations and modifications in current usage. The resource collects both original Italian and translated<sup>32</sup> Italian texts published between the 80s and 2011; they are organised into macro and micro varieties, as it follows:

<b>MACRO-VARIETY</b>	<b>MICRO-VARIETY</b>	<b>WORDS (IN Mw)</b>
<b>PRESS</b>	NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS	38
<b>FICTION</b>	NOVELS, SHORT STORIES	25
<b>ACADEMIC WRITING</b>	BOOKS, REVIEWS, ESSAYS	12
<b>ADMIN./LEGAL WRITING</b>	BOOKS, REVIEWS, DECREES, JUDGEMENTS	10
<b>MISCELLANEOUS</b>	BOOKS, REVIEWS, WEB	10
<b>EPHEMERA</b>	LETTERS, LEAFLETS	5

**Table 1: CORIS – Structure**

The DiaCORIS (Diachronic CORIS) is a sub-corpus of the CORIS and it collects texts from 1861 to 2001. The resource was created “to design a representative and well balanced sample of the Italian language over a time period that contains all the main events of contemporary Italian history from the National Unification to the end of the Second World War” (Onelli *et al*, 2006: 1212). The uniqueness of the DiaCORIS resides in the design of the corpus itself, which conveniently divides the texts in five time sections: 1861-1900, 1901-1922, 1923-1945, 1946-1967, 1968-2001, thus providing the researcher with a powerful and flexible tool for the diachronic analysis of linguistic phenomena over a long period of time.

<sup>32</sup> The translated texts are however excluded from the analysis, in order to leave out from the count instances of written translation interference. This argument will be further analysed in chapter 5.

The resource totals up to 25 million words equally distributed among the five time sections. As the DiaCORIS was conceived as a supplement of the CORIS, its structure mirrors the CORIS' division into macro- and micro-varieties.

### **3.5 The corpora of spoken Italian: fourth stage – the quantitative investigations (2 of 2)**

The review of existing research on Italian dubbing revealed that the presence in the oral language of instances of assumed translation interference has not been substantiated by data of their actual entrenchment into spoken Italian. The evidence-based approach adopted in this thesis culminates in the final stage of the proposed research procedure, where the hypothesis of the impact of dubbing on the end user's language is finally tested within four corpora of spoken Italian. These resources are of crucial importance for this study; firstly, because they collect samples of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous spoken Italian from 1965 to 2005, thus allowing the linguist to investigate the presence and use of the selected linguistic expressions throughout time. Secondly, since the data collection took place in different Italian cities, the linguist is provided with a detailed and representative picture of spoken Italian from North to South. This analysis will ultimately establish if Italian dubbing can be considered as an agent in language change, which present-day Italian expressions that may have been derived from translation interference are in use in spoken Italian, and which categories of the language are more affected by AVT influence.

The following sections present a description of the corpora of spoken Italian; first, however, a brief introduction dedicated to the transcription and annotation criteria of spoken language corpora is necessary. Unlike written language analysis, where, thanks to punctuation, the identification of the linguistic units of interest is less of an issue, the definition of units for spontaneous language is not at all straightforward and, therefore, needs to be clarified. In this respect, Moneglia (2005: 14) affirms: "The segmentation of the speech flow into discrete events is one of the most relevant questions for the analysis of speech resources". Generally speaking, the relevant units for spontaneous speech are defined as speech events or utterances. However, the definition of an utterance itself is quite problematic, for it can depend on various criteria (e.g., syntactic versus semantic considerations); Miller & Weinert (1998), for instance, argue that in spoken language, syntactic clauses should be considered as core units while sentences commonly belong to written discourse only.

Scholars largely agree that the segmentation of spoken language needs to be based on spoken language properties, that is mainly intonation. What has turned out to be controversial, however, is the notion of intonation unit itself, which has been defined in multiple ways: ‘tone group’, ‘intonation group’, ‘tone unit’, ‘intonation(al) phrase’, ‘intonation unit’ (e.g., Selkirk 1984; Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986; Halliday 1989; Chafe 1994; Cruttenden 1997; Brazil 1997; Hirst & Di Cristo 1998; Halliday 2004). Whatever the approach, a common ground is shared in defining the intonation unit as “a functional, coherent segmental unit, be it syntactic, semantic, informational, or the like” (Izre’el, 2005: 2) with a ‘coherent intonation contour’ (i.e., Du Bois *et al* 1992, 1993; Chafe 1994; Tao 1996) the boundaries of which are quite easy to identify.

Practically speaking, this means that the detection of utterances in the discourse flow is defined by the intonation boundaries and it is assumed that there is a relation between intonation units and information units (Halliday 1976). This relation, however, is not considered as a one-to-one correspondence but rather as a heuristic method for detecting utterance boundaries whenever a string ends with a terminal break (Moneglia 2005). An utterance can consist of more information units and can therefore be expressed by more intonation units. At the same time, if the prosodic break is perceived as terminal, the immediate implication is that an act has been accomplished and “[the] accomplishment of an illocutionary act is the main property that a language event has in order to be considered an utterance.” (ibid.: 16). In other words, the performance of language acts is seen as defined by prosody, which, consequently, entails a strict correspondence between the identification of utterances and strings ending with a terminal break.

The adoption of this methodology to detect utterances is based on and benefits from the competent speakers’ sensitivity to perceive even minimal prosodic breaks, i.e., there is room for pragmatic interpretation. On the other hand, if a competent speaker cannot pragmatically interpret a string, the string in question is not considered as an utterance. The division of the speech flow in terminal breaks, that is, utterances, is not on its own sufficient to label the speech act performed by the string but, rather, it marks where a prosodic variation occurs. The definition of the portion in which the prosodic movement takes place, however, favours the understanding of the subsequent speech act categorisation.

### 3.5.1 The Stammerjohann (1965): composition, transcription criteria and accessibility

The Stammerjohann corpus is the oldest corpus of spoken Italian; it includes thirty recordings of speech which add up to 46 hours and 46 minutes and about 100,000 words (Scarano and Signorini, 2005: 198). The recording sessions are categorised according to variation parameters (ibid.) as indicated in the following table:

	BROADCASTING	
<b>DIAMESIC VARIATION</b>	TELEPHONE	
	NATURAL SPEECH	
	PRIVATE	MONOLOGUE
<b>DIAPHASIC VARIATION</b>	FAMILY	DIALOGUE
	PUBLIC	CONVERSATION
	FREE	
<b>INTERACTION</b>	REGULATED	

**Table 2: Stammerjohann - Structure**

The corpus does not contain data of formal speech, which makes this resource a particularly valid tool for the analysis of informal Italian at the time. More importantly, when compared with corpora of contemporary spoken Italian, it represents the basis for a diachronic linguistic comparison (Scarano 2004).

The corpus has been transcribed and annotated according to the notion that terminal variation in prosody determines the boundaries of an utterance and the orthographic transcriptions of the recordings are aligned with the respective audio files. Such a structure is particularly effective when it is necessary to listen to the recordings to disambiguate the function performed by the analysed item. The resource is managed by the Linguistics Laboratory of the Italian Department of the University of Florence (LABLITA) and it is freely accessible online from the website of the Institute<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> <http://lablita.dit.unifi.it/corpora/confronto/distribuzione.html>

### 3.5.2 The LIP Corpus (1990 - 1992)

The LIP - *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato* (Frequency Lexicon of Spoken Italian) (De Mauro *et al* 1993) is one of the most important collections of spoken Italian. It was realised between 1990 and 1992 with the aim of compiling the first frequency dictionary of spoken Italian. It contains 469 texts for approximately 490,000 words and about 60 hours of recordings; the recording sessions took place in four Italian cities (Milan, Florence, Rome, and Naples). The number of words is adequately balanced within both the cities and contexts of communication (about 25,000 words).

The texts are categorised (*ibid.*: 35ff) as described in the following table:

TYPE	EXCHANGE	CONVERSATION CONTEXT
A	FACE TO FACE BI-DIRECTIONAL (FREE TURN-TAKING)	HOME, WORK, SCHOOL/UNIVERSITY, MEANS OF TRANSPORT
B	NOT FACE TO FACE BI-DIRECTIONAL (FREE TURN- TAKING)	TELEPHONE, RADIO BROADCAST TELEPHONE, ANSWERING MACHINE
C	FACE TO FACE BI-DIRECTIONAL (REGULATED TURN- TAKING)	ASSEMBLIES, MEETINGS ORAL EXAMS (SCHOOL/UNIVERSITY) COURT INTERROGATIONS RADIO/TELEVISION INTERVIEWS
D	UNIDIRECTIONAL (PRESENT ADDRESSEE)	LESSONS AND LECTURES SPEECHES AND TALKS (POLITICAL PARTIES MEETINGS, ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS) SERMONS, COURT PLEADINGS
E	UNIDIRECTIONAL (DISTANT ADDRESSEE)	TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAMS

**Table 3: LIP – Structure**

As shown in the table, the corpus provides a complete and rich picture of spoken Italian. Although it is a doubtlessly important resource for the analysis of spoken



Italian, the transcriptions of the audio-texts have a minimal level of annotation. These basic annotation criteria include the indication of pauses, overlapping of different speakers and vowel lengthening, but punctuation is never used except when signalling a question.

The actual recordings of the LIP Corpus have only recently been made publicly available within the VoLIP resource (*Voce del LIP – LIP's Voice*). The VoLIP is a linguistic resource which matches the audio files with the orthographic transcriptions of the LIP Corpus and allows different levels of analysis (sociolinguistic, lexical and morpho-syntactic analyses). From the dedicated website<sup>34</sup>, it is possible to obtain frequency lists of the searched words, to access the correspondent text and audio file in which the searched words occur, and to download the whole corpus (both the audio files and aligned texts).

The platform is instrumental to launch queries to confirm quickly the presence/absence of a word/expression. If an item is found, its paired transcribed text can be accessed to analyse its broader context of occurrence and draw initial conclusions on the function it performs. In the event that the transcribed context is not clear enough to disambiguate the function fulfilled by the relevant expression, the researcher can ultimately listen to the aligned audio-file. In other words, the lack of prosodic annotation and the type of parsing used in the transcriptions is not problematic.

### **3.5.3 The C-ORAL-ROM (2000 - 2003)**

The C-ORAL-ROM corpus (Cresti and Moneglia 2005) is a multilingual corpus of spontaneous speech collecting about 1,200,000 words of four languages: French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. In addition to representing spontaneous speech variation in each language, the resource enables direct comparability among the four sub-corpora (Cresti *et al* 2002). Each language resource collects approximately 300,000 words and the prosodic units identified as utterances are aligned with their audio correspondent.

The corpus is sampled according to semiological and sociological parameters such as the social domain of use, the dialogical structure, the gender of the speakers, age, occupation, and so on (Cresti and Moneglia, 2005: 8). The following table shows the structure of each sub-corpus per thousands of words:

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.parlaritaliano.it/index.php/it/volip>

<b>FORMAL (~150 w)</b>						
<b>INFORMAL (~150 w)</b>						
PRIVATE/FAMILY CONTEXT (~113 w)		PUBLIC CONTEXT (~37 w)		NATURAL CONTEXT (~65 w)	MEDIA CONTEXT (~60 w)	TELEPHONE (~25 w)
MONOLOGUE (~33 w)	DIALOGUE (~80 w)	MONOLOGUE (~6 w)	DIALOGUE (~31 w)	POLITICAL SPEECHES AND DEBATES LECTURES CONFERENCE S SERMONS	NEWS INTERVIEWS TALK SHOWS WEATHER FORECAST	PRIVATE DIALOGUES CALLS TO PHONE SERVICES

**Table 4: C-ORAL-ROM – Structure**

As the table shows, the corpus offers a significant representation of the spoken universe with respect to different types of contexts and spontaneous speech events. In order to cover relevant types of speech events and, therefore, to identify frequency lexicons, the representation of a variety of contexts is, undoubtedly, the most effective strategy. Moneglia (2005: 7) states: “A high-frequency lexicon may be under-represented in specific pragmatic domains which, on the contrary, by definition, maximise the probability of occurrence of low-frequency lexical items”.

The C-ORAL-ROM used in this study is the one distributed in the form of a DVD, which also provides a language concordance software (*Contextes*) to launch specific queries. The corpus transcription and annotation are based on the concept that terminal variation in prosody determines the boundaries of an utterance; this makes easier for the researcher to identify the boundaries of each linguistic expression with a minimum level of ambiguity.

### **3.5.4 The CLIPS (1999 - 2004)**

The CLIPS - Corpora e Lessici dell'Italiano Parlato e Scritto (Corpora and Lexicons of Written and Spoken Italian) (Albano Leoni *et al* 2006) consists of about 100 hours of oral speech recorded in fifteen Italian cities from 1999 and 2004. The project involved 360 speakers, balanced between men and women and evenly distributed among the cities. The corpus is organised in six levels and each level is formed by sub-corpora. The first level includes media conversations (radio and TV), dialogues, texts read aloud, telephone conversations, and an orthophonic corpus. Each sub-

corpus is then divided into fifteen folders, each one corresponding to the city where the conversations were recorded (second level). All the other levels contain the data for each of the five sub-types included in the first level, stored in various file formats (e.g., txt, wave).

Since not all sub-types were relevant to this research, the sub-corpora used in this study are: media conversations, dialogues, and telephone conversations. Contrary to the other corpora of spoken Italian employed in this research, which consist of samples of collected spontaneous speech, the conversations in the dialogues sub-corpus were obtained using the Map Task technique (Brown *et al* 1984) and the Difference Game (i.e., semi-spontaneous speech). These are collaborative tasks used to encourage spontaneous dialogues among speakers. Participants are given a map containing a route with landmarks. The maps are slightly different from each other in order to cause misunderstanding among the speakers and to stimulate interaction and communication. The speech obtained in this way is defined as semi-spontaneous because the researcher can exercise a certain control over the communicative situations, for example, by selecting the words that the speakers will need to describe the maps (semantic and lexical control) (Savino, 2000: 2). On the one hand, the Map Task technique offers some advantages to the researcher, such as a moderate control on the type of communicative situation to test, and the possibility to ‘measure’ whether the communicative exchange is successful. At the same time, the number of speech act types distributed throughout spontaneous speech corpora has been found substantially higher than in the Map Task dialogues (Moneglia, 2005: 8). In other words, speech acts variation is less represented in corpora of semi-spontaneous speech collected with the Map Task technique.

In transcribing the conversations, a minimum level of punctuation has been inserted (question marks, exclamation points, commas) which do not, however, correspond to any prosodic transcription. The transcription unit taken into account is the turn taking when it takes place both with and without interrupting the other interlocutor (overlapping). Once again, as the audio recordings are available for listening, the lack of prosodic annotation and the type of parsing used in the transcriptions is not problematic for the researcher. The corpus is wholly available on the Internet for free download<sup>35</sup>. Although the resource is virtually fully accessible, the website does not provide any platform through which the corpus can be accessed and queried (unlike, for instance, the LIP Corpus and the C-ORAL-

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<sup>35</sup> <http://www.clips.unina.it/en/>

ROM). Consequently, the corpus was only queryable by means of an external concordance software; specifically, Wordsmith 6.0® was used.

### **3.6 Summary**

In this chapter, I provided an overview of all the resources employed during the stages of the analysis. These tools are used to corroborate the hypothesis that some present-day Italian expressions have become entrenched in contemporary Italian because of dubbing. The description of these resources follows the chronological order used in the research: AV corpora, etymological and historical dictionaries, a grammar, and written and spoken corpora. Though valuable, the selection of dictionaries and corpora employed in this study is not to be considered complete or exhaustive by any means. Rather, the resources suggested here are examples of the sort of valid tools that can be used to apply the innovative method proposed in this thesis, with no intention of excluding some in favour of others. In future works, different resources may be used, either as complementary or substitute tools for those employed here.

In the next chapter, I will qualitatively analyse the linguistic expressions to derive further categories of DI. First, I will argue that, because DI is expected to affect the most conventionalised devices of orality, it is in the characteristics of spoken language itself that the main categories for interference must be identified. Drawing on these considerations, the qualitative analysis is finally carried out and each expression is categorised according to its specific function in context.

## 4.1 Introduction

The principal aim of this thesis is to offer a substantial account of AVT interference and language change through dubbing which, by encompassing the need for a more precise methodology, would empirically substantiate the argument of dubbing-induced language change proposed before. The approach taken for this purpose combines the need for a comprehensive framework, clear definitions of terms, and a classification of the phenomena under investigation with in-depth searches of objective data (e.g., dictionaries, corpora). In chapter 2 (§ 2.6), I advanced that a pragmatic perspective is adopted throughout, as the instances of interference are analysed only in their context of use, leaving aside other levels of linguistic investigation (e.g., grammar, syntax, morphology).

In the same chapter (§ 2.7), I also reviewed works that have explored the concepts of both linguistic and translation interference and I introduced the notion of *dubbing interference* (DI) to define more rigorously the vague ‘non Italian’ parameter previously used by other authors to identify the instances of interference. As discussed in particular in § 2.5, the collected linguistic expressions not only cover a wide range of linguistic functions, but, depending on the study, they have also been referred to in multiple ways. The definition of DI provides in this way the framework necessary to undertake a more targeted and consistent investigation, in preparation for the qualitative analysis which will be carried out in this chapter.

After illustrating the process through which the main categories of DI are derived (§ 4.3), the qualitative analysis of the data is presented in § 4.4. Finally, § 4.5 recapitulates the main points discussed in the chapter and introduces the following step of the methodology, which will be pursued in chapter V. First, however, I will present the 73 linguistic expressions (§ 4.2), which previous authors have identified as being the result of AVT interference.

#### **4.2 The linguistic expressions: 73 alleged instances of dubbing interference**

In the table that follows, I present the linguistic expressions which, in previous studies, have been singled out as instances of translation interference derived from dubbing. It should be noted that no selection has been carried out when harvesting the expressions; the following is, to the author's knowledge, the comprehensive list of items claimed by previous authors to be instances of dubbing interference. Clearly, the majority of them are typical features of orality, thus providing a preliminary confirmation of the predictability of DI (see § 1.3 and 2.7). The table shows, in alphabetical order, the Italian expression, the original English version, the gloss translation (when possible or necessary), and the study in which each expression has been identified.

In the majority of cases, alternative expressions are given; in specified cases<sup>36</sup>, these alternatives are the ones provided by the authors who had identified the alleged instance of interference. As made clear in § 1.2 and § 2.4.2, the "method" used by these scholars to identify the instances of interference relied on their own sensitiveness of what was perceived as 'non Italian', or 'not traditional'. The only 'evidence' which would prove them to be instances of translation interference was the authors' provision of their own alternatives which, they argued, in similar communicative situations would be perceived as 'traditional' and 'more natural'. In other words, these expressions are intuitively 'non Italian' as other alternative expressions are perceived as more familiar, therefore, they are the result of translation interference. In other cases<sup>37</sup>, the provided alternative is given by the author of this thesis, mainly to carry out contrastive quantitative investigations. Such alternatives are derived by analysing the communicative situation in which the supposed instances of interference are expected to be used; once a plausible alternative is found, lexicographic investigations are carried out to validate the author's hypothesis. Finally, in a small number of cases it was not possible to retrieve any valid alternative; this will be discussed separately case by case.

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<sup>36</sup> Please refer to the in-depth case by case analysis in Chapter 5.

<sup>37</sup> See footnote 36.

<b>ITALIAN EXPRESSION</b>	<b>ORIGINAL ENGLISH EXPRESSION</b>	<b>GLOSS TRANSLATION</b>	<b>STUDY</b>
(COME) POSSO AIUTARLA?	(HOW) CAN I HELP YOU?	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
(NON) ESSERE IN CONDIZIONE DI	(NOT) TO BE IN CONDITION TO	-----	PATUELLI 1936
ABBI CURA DI TE	TAKE CARE	HAVE CARE OF YOURSELF	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
AMICO	BUDDY/MAN/MATE/DUDE	FRIEND	GALASSI 2000
ASPETTA UN MINUTO/SECONDO	WAIT A MINUTE/SECOND	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
ASSOLUTAMENTE	ABSOLUTELY	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
AVERE UNA POSSIBILITA’	TO HAVE A CHANCE	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
BASTARDO	BASTARD	-----	ROSSI 2010
BENE	WELL	-----	DARDANO 1986
BERSI IL CERVELLO	TO GO/BE NUTS	TO DRINK ONE’S BRAIN	PAVESI 2005
BUONA GIORNATA	HAVE A NICE DAY	GOOD DAY	PAVESI 2005
CHIUDI IL BECCO!	SHUT UP!	SHUT THE BEAK!	PAVESI 2005
COME TI SUONA/COME TI SEMBRA CHE SUONI?	HOW DOES IT SOUND TO YOU?	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
DACCI UN TAGLIO!	CUT IT OUT!	GIVE IT A CUT!	PAVESI 2005
DAMMI/BATTI IL CINQUE	HIGH FIVE/GIVE ME FIVE	HIT THE FIVE	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
DANNAZIONE!	DAMN!	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
DEVO ANDARE	I GOTTA GO	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
È COME ANDARE IN BICICLETTA	IT’S LIKE RIDING A BIKE	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
E’ BELLO VEDERTI	IT’S NICE TO SEE YOU	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
EHY	HEY	-----	ROSSI 2010
ESATTO	EXACTLY	-----	PAVESI 2005

ESSERE ECCITANTE/ECCITATO	TO BE EXCITING/EXCITED	-----	PAVESI 2005
ESSERE FORTE	TO BE COOL	TO BE STRONG	PAVESI 2005
ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO AL MOMENTO GIUSTO	TO BE IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT MOMENT	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
ESSERE UNO SPASSO/SPASSARSELA	TO BE A HOOT/TO HAVE A HOOT	-----	PAVESI 2005
FARE LA COSA GIUSTA	DO THE RIGHT THING	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
FARE LA DIFFERENZA	TO MAKE THE DIFFERENCE	-----	PAVESI 2005
FARE SECCO QUALCUNO	TO KILL SOMEONE	TO DRY SOMEONE OFF	PAVESI 2005
FIGLIOLO	SON	DEAR BOY	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
FINE DELLA STORIA	END OF STORY	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
FOTTUTO/VA' A FARTI FOTTERE/FOTTITI	FUCKED/FUCK YOU/FUCK OFF	-----	GALASSI 2000
FRATELLO	BRO/BROTHER	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
FRENA	HOLD ON	BREAK	PAVESI 2005
GIA'	YEAH	INDEED	PAVESI 1994
GIURO DI DIRE LA VERITA', TUTTA LA VERITA', NIENT'ALTRO CHE LA VERITA'	I SWEAR TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
GIUSTO?	RIGHT?	-----	VIOLA FORTHCOMING
GRANDE!	GREAT!	-----	VIOLA FORTHCOMING
GRAZIE PER	THANKS FOR	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
INCREDIBILMENTE	INCREDIBLY	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008



INCROCIAMO LE DITA!	LET'S KEEP OUR FINGERS CROSSED!	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
L'HAI DETTO!	YOU SAID IT!	-----	PAVESI 2005
LA DOMANDA DA UN MILIONE DI DOLLARI	THE MILLION DOLLAR QUESTION	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
LA SAI (UNA) COSA?	YOU KNOW WHAT?	-----	PAVESI 2005, 2008
LASCIAMI DIRE UNA COSA	LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING	-----	VIOLA FORTHCOMING
METTERE A RISCHIO	TO PUT AT RISK	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
NIENTE DI PERSONALE	NOTHING PERSONAL		PAVESI 2005
NON C'È PROBLEMA	NO PROBLEM	THERE IS NO PROBLEM	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
NON CI POSSO CREDERE!	I CAN'T BELIEVE IT!	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
OBIEZIONE ACCOLTA/RESPINTA	OBJECTION SUSTAINED/OVERRULED	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
OPS/UPS	OOPS	-----	ROSSI 2010
PER FAVORE	PLEASE	-----	DARDANO 1986
POSSO CHIAMARLA + NOME PROPRIO?	CAN I CALL YOU + FIRST NAME?	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
PREGO	PLEASE	-----	DARDANO 1986
PUOI SCOMMETTERCI!	YOU BETCHA!	YOU CAN BET ON IT!	ROSSI 2010
PUOI SENTIRMI?	CAN YOU HEAR ME?	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?	WHAT'S THE PROBLEM?	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
QUESTA È SPAZZATURA!	(THAT'S) RUBBISH!	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
QUESTO È TUTTO	THAT'S ALL/IT	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
SALVE	HELLO/HI	-----	PAVESI 2005
SCORDATELO!	FORGET IT!	-----	PAVESI 2005
SI RILASSI	RELAX	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
Sì? (x2)	YES?	-----	RANDO 1973a
SICURO!	SURE!	-----	PAVESI 2005

SIGNOR X E IO	MR X AND I	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2008
SISSIGNORE	YES, SIR	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002
SPARA!	SHOOT!	-----	VIOLA FORTHCOMING
STAI SCHERZANDO?	ARE YOU KIDDING?/JOKING?	-----	FERRO & SARDO 2008; PAVESI 2005
STANNE FUORI	STAY OUT OF THIS	-----	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
UAU	Wow	-----	ROSSI 2010
UN SOLDINO PER I TUOI PENSIERI	A PENNY FOR YOUR THOUGHTS	A LITTLE COIN FOR YOUR THOUGHTS	ALFIERI <i>ET AL</i> 2003
VOGLIO DIRE/INTENDO DIRE	I MEAN	I WANT TO SAY	ROSSI 2010
VOSTRO ONORE	YOUR HONOUR	-----	BOLLETTIERI BOSINELLI 2002

**Table 5: List of instances of DI identified in the existing literature**

### 4.3 Identifying categories of DI

In § 2.7, I maintained that translation interference in AV texts especially affects features typical of face-to-face interaction and oral talk. The reasons for this are to be found in AV products' *prefabricated orality* (Chaume, 2004: 168), in the need for dubbing translators to recreate it in the dubbed text, and in the fact that AVT is a particularly tightly constrained form of translation. DI is therefore defined as the translation interference which chiefly affects those devices used when speakers verbally interact, which are unusual or non-existent in the target context. Drawing from these considerations, it appears clear that specific categories of DI are to be linked to the characteristics of oral talk and language use which have also been found to be recurrent features of AVT texts. In this section, I will briefly provide an overview of such features so as to identify broad categories of DI; these will then be used to derive relevant sub-categories within the qualitative analysis.

The characteristics of spontaneous spoken language<sup>38</sup> are widely shared by all languages (Voghera 1992) and include both macro and micro characteristics

<sup>38</sup> The description of the characteristics of spoken language is taken from Bazzanella (1994: 12-27).

(Bazzanella 1994). The macro-characteristics are: 1) the phonic-acoustic channel, 2) a common extra-linguistic context, 3) the contemporaneous presence of a speaker and an interlocutor.

1) Oral communication occurs through the phonic-acoustic channel, which entails **immediacy** and **spontaneity**, both when produced and received. This general feature gives rise to a series of micro-characteristics, such as:

- **An exiguous possibility of planning the discourse:** this refers to the difficulty of pre-organizing each turn-taking while the conversation proceeds. Consequently, it concerns restarts, false starts, pauses, overlappings;
- **The impossibility of cancelling:** in oral communication, it is not possible to cancel what has been said before but only to explicitly modify it through self-repair mechanisms;
- **Evanescence:** the oral message does not leave any physical trace and it is entirely managed by memory which, having limited capacities of storing, entails that both the speaker and the listener cannot go back and “re-read”;
- **Prosodic features:** they include intonation, pauses, intensity, length of pronouciation.

2) The interlocutors share a common context, that is the same time and place. This means that the time of speaking and the time of receiving the message are simultaneous. From this main characteristic the following micro-features are derived:

- **The use of non-linguistic means:** facial expressions, head nodding and body language in general;
- **Deixis:** this refers to the knowledge of the world shared by the interlocutors, their shared visual contexts and memories.

3) Dialogue is the primary form of spoken language; this means that face-to-face interaction is at its peak. Consequently, the participants are directly involved and the communication is extremely cooperative. The micro-characteristics derived from this macro feature are:

- **The importance of the phatic function:** this function helps to create, strengthen and maintain cohesion among interlocutors, developing more involvement compared to written language for instance;
- **Feed-backs:** the interlocutor can always show both agreement and disagreement, or interrupt and take a turn;
- **Shared knowledge:** the possibility to refer to the shared knowledge of the context or to what is assumed to be shared with the interlocutors.

As already pointed out, to help the viewer identify with the fictional world shown on the screen, film dialogues and consequently, AVT reproduce many of these macro and micro features. Therefore, the identification of the main categories of DI is focussed on what has been defined as one of the most typical features of spontaneous conversation (among others, Stenström 1990; Fox 1999; Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2009): pragmatic markers (PMs). Although grammatically optional and semantically empty, PMs are not superfluous; Brinton (1996: 35) for example states: “if such markers are omitted, the discourse is grammatically acceptable, but it would be judged ‘unnatural’, ‘awkward’, ‘disjointed’, ‘impolite’”. Such devices are essential to screen writers and AV translators as they confer vitality and authenticity to film dialogues of which the major characteristic is, as said in previous chapters, to look unplanned and unrehearsed.

Some authors (e.g., Maraschio 1982; Pavesi 1994, 2005) have pointed out that dubbed language employs and even intensifies formulaic expressions that are typical of spontaneous talk such as conversational routines (CRs), idioms and flexible strings. Other typical features of spontaneous talk, which are enhanced in dubbing, include frozen collocations, proverbs, sayings, phraseological collocations. As an umbrella term to cover expressions of this kind, I will use the term *fixed expressions* (FEs) in the sense adopted by Moon (1998: 2) who defined them as “several kinds of phrasal lexeme, phraseological unit, or multi-word lexical item: that is, holistic units of two or more words”. Scholars such as Alfieri *et al* (2008) and Pavesi (2008) found that in dubbing translations, in particular, the whole unit is often translated literally without considering the recipient’s culture, thus introducing in the target text an image that has been conceived in another language (Darbelnet, 1976:110). Alfieri *et al* (2008: 322-323) for example affirm: “Often in dubbing, between source and target language, there are interferences which belong [...] especially [to] the phraseological level, that is to those domains which have been proven by dubbing studies to trigger

more easily linguistic equivalences [...] ‘hidden’ borrowings which introduce new phraseological expressions and sayings<sup>39</sup>”.

#### **4.4 The qualitative analysis**

The analysis of the main features shared by spontaneous spoken language and dubbed language led to the identification of three main categories of DI: pragmatic markers, formulaic language, and fixed expressions. In what follows, I set out the parameters for the qualitative analysis of the linguistic expressions listed in table 5 to identify and describe aspects of usage of these items in further detail. This step functions as a preparation for the quantitative investigations that will be presented in the following chapters. As each item is considered within the context in which it occurs, the qualitative analysis enables the researcher to draw very fine and detailed distinctions of the functions performed by the linguistic expressions.

I first discuss each category in detail (PMs in § 4.4.1. FL in § 4.4.2, and FEs in § 4.4.3) also providing sub-categorisations within each category. Each category is then illustrated through examples of the reputed DI-induced Italian expressions listed in § 4.2 alongside with their corresponding original English counterparts, the study in which they have been identified, the gloss translation (when possible or necessary), and alternative Italian expressions indicated by previous authors as more natural.

##### **4.4.1 Pragmatic markers (PMs)**

The interest in discourse markers (DMs) or PMs as they are referred here, dates back to the late 1960s and, since then, it has grown exponentially. Numerous are the authors who have proposed terminologies, classifications, and definitions (e.g., Östman 1981, 1995; Schourup 1985; Erman 1987; Schiffrin 1987; Jucker & Ziv 1998; Lenk 1998; Hansen 1998; Andersen & Fretheim 2000; Fischer 2000; Aijmer 2002). If on the one hand these publications have been influential in deepening the scholars’ understanding of the nature of these devices, on the other, they have led to a multiplicity of labels and taxonomies, and sometimes, even to disagreement among scholars. Fischer (2006: 1) states:

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<sup>39</sup> Spesso nel doppiaggio si creano tra la lingua di partenza e quella di arrivo delle interferenze che pertengono soprattutto a[l livello] fraseologico, ossia agli ambiti che dagli studi sul parlato doppiato appaiono quelli in cui più facilmente s’instaurano delle equivalenze linguistiche immediate. [...] Ci riferiremo ai prestiti “camuffati” che introducono nuove espressioni fraseologiche e nuovi modi di dire.

[...] the studies available so far are hardly comparable; the approaches vary with regard to very many different aspects: the language(s) under consideration, the items taken into account, the terminology used, the functions considered, the problems focussed on, and the methodologies employed.

Pons (2006:28) described them as “a melting pot of problems and perspectives” and indeed even the establishment of a common term has been controversial. These devices have been referred to in a variety of terms in literature: *comment clause*, *connective*, *continuer*, *discourse connective*, *discourse-deictic item*, *discourse operator*, *discourse particle*, *discourse-shift marker*, *discourse word*, *filler*, *fumble*, *gambit*, *hedge*, *initiator*, *interjections*, *marker*, *marker of pragmatic structure*, *parenthetic phrase*, *(void) pragmatic connective*, *pragmatic expression*, *pragmatic particle*, and *reaction signal*<sup>40</sup>. Although *discourse markers* seems to be the most used term, I will adopt the term *pragmatic marker*, which better specifies the level of analysis. A pragmatic perspective is indeed adopted through all the steps of the analysis, as the instances of interference are investigated only according to the function each of them fulfilled in its context of use, thus leaving aside other levels of linguistic investigation (e.g., grammar, syntax, morphology).

As already pointed out, a definition of PMs and a taxonomy of their functions has not been agreed upon yet. PMs fulfil numerous pragmatic functions and according to Brinton (1996: 29) definitions vary depending on “which of the several pragmatic functions of the markers is to express the relation or relevance of an utterance to the preceding utterance or to the context”. Blakemore (1987) defines them as expressions that indicate the dependence of one discourse segment on another, while according to Redeker (1990) they mark how an utterance is related to the context to signal to the listener the imminence of an utterance.

Schiffrin (1987) regards them as having indexical functions as, she claims, DMs or PMs point to utterances of different discourse planes. She identifies five discourse levels: 1) ideational, related to ideas and propositions; 2) action, that is, the way in which speech acts relate to actions; 3) exchange, linked to turn-taking; 4) information, how knowledge and meta-knowledge are managed; and 5) participant, related to the speaker-hearer interaction. Ochs (1996) adds a social perspective to this classification which refers to the social identity of interlocutors and to social acts and

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<sup>40</sup> The list is taken from Brinton (1996:19).

activities such as requesting, offering, arguing, etc. According to Aijmer (1996: 210) the prevailing function of PMs is instead “to integrate utterances into the flow of conversation and to instruct the hearer on how their interpretation is affected by the context” as the overall tendency in communication is to make what is said easier to process. Fraser (1990) identifies PMs as sequential discourse signals, while Keller (1979) sees them as devices that introduce shifts in conversation, or signal the next turn to the hearer.

Others (i.e., Even-Zohar 1982; Erman 1986) consider the organizational function in discourse as their central role as they help the speaker to organise the message into information units. Östman (1995: 100) refers to PMs as “windows through which one can make deductions about the speaker’s attitudes and opinions”. For Levinson (1983: 88) they “indicate, often in very complex ways, just how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse”. Crystal & Davy (1975), Brown & Levinson (1978/1987), and Edmondson (1981) see PMs as fillers which confer continuity to the conversation, such that the interlocutor does not perceive any gap. Stubbs (1983) and Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg (2006) claim that another important feature of PMs is their metalinguistic or metapragmatic characteristic since they are able to comment on an utterance. In this sense, these markers are interactive because help the hearer to interpret the utterance. For James (1983: 193) they are “vehicles for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relations between interlocutors”.

In order to explain PMs’ multifunctionality a number of approaches has been adopted. They have been studied within Speech Act Theory (see for example Mittwoch 1976; Brown and Levinson 1978/1987; Posner, 1980; Roulet 1984) in which PMs are considered in their role of marking the illocutionary force of an utterance. In this framework, these devices have also been seen as having meanings that go beyond the utterance level and entail social and cultural implications such as politeness, discourse coherence or involvement (Schiffrin 1987; Redeker 1990; Östman 1995). Within Grammaticalization Theory, diachronic research of PMs has shown for example how lexical elements have changed their semantic meaning into a pragmatic content. Erman & Kotsinas (1993) and Aijmer (1997) have called this process *pragmaticalization*.

Within Conversation Analysis Theory (CA) (Sacks *et al.* 1974), PMs are examined in relation to their roles in conversation and are seen as devices that principally mark a change in the conversation. For example, they are described as pre-closing devices on the telephone (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) or as farewell

devices. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) has also provided models to the study of PMs' multifunctionality. Halliday (1994), for instance, has suggested a three-functional model: experiential, interpersonal and textual. According to this model, PMs can be either textual or interpersonal (but not experiential). When having a textual function, they can signal a response or, more generally, a sort of change in the conversation while interpersonal elements express modality, namely the speaker's judgment about the message. The same model has been adopted by Brinton (1996, 2008) to classify PMs according to their function (either textual or interpersonal).

Other approaches in the study of PMs have been: homonymy (the number of markers is multiplied in order to establish a one form-one function relationship, *cfr.* Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberghe 2009), monosemy (each PM corresponds to a single abstract meaning which will be used as a common trait for other meanings or functions of the marker), and polysemy, usually combined with grammaticalization (see for example Kroon 1995; Hansen 1998; Schwenter and Traugott 2000; Traugott and Dasher 2002). It appears clear that the class of PMs is large and diverse and it includes elements that have formally little or nothing in common such as particles, adverbs, connectives, interjections, hedges, routines, and others. Consequently, PMs fulfil several functions depending on the context in which they are used.

PMs' multifunctionality has also been studied within the framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995). Essentially, this theory claims that in any given communication situation the hearer, the reader or the audience has an expectation of relevance which is the notion that implicit messages are relevant enough to be worth processing and the speaker will be as economical as possible in communicating it. Moreover, since all the utterances convey a number of inferences, the hearer will search for them and, once a meaning that fits their expectation of relevance is found, they will stop processing. In consideration of the fact that everyone involved in a conversation has the notion of relevance in mind, either consciously or unconsciously, it follows that each person engaged in the interaction comes to the presumption of relevance. As a consequence, in every act of communication the speaker consciously gives hints to the hearer about their intentions; and the hearer, thanks to these hints and the context information, deduces that intention. Within this theory, PMs are viewed as devices that guide the hearer towards the interpretation of a message so as to help them infer the meaning. In this way, PMs would reduce the processing effort, thus playing an effective role in relevance understanding. A number of scholars have applied the relevance-



theoretical framework to PMs: Blakemore (1987, 1992), Watts (1988), Blass (1990), Jucker (1993), Ifantidou (2000), Andersen (2001), Ler (2006).

In light of the fact that the DI expressions are essentially interactional, as they are found in dialogues, I propose the following definition of PMs, which could explain the instances of DI as devices that establish, anchor and maintain interaction between interlocutors during communication. Pragmatic markers are:

Items typically found in oral and informal discourse, fulfilling in a specific context a wide range of functions among which the prevailing one is, or appears to be, to establish and maintain the interaction speaker/hearer, so as to play an effective role in communication.

In what follows, I will attempt to qualify the nature of the expressions by providing a more detailed insight of their functions; the aim is to obtain a richer understanding of the DI instances and their context of use. The PMs sub-categorisation includes metadiscourse markers, attention-getters, modality markers, and deictic pointers.

#### 4.4.1.2 Metadiscourse markers

Metadiscourse has been described in various ways by scholars, but despite some differences, they all generally agree that the function of metadiscourse is to create interaction between interlocutors in oral verbal communication as well as in written discourse. McCarthy and Carter (1994) claim that it is indeed the presence of an interlocutor that creates the speaker's need for using particular devices defined by them as interactive markers. As they essentially concern the actual process of interaction, such devices can, for example, help checking with the hearer whether he/she has properly understood (Rossiter 1974), or they can play an important role in enhancing cohesion in conversation as they are used by the speaker to give structure to the discourse (Schiffrin 1987). In other words, they express communication about communication.

Considering the impromptu nature of spontaneous conversation, more specifically, these markers may be used as repair devices, response or reaction markers (including back-channel signals), to check or express understanding or agreement, to request confirmation, to express deference, or saving face (politeness) (Brinton 1996: 38). Examples for each sub-category are given below:

- *Repair/explanation markers:*
  1. Voglio dire/intendo dire (I want to say/I mean to say) → I mean (Rossi 2010) instead of *cioè* (namely/ that is).
  
- *Back-channel signals:*
  2. Già (yes) → Yeah (Pavesi, 1994: 137) instead of *sì* (yes);
  3. Sì? → Yes? (Rando 1973a: 117; De Mauro, 2005: 122) instead of *dimmi* (tell me) (conative function).
  
- *Agreement markers:*
  4. Sicuro! → Sure! (Pavesi, 2005: 51; Rossi 2010) instead of *(ma) certo!* (of course);
  5. L'hai detto! → You said it! (Pavesi, 2005: 48; Rossi 2010) instead of *ben detto!* (well said), *puoi dirlo forte!* (you can say that aloud), *proprio così!* (exactly);
  6. Puoi scommetterci! (you can bet on that) → You betcha! (Rossi 2010) instead of *ci puoi giurare* (you can swear on that), *senza dubbio* (no doubt), *puoi starne certo* (you can be sure of that);
  7. Esatto → Exactly (Pavesi, 2005: 51) instead of *hai ragione* (you're right);
  8. Dammi/batti il cinque! → Give me five (Alfieri *et al*, 2008:322) instead of *qua la mano!* (give me your hand!).
  
- *Checking understanding markers:*
  9. Sì? → Yes? (Rando 1973a: 117; De Mauro, 2005: 122) instead of *pronto?* (hello?) (phatic function);
  10. Puoi sentirmi? → Can you hear me? (Alfieri *et al* 2008) instead of *mi senti?* (do you hear me?);
  11. Giusto? → Right? (Viola forthcoming) instead of *(non è) vero?* (isn't it true?).

- *Response/reaction markers:*
  12. Grande! → Great! (Viola forthcoming) instead of *benissimo!* (very good), *perfetto!* (perfect);
  13. Stai scherzando? → Are you kidding?/Are you joking? (Pavesi, 2005: 48) instead of *scherzi?* (do you joke?), *veramente?* (really?), *dici sul serio?* (seriously?);
  14. Dannato/dannatamente/dannazione → Damn!/damned/damn it!/goddammit/goddamn/goddamned (Pavesi, 2005: 48; Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81; Rossi 2010) instead of *maledizione!*/*maledetto/maledettamente*;
  15. Fottuto/va' a farti fottere/fottiti → Fucking/fuck off/fuck you (Pavesi, 2005: 48; Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81; Galassi 2000);
  16. Bastardo → Bastard (Rossi 2010);
  17. Questa è spazzatura → That's garbage/rubbish (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 334) instead of *queste sono sciocchezze* (this is nonsense).

#### 4.4.1.3 Attention-getters<sup>41</sup> (AGs)

Here, I will briefly describe the wide range of roles that AGs can play in oral discourse. For instance, AGs can initiate discourse (opening devices) (Kiss 2004), they can be used to claim attention of the hearer or to draw attention to what has been said (Romero Trillo 1997), or they can close discourse (pre-closing and terminal exchange devices) (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). AGs can also be used by the speaker to acquire, maintain or relinquish the floor (turn-taking/keeping/shifting devices/interjections), or to shift, even partially, a topic (partial topic switchers) (Brinton 1996: 37-38). Furthermore, these highly interactive devices show if the nature of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer is either formal or informal (Martín and Portolés 1999). Examples are given below:

- *Opening devices:*
  18. La sai una cosa? → You know something?/You know what? (Pavesi 2005, 2008) instead of *sai che ti dico?* (you know what I'm telling you?);

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<sup>41</sup> As they have been named by Romero Trillo 1997; Fitzmaurice 2004; Simmons-Mackie *et al* 2004; Martínez-Flor & Usó-Juan 2006.

19. Bene → Well (Dardano, 1986: 231; Rossi 2010) instead of *dunque/allora* (so).

▪ *Pre-closing and terminal exchange devices:*

20. Devo andare → I gotta go (Alfieri, 2008: 322) instead of *è meglio che vada* (it's better for me to go), *vado* (I'm going) or *ti saluto* (I am greeting you), *devo chiudere* (I have to hang up) when on the phone;

21. Scordatelo! → Forget it! (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *non se ne parla!* (no way), *non importa* (never mind);

22. Questo è tutto → That's all/that's it (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 143) instead of *questo è quanto* (this is what);

23. Fine della storia/discussione → End of story (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 143) instead of *basta così!* (enough!);

24. Dacci un taglio → Cut it out (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *smettila/finiscila/piantala* (stop it);

25. Stanne fuori → Stay out of this (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 143) instead of *non ti intromettere* (do not interfere);

26. Chiudi il becco → Shut up (Pavesi, 2005: 50) instead of *stai zitto/a* (be quiet).

▪ *Turn-taking/shifting/keeping devices:*

27. Spara! → Fire away!/shoot! (Viola forthcoming) instead of *dimmi* (tell me);

28. Lasciami dire una cosa → Let me tell you something (Viola forthcoming) instead of *fammi dire una cosa* (make me say something) and in general let translated with *lasciare* as in *let me + verb*;

29. Frena (break) → Wait/hold on (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *aspetta* (wait);

30. Aspetta un secondo/un minuto → Wait a second/a minute (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 334) instead of *aspetta un attimo* (wait a moment).

- *Interjections:*

31. Ehi → Hey (Rossi 2010);

32. Uao → Wow (Rossi 2010) instead of *caspita/cavoli*;

33. Ups/oops → Whoops (Rossi 2010) instead of *mannaggia*.

#### 4.4.1.4 Modality markers

As noted by Høeg Müller and Klinge (2005: 1), modality is one of the most intriguing and inspiring areas of study which has been analysed “in countless ways and in countless languages”. Crismore (1989) and Vande Kopple (2002) for example, define modality markers as those elements which convey certainty or uncertainty, while according to Recsky (2004: 53) modality expresses “the speaker’s qualification of the truth of what is said”. More generally, Halliday (1994) considers modality as simply concerned with commitments, judgments and stances. However, most scholars appear to share the view that modality qualifies the speaker’s attitude towards what he/she utters.

Modality may be expressed by a wide range of linguistic devices (Recsky 2006:161) not necessarily limited to modal verbs; indeed, they can be expressed by verbs, adverbs, adjectives and PMs. PMs which have a modality function have also been referred to in literature as *evidential markers* (EMs) or *evidentials* (Precht 2003, Carretero 2002) when expressing the epistemic modality of certainty, as *hedges* when expressing uncertainty (Crismore 1989; Vande Kopple 2002; Hyland 2005) and as *deontic markers* when reflecting the speaker’s “attitude towards the desirability (or non-desirability) of certain actions or events” (Simpson, 1990: 67).

I will use the general term of *modality markers* to refer to expressions which convey the speaker’s certainty, uncertainty, commitment or judgment towards the utterance. Examples are listed below.

- *Modality markers:*

34. Assolutamente → Absolutely (Alfieri *et al* 2008: 331; Ferro & Sardo, 2008: 409; Rossi 2010) used in both positive and negative answers and as an adjective intensifier;

35. Incredibilmente → Incredibly (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 331) as an adjective intensifier instead of the absolute superlative.

#### 4.4.1.5 Deictic pointers:

Deictic pointers constitute the most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structure of languages themselves (Levinson 1983). Being used in face-to-face spoken interaction, their meaning can be inferred just by those who have access to the context in which the utterance is pronounced. In other words, deixis is used by speakers to refer to their shared knowledge of the world, their shared visual contexts and memories. Pronominal deixis, in particular, refers to those deictic pointers which indicate a person or an assigner playing a social role in human interaction, for example, for the sake of politeness (social deixis) (Fillmore 1971). Indexicality is believed to explain the association between PMs and the context. Aijmer (2013: 12-13) explains: “pragmatic markers have a rich social meaning since they are used to indexically refer to a number of ‘speech acts’ features such as the speaker and the hearer, social identities and the speech event itself.”

- *Pronominal deixis:*

36. Sig X e io → Mr X and I (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 288) instead of *Io e il Signor X* (me and Mr X).

#### 4.4.2 Formulaic language (FL)

There seems to be little agreement among scholars as to what should (or should not) be considered as formulaic. Even the establishment of a common term has been controversial; since early studies devoted to formulaic forms appeared (Malinowsky 1923; Jespersen 1924; Lyons 1968; Makkai 1972), over 40 terms have been used to refer to this vague category (Wray & Perkins 2000). Altenberg (1990) argued that around 70% of an adult native language may be formulaic, and indeed a fair share of corpus studies (e.g. Kjellmer 1984; Baayen and Lieber 1991; Altenberg 1993; Barkema 1993) have revealed that both spoken and written languages show a highly dense collocational nature.

A classic definition of formulaic expressions such as conversational routines (CRs) is given by Coulmas (1981: 2-3) who defined the latter as “highly conventionalised pre-patterned expressions whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardised communication situations”. Such a definition has been followed by a number of scholars up to more recent times (e.g., Aijmer 1996; Kecskés 2002); however, many authors have criticised its weakness in terms of its lack of theoretical perspective (Bladas 2012) and more elaborate information on how to determine whether an item is associated to a communicative situation or not. The debate appears

to focus, in particular, on what may be defined as formulaic and by which criteria. Wray (2002) has suggested that only the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods would be effective, in dealing with such questions, as formal analysis and intuition are not enough by themselves.

In defining further categories of DI, I will adopt Wray & Perkins's definition of a formulaic sequence (2000: 1) shown below which includes, at the one end, fixed idiomatic strings, and, at the other, flexible sets which allow room for open class items:

A sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar.

Many categorisations of FL have been proposed depending in large measure on what the specific research was centred on. Generally speaking, however, FL has been seen as a device of social interaction (e.g., Wray and Perkins 2000; Aijmer 1996). In particular, Wray and Perkins (op. cit.: 14) identify three main socio-interactional functions of FL: manipulation of others, asserting separate identity and asserting group identity. These three functions are described as referring to the way 'we want others to treat or view us'.

Within FL, CRs, in particular, can perform speech acts such as thanking, apologizing, requesting, offering, greeting, complimenting "which serve as more or less automatic responses to recurrent features of the communication situation" (Aijmer, 1996: 2). This means that "they are expected to come up at a certain time and place and to carry out a certain pragmatic function" (Bladas, 2012: 931). Greetings and farewells, for example, spontaneous as they may sometimes seem, are in fact highly conventionalised situations; in other words, they are the type of situations that bring about the occurrence of routine formulae (Coulmas 1979).

Examples found in dubbed Italian include:

- *Forms of address:*
  37. Sissignore → Yes, sir (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81) instead of *of agli ordini* (at your commands);
  38. Amico (friend) → Man/buddy/dude/mate/pal (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81; Rossi 2010; Galassi, 2000: 3-8; Pavesi, 2005: 50).
  39. Fratello → Bro/brother (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81);
  40. Vostro Onore → Your Honour (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81) instead of *Signor Giudice* (Mr Judge);
  41. Figliolo → Son (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 82).
  
- *Rituals:*
  42. Obiezione accolta/respinta → Objection sustained/overruled (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81) instead of *mi oppongo* (I oppose myself), *opposizione accolta/respinta* (opposition sustained/overruled);
  43. Giuro di dire la verità, tutta la verità, nient'altro che la verità → I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth (Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81).
  
- *Greetings and farewells:*
  44. Salve → Hello/hi (Pavesi, 2005: 51);
  45. È bello vederti → It's nice to see you (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 127) instead of *che piacere vederti* (what a pleasure);
  46. Buona giornata → Have a nice day (Pavesi, 2005: 48);
  47. Abbi cura di te → Take care (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 336) instead of *riguardati*.
  
- *Politeness formulae:*
  48. Prego → Please (Dardano, 1986: 231; Maraschio, 1982: 149; Rossi 2010) instead of *per favore* (please);
  49. Per favore → Please (Dardano, 1986: 231; Maraschio, 1982: 149; Rossi 2010) instead of *grazie* (thanks);



50. Posso aiutarla? → May I help you? (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 266) instead of *desidera?* (what would you like?);
51. Grazie per → Thanks for (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 331) instead of *grazie di* (thanks of).

#### 4.4.3 Fixed expressions (FEs)

Linguistic terminology in this field has always been controversial and often even confusing; multiple terms have been adopted to refer to identical typologies of units or, on the contrary, very different phenomena have been defined by the same term. The general term of *fixed expressions* is adopted in this thesis to cover expressions such as frozen collocations, proverbs, sayings, phraseological collocations (Moon 1998). Although not always adequate in that “many fixed expressions of these types are not actually fixed” (ibid.: 2), I will use the term nevertheless for simplicity’s sake. Moreover, I will include under this term Mel’čuk’s category of *pragmatemes* (1995). A pragmateme is a linguistic sign pragmatically bound by the extralinguistic situation in which it is used (Mel’čuk, 1995: 176). According to Moon (1998: 22), subtypes of pragmatemes are simple formulae, sayings, proverbs, and similes. Simple formulae are defined as “routine compositional strings that nevertheless have some special discursal function or are iterative or emphatic, as well as syntagmatically fixed”, while sayings are “formulae such as quotations (typically unattributed and sometimes unattributable), catchphrases, and truisms”, and finally similes are “institutionalized comparisons that are typically but not always transparent” (ibid.). Examples found in dubbed Italian include:

- *Simple formulae:*

52. Non c’è problema → No problem (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 323) instead of *con piacere* (with pleasure);

53. Dare/avere una possibilità → To give/have a chance (Alfieri, *et al* 2008: 266) instead of *dare una speranza* (to give one hope);

54. Posso chiamarla + noun? → Can I call you + noun? (Alfieri, *et al*, 2008: 323) instead of *posso darle del tu?*;

55. Essere eccitante/eccitato/a → To be exciting/excited (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *essere divertente* (to be fun), *nervoso/a*, (to be nervous), *emozionato/a* (thrilled);

56. Fare la differenza → To make the difference (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *essere importante* (to be important), *cambiare le cose* (to change things);
57. Niente di personale → Nothing personal (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *non ce l'ho con te* (it is not about you);
58. Essere uno spasso/spassarsela → To be a hoot/have a hoot (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *essere divertente/divertirsi* (to be/to have fun);
59. Fare secco qualcuno (to dry someone out) → To knock someone off (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *uccidere qualcuno* (to kill someone);
60. Essere forte/forte! (to be strong) → To be cool/cool! (Pavesi, 2005: 49) instead of *avere successo* (to have success), *bello!* (beautiful);
61. Bersi il cervello (to drink someone's brain) → To be nuts/be out of one's mind (Pavesi, 2005: 49; Alfieri et al, 2008: 322) instead of *impazzire* (to go crazy);
62. Mettere a rischio → To put at risk (Alfieri et al, 2003: 142) instead of *mettere a repentaglio/in pericolo* (to put in danger);
63. Si rilassi → Relax (Alfieri et al, 2003: 144-145) instead of *si calmi* (calm down);
64. (Non) essere in condizione di farlo → (Not) to be in condition to do it (Patuelli, 1936: 28-31) instead of *non essere in grado di farlo/non saper farlo* (not to be able to do something/not to know how to do something);
65. Non ci posso credere → I can't believe it (Alfieri et al, 2008: 288) instead of *non riesco a crederci* (I am not able to believe it);
66. Come ti sembra che suoni? → How does it sound to you? (Alfieri et al, 2008: 290) instead of *che ne pensi?* (what do you think?);
67. Qual è il problema? → What seems to be the problem?/what's the problem? (Alfieri et al, 2008: 334) instead of *cosa c'è che non va?* (what's the matter?);
68. Fare la cosa giusta → To do the right thing (Alfieri et al, 2008: 322) instead of *comportarsi bene* (to behave properly) *agire correttamente* (to act correctly);

- *Sayings:*
  69. Incrociamo le dita → Let's keep our fingers crossed (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 127) instead of *speriamo bene* (let's hope for the best);
  70. Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri (a little coin for your thoughts) → A penny for your thoughts (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 127);
  71. Essere al posto giusto al momento giusto → To be in the right place at the right moment (Alfieri *et al*, 2003: 127) instead of *cadere a fagiolo* (to fall as a bean);
  72. La domanda da un milione di dollari → The million-dollar question (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 336) instead of *una domanda cruciale* (a crucial question).
  
- *Similes:*
  73. È come andare in bicicletta → It's like riding a bike (Alfieri *et al*, 2008: 288) instead of *è come bere un bicchier d'acqua* (it's like drinking a glass of water).

#### 4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I elaborated and presented the basis for the qualitative linguistic analysis of the linguistic expressions. In particular, I maintained that, because DI primarily affects typical features of orality, those characteristics of spoken language that are also habitually found in AV texts are the starting point for identifying broad categories of DI. In light of these considerations, the main categories of potential DI have been derived and the linguistic expressions to be investigated were presented under the relevant categories. The overview provides a much richer picture of all the range of functions performed by the items under investigation.

In the next chapter, I will present the etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative analyses using one grammar, two etymological dictionaries, six historical dictionaries, ten contemporary dictionaries, and two corpora of written Italian. These resources are employed to analyse the origin of these items in Italian and their use in context, as well as their frequency and evolution through time. This stage allows the researcher to select only the expressions more likely to have been affected by DI, which will then be considered for the quantitative analysis within spoken Italian corpora.

## 5.1 Introduction

The evidence-based approach upon which the method developed in this thesis is built is especially apparent in chapters 5 and 6, where in-depth rigorous investigations are pursued across a range of verifiable data. In this chapter, in particular, the aim is to test the method's applicability by establishing whether the linguistic expressions, which previous authors have singled out as instances of AVT interference, can indeed be considered as such. It has already been said that, from previous studies, proof is gathered that some (American) English expressions are recurrently translated in the same way across numerous AV products. However, no evidence has so far been provided that these expressions may be the result of translation interference, i.e., they do not belong to natural use Italian, as these claims, though cautious, are not corroborated by any empirical evidence.

This chapter shows a crucial step of the method which is object of this thesis: the etymological, lexicographic and quantitative analyses of the 73 linguistic expressions gathered from previous studies (*cf.* § 4.2). These searches are carried out in one grammar, two etymological dictionaries, six historical dictionaries, ten contemporary dictionaries, and two corpora of written Italian<sup>42</sup> to analyse the origin and the real use of these expressions in Italian over the years. By tracing the origin of the linguistic expressions and by comparing it with attested and verifiable data, cases in which the linguistic expressions may be found in use before the introduction of dubbing in Italy (1932, *cf.* § 2.2) will be easily discarded as potential instances of DI.

Overall, however, valuable information on their frequency of use and evolution throughout the years will be collected and used for next stage analyses. Specifically, in those cases when the etymological/lexicographic searches might establish that some expressions pre-existed the introduction of dubbing in Italy, their frequency of use will be diachronically investigated in the written corpora. This is to verify the hypothesis that, although the linguistic expressions in question cannot be qualified as DI instances, dubbing may have still played a role in their diffusion.

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<sup>42</sup> The full description of all the resources used in this thesis is presented in chapter 3.

Although only Approaches 2 and 3 have provided evidence of their repeated occurrence in AVT products, it is nonetheless true that all the linguistic expressions analysed in this thesis have indeed been found in Italian dubbed products, thus establishing a potential direct link between their presence in AVT products and real use Italian. Furthermore, to eliminate other sources of interference, only instances of original Italian are considered for the analysis, for the DiaCORIS Corpus collects only authentic Italian texts, and the occurrences in the CORIS Corpus from translated texts will be excluded from the count.

In § 4.2, it was clarified that alternative expressions are given for most of the instances; these will be used here to carry out contrastive quantitative analyses, particularly to exclude the possibility that the alleged instance of DI may not be found because the communicative situation is not represented in the corpora, but also to verify claims made by previous authors on the alleged more naturalness of their own alternative. In other words, whenever no occurrences for the instance of DI will be found or ‘more Italian’ alternatives have been given by previous authors, contrastive queries will be launched. If alternative expressions are not suggested in previous studies, they are advanced in this thesis by performing an analysis of the communicative situation in which the supposed instances of interference are expected to be used. Once a plausible alternative is found, lexicographic investigations are carried out to validate the author’s hypothesis. If the communicative situation will be found to be represented in the corpora, this will strengthen the hypothesis that the investigated expression is an instance of DI.

The results of the quantitative investigations are presented in tables which show the number of occurrences in each corpus (raw frequency) and the corresponding proportions in parts per million (p.p.m.). The calculation of the proportion is essential to understand the actual frequency of an item when the corpora used are different in size. Arithmetical frequency does not indicate the occurrence of an item in a corpus in proportion to its presence in another corpus; in that, proportional calculations present frequencies in a much more clear way (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 82-83).

In § 3.4.1, the detailed description of the two written corpora that will be used at this stage of the method has provided valuable information on the representativeness of these resources. The DiaCORIS and the CORIS sample a broad range of authors and genres which may be considered to even out and provide a reasonably accurate picture of written Italian as a whole. As argued by McEnery & Wilson (2001: 78), the criticism that frequency rates may be unrepresentative of the

population as a whole, for example when they are particularly low, applies “not only to linguistic corpora but to any form of scientific investigation which is based on sampling rather than on the exhaustive analysis of an entire and finite population.” However, because the corpus is sampled to be maximally representative of the population, findings on that sample may be generalized to the larger population and furthermore, it means that direct comparisons may be made between different corpora. Conversely, when there are no occurrences, this is also an interesting and important comment on the frequency of that specific construct or word. There will always be the possibility that some constructions may occur due to pure chance, but such limitations – which again apply to any sampling analysis - can at least, in corpus linguistics, be partially addressed by maximising representativeness. Such a limitation is therefore ascertained by the author, particularly whenever low frequencies occurrences will be found.

Finally, the linguistic expressions are considered only in their use in context, i.e., in the specific function they performed according to the qualitative analysis; thus, the analysis of the expressions follows the order of the macro-categorisation presented in chapter 4: PMs (§ 5.2), FL (§ 5.3), and FEs (§ 5.4). Each macro-category is divided in function-based sub-categories in which each expression is etymologically, lexicographically, and quantitatively analysed. A conclusive overview of the results is given in § 5.5, while § 5.6 recapitulates the main points of the chapter and introduces the last stage of the method, which will be presented in chapter 6.

## **5.2 Pragmatic markers (PMs)**

The qualitative analysis conducted in § 4.4 provided a very fine and detailed picture of the functions performed by the linguistic expressions. Such an in-depth investigation led to a highly structured categorisation in super- and sub-categories, according to the function each linguistic expression fulfilled in its context of use.

As far as PMs are concerned, the super-categories are: metadiscourse markers (§ 5.2.1), modality markers (§ 5.2.3), and deictic pointers (§ 5.2.4). The etymological, lexicographic and quantitative searches are carried out for each expression within the relevant sub-category.

## 5.2.1 Metadiscourse markers

As discussed in § 4.4.1.2, metadiscourse markers fulfill the primary function of creating interaction between interlocutors; more specifically they are concerned with the strategies used to facilitate reciprocal communication. Following the qualitative analysis, the specific functions performed by the linguistic expressions include: repair markers (§ 5.2.1.1), back-channel signals (§ 5.2.1.2), agreement markers (§ 5.2.1.3), checking understanding markers (§ 5.2.1.4), response/reaction markers (§ 5.2.1.5), and attention-getters (§ 5.2.1.6).

### 5.2.1.1 Repair markers

Repair markers may provide elaboration, clarification, expansion, explanation, or reformulation of the preceding utterance (Brinton 2003). The example investigated is: *voglio dire* (I mean).

#### 1. **Voglio dire (I want to say)**

Rossi (2010) lists this locution as a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *I mean*. He argues that, as a repair/explanation marker, the expression *cioè* (that is) would be more natural in Italian.

The etymological search (DELI: 1832) documents the existence of *voglio dire* since 1535<sup>43</sup> with the meaning of *intendere, avere intenzione di* (to mean, to have the intention of); the finding is confirmed by the TB 1861-1879 (vol. IV: 1899) which reports:

**Voler dire** = To mean; often used to clarify the meaning of our words<sup>44</sup>.

Hence, the etymological and lexicographic searches have shown that *voglio dire* is not an instance of DI, thus contradicting Rossi's claim. Contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009 2009; Treccani; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008) have similarly been consulted to assess whether it is true that, as a repair marker, only *cioè* would be the device expected to be used in this specific communicative situation. The resources define both devices as fulfilling the same function.

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<sup>43</sup> Francesco Berni, *Rifacimento*, 1535.

<sup>44</sup> Significare; maniera che spesso si adopra per dichiarare il senso delle nostre parole.

Finally, the frequency of use of *voglio dire* and *cioè* is investigated, to explore potential frequency variations, especially in the use of *voglio dire* over time so as to draw relevant conclusions on the possible influence of dubbing. The tables that follow show the results of the quantitative searches within the two corpora of written Italian, the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus:

DiaCORIS	VOGLIO DIRE	CIOÈ
<b>1861-1900</b>	43 (1.72 p.p.m.)	1,080 (43.2 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	36 (1.44 p.p.m.)	1,467 (58.68 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	41 (1.64 p.p.m.)	1,611 (64.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	127 (5.08 p.p.m.)	1,586 (63.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	101 (4.04 p.p.m.)	2,068 (82.72 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	348	7,812
<b>p.p.m.</b>	13.92	312.14

**Table 6: *Voglio dire* vs *cioè* - DiaCoris results**

CORIS	VOGLIO DIRE	CIOÈ
<b>1980-2011</b>	813	32,332
<b>p.p.m.</b>	6.25	248.71

**Table 7: *Voglio dire* vs *cioè* - Coris results**

The quantitative investigations show a much higher frequency in the use of *cioè* than *voglio dire* as a repair/explanation marker; thus, although both perform the same function, it is indeed true that *cioè* is more common in Italian. However, the results have also shown that the frequency of *voglio dire* has decreased over time such that a role of dubbing in its increasing diffusion cannot be claimed. Moreover, considering that it dates back to 1535, i.e., it is not a DI phenomenon, these findings exclude this expression from being investigated within spoken Italian corpora.



### 5.2.1.2 Back-channel signals

Back-channel signals play a fundamental role in conversation since they give the speaker the feedback he/she needs to know the listener is engaged. The importance of the listener cannot be underestimated as the listener is both a recipient and a co-constructer of interactive talk (Gardner 2001). The examples investigated are *già* (yeah) and *sì?* (yes?) (the latter when expressing a conative function).

#### 2. Già (indeed)

The case of *già* has been isolated by Pavesi (1994: 137) who reported an increasing use of this interjection in Italian dubbed products when expressing the function of agreeing with what has been previously said, which, in the original AV product, is normally performed by *yeah*. Pavesi argues that, traditionally, in Italian the same function is expressed by *sì* (yes) which would be, ironically, the direct translation of *yeah*.

It would seem fair to ask, then, why, if there is a perfect equivalent in Italian for *yeah*, translators chose such a solution. According to the scholar, the reasons of this “forced” translation are to be found in the constraints of the dubbing technique itself which has to take into account the lip movements of the actors, especially when they are in close-up. This would have caused an automatism in the translation of *yeah*, i.e., a translational routine<sup>45</sup>, even when the scene is free from such a constraint. As argued more precisely by Pavesi (ibid.):

An interesting case of linguistic stereotypes in dubbed Italian from English is the interjection *yeah*, often translated with *già*, especially when the articulation movements of the character in close-up are visible. The articulation of the open vowel in *yeah* does not fit with *sì*, a more obvious Italian translation which contains the close vowel /i/ causing a reduced opening of the mouth. In these cases, the translator-adaptor seems to choose **automatically** [bold mine] a term which has become more and more widespread, even when these particular constraints are absent or this choice is not satisfying. The result is its overuse which often appears unusual: instead of its **typical** [bold mine]

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<sup>45</sup> See § 2.1.

evaluation function – one evaluates what has been said and agrees – this interjection assumes a phatic function or is used as a simple filler<sup>46</sup>.

It is suggested, then, that the lip-synch<sup>47</sup> constraint originated the use of *già* in Italian dubbing when translating *yeah*, which would have otherwise been translated with *sì*. Therefore, the claim seems also to suggest that *sì* carries the same function as *yeah*, unlike *già*. At the same time, she defines as *typical* what she calls the *evaluation* function performed by *già*, which however, according to the given explanation, appears to resemble back-channeling functions. It is not then entirely clear whether the claim refers to a possible change in the function originally performed by *già*, which would be different from the one fulfilled by *sì*, due to an alleged improper overuse of this Italian device in AVT.

The historical use of *già*, i.e., before dubbing, is investigated; the lexicographic analysis reports the affirmative function performed by *già* as pre-existing dubbing:

**Già** = (fam.) Used as an affirmative particle or as approval, consensus and similar; it is equivalent to *yes, sure, it's true*, and similar. Sometimes, especially when repeated, it has an ironic and facetious meaning. It could have acquired such a sense from the German *ja*<sup>48</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. VII: 194-195).

Crusca 1863-1923 defines the use of *già* as analogous to that of *sì*, which excludes the possibility of a change in its functional use because of dubbing. However, it is still possible that the overuse of *già* in dubbing as an affirmative back-channel signal

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<sup>46</sup> Un caso interessante di stereotipo linguistico del doppiaggio italiano dall'inglese è rappresentato dall'interiezione *yeah*, spesso tradotta con *già*, specialmente in contesti in cui sono visibili i movimenti articolatori del personaggio in primo piano. All'articolazione con vocale aperta di *yeah* mal corrisponde, infatti, la traduzione italiana più ovvia *sì*, che contenendo una vocale chiusa /i/ comporta una ridotta apertura della bocca. In tali contesti, il traduttore-adattatore sembra quindi optare automaticamente per un traduttore che si è via via stabilito e che viene esteso anche a contesti non sottoposti a vincoli o non del tutto soddisfacenti. Ne risulta un uso eccessivamente frequente e spesso poco naturale: invece della sua tipica funzione di valutativo – valuti quello che è stato detto e sei d'accordo – l'interiezione assume la funzione di fatismo o semplice riempitivo.

<sup>47</sup> See § 2.3.

<sup>48</sup> Usasi familiarmente come particella affermativa o denotante approvazione, consenso e simili; ed equivale a *Sì*, oppure a *Certamente*, *È vero*, e simili: e talvolta, specialmente se replicato, ha significato ironico e scherzevole. E tal senso potrebbe aver ricevuto mediante il tedesco *ja*.

has influenced its use frequency in Italian. To verify such a possibility, the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are queried; the tables below show the results.

DiaCORIS	GIÀ	SÌ
<b>1861-1900</b>	86 (3.44 p.p.m.)	482 (19.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	147 (5.88 p.p.m.)	911 (36.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	102 (4.08 p.p.m.)	386 (15.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	116 (4.64 p.p.m.)	594 (23.76 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	96 (3.84 p.p.m.)	520 (20.8 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	547	2,893
<b>p.p.m.</b>	21.88	115.72

**Table 8: *Già* vs *sì* - DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	GIÀ	SÌ
<b>1980-2011</b>	1,521	9,905
<b>p.p.m.</b>	11.7	76.19

**Table 9: *Già* vs *sì* - CORIS results**

The results show that the use of *già* as a back-channel signal has decreased in modern written Italian since the Unification of Italy. This finding, together with the results of the lexicographic search, discards the hypothesis that *già* may be an instance of DI. Therefore, the use of *già* will not be investigated within spoken Italian corpora.

### 3. *Si?* (yes?) (conative function)

The conative use of *si?* (yes?<sup>49</sup>) has been reported by Rando (1973a: 117) who claimed that the traditional Italian expression which fulfills this function would be *dimmi* (tell me) instead. The lexicographic investigation in TB 1861-1879 and Crusca

<sup>49</sup> As an inquiry addressed to a person waiting in silence (OED).

1729-1738 did not give any specific result for the use of *si?* as a back-channel signal, while such a use has been retrieved for *dica* (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 210). At the same time, the GDLI (vol. XVIII: 1043) reports that *si?* can perform back-channel function if used as an answer (for example, when being called by name<sup>50</sup>). As the first occurrence of this use is recorded in 1964, the finding supports Rando's hypothesis that the expression has acquired this new use because of DI.

Among the contemporary dictionaries which list the conative use of *si?* (Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; DM 2000; Zing. 2008), the Treccani's definition states:

**Si** = With an absolute use, it is often used instead of the traditional *avanti!* (come in!) to encourage someone knocking on the door to enter, or when entering while asking "posso?" (may I?); on the contrary, it is pronounced with both an affirmative and interrogative intonation as an agreement reply to a call (corresponding to *eccomi!* (here I am!), *dimmi* (tell me), *dica pure* (carry on/go ahead)<sup>51</sup>.

The back-channel function of *si?* is then well ascertained in contemporary Italian; the overall findings of the lexicographic search indicate that the conative use of *si?* is a potential instance of DI. Data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS) allows for the findings obtained so far to be verified; the frequency of the conative use of *si?* is queried in comparison with *dimmi*. Tables 10 and 11 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	SI?	DIMMI/DICA
1861-1900	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)

<sup>50</sup> Mario Soldati, *Le due città*, Milano, 1964: 415.

<sup>51</sup> Con uso assol., è spesso adoperato in sostituzione del tradizionale *avanti!* per consentire l'ingresso a chi bussa alla porta, o si affaccia chiedendo «posso?»; è invece pronunciato con tono insieme affermativo e di domanda come risposta di consenso a una chiamata (equivalente a «eccomi!», «dimmi», «dica pure»).

<b>1946-1967</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	2	13
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.08	0.52

**Table 50: *Si* vs *dimmi* - DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>SÌ?</b>	<b>DIMMI/DICA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	211	63
<b>p.p.m.</b>	1.62	0.48

**Table 11: *Si* vs *dimmi* - CORIS results**

The results indicate that *si?* when expressing conative function has a much higher frequency of use in modern Italian than in stages of the language prior to dubbing; moreover, the results indicate that, in present-day Italian, the device is preferred to *dimmi/dica*, as opposed to old Italian. In light of the fact that the conative use of *si?* has been observed to be recurrent in AVT products, a role of dubbing in the origin and diffusion of the analysed use may be claimed. Thus, the expression will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 5.2.1.3 Agreement markers

These markers elicit explicit agreement given by the addressed recipient in the exchange, who participates in the conversation without taking the floor. The expressions belonging to this sub-category are: *sicuro!* (sure), *l'hai detto!* (you said it!), *puoi scommetterci!* (you betcha!), *esatto* (exactly), *grande!* (great!), *dammi/batti cinque!* (high/give me five!).

#### 4. **Sicuro! (sure!)**

This expression has been isolated by Pavesi (2005: 51) and Rossi (2010) as a translational routine of *sure!* in answers. These scholars argue that when used adverbially in answers, *sicuro!* is intuitively a case of translation interference,

because traditional Italian expressions used to express analogous functions would be *(ma) certo, certamente* (of course, certainly) or similar.

The DELI (2008: 1525) dates the adverbial use of *sicuro*, especially in answers, to 1735<sup>52</sup>. This source is considered as the first appearance of such a use also by the TB 1861-1879 (vol. IV: 896). More extensively, the GDLI (vol. XVIII: 1067-1068) distinguishes between the adverbial function of *sicuro!* equivalent to *certo!, davvero* (of course, really) when it substitutes a whole sentence (first retrieved in 1840<sup>53</sup>), and in incidental position when it is found within a positive answer, equivalent to *certamente, senza dubbio* (surely, undoubtedly) (first found in 1827<sup>54</sup>). Similarly, contemporary dictionaries of Italian (Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; GDI 2013) report the adverbial use of *sicuro*. The lexicographic search, then, contradicts both Pavesi and Rossi's claims: the adverbial use of *sicuro* in affirmative answers is not the result of translation interference from English derived from dubbing.

However, because *sicuro!* has been observed to be highly recurrent in AVT products, the potential role of dubbing in increasing the frequency of use of this device in real use Italian is investigated in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. Tables 12 and 13 below show the results for occurrences of *sicuro (!)* (only in answers and when conveying adverbial function) in contrast with *(ma) certo* and *certamente* which, according to Pavesi and Rossi, would be more natural expressions in Italian.

DiaCORIS	SICURO (!)	(MA) CERTO (!)	CERTAMENTE (!)
<b>1861-1900</b>	74 (2.96 p.p.m.)	15 (0.6 p.p.m.)	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	60 (2.4 p.p.m.)	26 (1.04 p.p.m.)	17 (0.68 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	18 (0.72 p.p.m.)	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)	41 (1.64 p.p.m.)	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	5	41	7

<sup>52</sup> Niccolò Forteguerra, *Il Ricciardetto*, Venice published posthumous 1738.

<sup>53</sup> Romano Felice *Un giorno di Regno. Melodramma giocoso* 1840.

<sup>54</sup> Giovan Battista Fagioli, *Rime Piacevoli* X-165 1827.

	(0.2 p.p.m.)	(1.64 p.p.m.)	(0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	106	139	50
<b>p.p.m.</b>	4.24	5.56	2

**Table 12: *Sicuro!* vs (*ma certo!* and *certamente!* - DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	SICURO (!)	(MA) CERTO (!)	CERTAMENTE (!)
<b>1980-2011</b>	95	5,582	868
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.73	42.94	6.68

**Table 13: *Sicuro!* vs (*ma certo!* and *certamente!* - CORIS results**

The findings clearly show that the frequency of use of *sicuro (!)* has not increased (its frequency has actually decreased in modern Italian). Considering also the results of the lexicographic search, this expression is excluded from the final stage of the analysis.

## 5. L'hai detto! (you said it!)

This expression has been identified by Pavesi (2005: 48) and Rossi (2010) as one of the automatisms typical of dubbing translation. The qualitative analysis has indicated that the locution expresses the pragmatic function of responding or reacting to the preceding discourse, including confirming shared assumptions (Brinton 1996: 38), and it has been categorised as an agreement marker.

**You('ve) said it** = You are absolutely right; you have got the point completely;  
I agree with you entirely (OED).

Within the lexicographic search (Crusca 1729-1738, vol. II: 142; TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 215) *l'hai detto!* has not been retrieved; a similar expression - *dire forte* (to say sth aloud) - has been found instead:

**Dire forte** = To say something aloud; and sometimes as if to say something openly<sup>55</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 215).

<sup>55</sup> Dir checchessia con voce alta; e talora per similitudine dirlo a fronte scoperta.

Although at some levels it may resemble the meaning conveyed by *you said it, dire forte* is not associated with the function of confirming what has been previously said, i.e., as a back-channel/agreement signal. This suggests that *l'hai detto!* does not belong to the system of the Italian language. The expression is not found in contemporary Italian dictionaries either; the DISC 2008 reports the locution *puoi dirlo!* (you can say it) used as a device to confirm what has been previously stated (i.e., *sure, certainly*). The Devoto-Oli 2009 and 2014 and the DM 2000 report the expressions *puoi ben dirlo, puoi dirlo forte* as indicating the correctness of a statement.

The results, then, indicate that the function of agreeing or confirming what has been previously said by the interlocutor is expressed in Italian by locutions such as *puoi dirlo forte!, ben detto!, puoi dirlo!*. The linguistic expression under analysis qualifies as a possible instance of DI; however, its frequency of use needs to be further investigated so as to explore its real use over time. Queries within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are launched in contrast with *puoi dirlo forte!, ben detto!, puoi dirlo!*. Tables 14 and 15 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>L'HAI DETTO (!)</b>	<b>PUOI DIRLO (FORTE) (!)</b>	<b>BEN DETTO (!)</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)



<b>TOT.</b>	2	1	7
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.08	0.04	0.28

Table 14: *L'hai detto vs puoi dirlo forte, ben detto!* and *puoi dirlo* - DiaCORIS results

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>L'HAI DETTO (!)</b>	<b>PUOI DIRLO (FORTE) (!)</b>	<b>BEN DETTO (!)</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	11	10	15
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.08	0.08	0.11

Table 15: *L'hai detto vs puoi dirlo forte, ben detto!* and *puoi dirlo* - CORIS results

The quantitative investigations report one occurrence for *l'hai detto!* in 1891, which excludes the locution from being an instance of DI. This finding might indicate that the expression is indeed an instance of interference, but derived from sources other than dubbing. At the same time, the findings of the corpora show that the frequency of the expression in real use Italian has not increased. The role of dubbing, then, in spreading the expression cannot be claimed either; therefore, the expression is excluded from the analysis in spoken Italian corpora.

## 6. **Puoi scommetterci! (you can bet on it!)**

Rossi (2010) lists this locution as a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *you betcha!*<sup>56</sup>, whereas, he claims, more traditional Italian expressions would be *senza dubbio!* (with no doubt), *ci puoi giurare!* (you can swear on it). He also claims that the expression has now entered not only the Italian language used in mass media, but also everyday Italian.

That of more or less perceived calques (that is, words or expressions lazily derived from foreign equivalents which are similar in the signifier but different in meaning), especially from American English, is the most apparent characteristic of dubbese. [...] [They are] all generally entrenched in the language of mass media, as well as in everyday Italian<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Be assured, certainly (OED).

<sup>57</sup> Quello dei calchi (vale a dire di parole o espressioni pigramente derivate da equivalenti stranieri simili nel significante ma distanti nel significato) più o meno inavvertiti,

The DELI (2008: 1480) reports the use of *scommettere* to affirm something with certainty as dating back to 1712<sup>58</sup> but not as an agreement marker. The TB 1861-1879 (vol. IV: 675) reports:

**Scommettere** = (fam.) Used to affirm something with certainty. To affirm something that others do not believe is happening or happened, in expressions such as: *Scommetto* (I bet), *Scommettiamo* (let's bet) (not necessarily literally). *Scommetterei non so quanto* (I'd bet don't know how much). *Ci scommetto la testa* (I bet my head)<sup>59</sup>.

The lexicographic analysis indicates that the use of *scommettere* as an agreement marker does not seem to belong historically to the system of Italian. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that such a use is, on the contrary, listed by the TB 1861-1879 (vol. II: 409) for *senza dubbio*. This does not seem to have changed in present-day Italian: contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013; Devoto-Oli 2014) mention the hyperbolic function of *scommettere* when affirming something with absolute certainty, but there is no trace of its use in answers as an agreement marker. Similarly, the Devoto-Oli 2014 reports the expression *ci puoi giurare* as an agreement marker device.

The findings show that, in Italian, *scommettere* does not perform this specific function, which is fulfilled by the above mentioned expressions instead. However, such results need to be further verified by quantitative investigations of the corpora of real use written Italian - the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. The results are shown in tables 16 and 17 below:

DiaCORIS	PUOI SCOMMETTERCI (!)
1861-1900	0
1901-1922	0
1923-1945	0

soprattutto dall'angloamericano, è il fenomeno più evidente del doppiaggese [...] tutti penetrati generalmente nella lingua dei mass media oltreché nell'italiano comune.

<sup>58</sup> Lorenzo Magalotti, *Relazioni di viaggio in Inghilterra, Francia e Svezia*, W. Moretti (ed), 1968, Bari, glossary.

<sup>59</sup> *Modi enf. fam.* Modo d'affermare sicuramente una cosa | Per affermare cosa ch'altri non creda sicura o avvenire o presente o passata, dicesi *Scommetto*, *Scommettiamo* (anche senza scommettere). *Scommetterei non so quanto*. *Ci scommetto la testa*.

1946-1967	0
1968-2001	0
TOT.	0
p.p.m.	0

Table 16: *Puoi scommetterci* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	PUOI SCOMMETTERCI (!)
1980-2011	38
p.p.m.	0.29

Table 17: *Puoi scommetterci* – CORIS results

The corpora queries confirm the lexicographic results: the expression *puoi scommetterci* as an agreement marker was not in use in old Italian. However, this new use entered the language in recent times, as shown by the occurrences found in the corpus of modern written Italian. The method qualifies the expression as a DI instance and for this reason it will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 7. **Esatto (exactly)**

*Esatto* has been retrieved from Pavesi's study (2005: 51) in which it is defined as a translational routine typical of Italian dubbing. The scholar argues that more natural Italian expressions in similar contexts<sup>60</sup> would be *sì, hai ragione*<sup>61</sup> (yes, you're right), *sono d'accordo*<sup>62</sup> (I agree) or similar. On this subject, the linguist Umberto Eco claimed (1992: 169) that, at the time, the spreading of the use of *esatto* in Italian was to be ascribed to TV, in particular to quiz shows of American origin. He claims:

The battle against the stereotypes that invade the Italian language is all the rage. As it is known, *esatto* is one such stereotype. We know it: everyone now replies *esatto* when they want to express their agreement. The use was encouraged by the first quiz shows, whereas the correct answers used to be translated directly from the American *that's right* or *that's correct*. Therefore, there is nothing fundamentally wrong in

<sup>60</sup> (ellipt.) Expressing entire approval of, or concurrence in, a suggested statement. (colloq.) (OED).

<sup>61</sup> TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 40.

<sup>62</sup> TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 9.

saying *esatto*, except that those who use it reveal themselves as having learnt Italian only from TV. Saying *esatto* would be the same as showing off, in the lounge room, the encyclopedia which is typically given as a gift only to the purchasers of a detergent<sup>63</sup>.

Leaving personal statements aside, Eco’s claim reveals that the use of *esatto* as an agreement marker in Italian was perceived as non natural at the time. The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic search (TB 1861-1879; Crusca 1863-1923; GDLI; Garzanti 1965) did not give any result for *esatto* employed as an agreement marker. At the same time, contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Treccani; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; DM 2000) report this specific use, proving its entrenchment in Italian, particularly in colloquial contexts (DM 2000).

The etymological and lexicographic findings, which at this stage indicate that *esatto* is a potential instance of DI, are now verified by quantitative searches of the frequency of use of *esatto* in contrast with *giusto* (DELI, 2008: 671) in the DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus; tables 18 and 19 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>ESATTO (!)</b>	<b>GIUSTO (!)</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m)
<b>1968-2001</b>	6	6

<sup>63</sup> Infuria la battaglia contro gli stereotipi che invadono l’italiano. Uno di questi, com’è noto, è “esatto”. Lo sappiamo, tutti ormai rispondono “esatto” quando vogliono comunicare il loro assenso. L’uso è stato incoraggiato dai primi telequiz, dove per segnalare la risposta giusta si traduceva direttamente dall’americano “that’s right” o “that’s correct”. Quindi non vi è nulla di fondamentalmente inesatto nel dire “esatto”, salvo che chi lo pronuncia dimostra di aver appreso l’italiano solo dalla televisione. Dire “esatto” è come ostentare in soggiorno un’enciclopedia che notoriamente viene data in premio solo agli acquirenti di un detersivo.

	(0.24 p.p.m.)	(0.24 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	12	23
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.48	0.92

**Table 18: *Esatto vs giusto* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>ESATTO (!)</b>	<b>GIUSTO (!)</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	357	161
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.75	1.38

**Table 19: *Esatto vs giusto* – CORIS results**

The diachronic analysis indicates the year 1937 as the first occurrence of *esatto* as an agreement marker; this finding would support the hypothesis that dubbing originated such a use, as this translation practice was introduced in Italy in 1932 (*cf.* § 2.2). Moreover, its frequency of use has remarkably increased in contemporary Italian (CORIS results) and the expression is officially part of the Italian language, as contemporary dictionaries report it. Considering its reported high frequency in AVT products, a role of dubbing in the origin and diffusion of the analysed use may be claimed; the presence and frequency of occurrence of *esatto* as an agreement marker will be then analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

## **8. Dammi/batti il cinque! (give me/high five!)**

The expression has been isolated by Alfieri *et al* (2008: 332) as a typical phraseological interference in Italian dubbing. The reasons for such a translational choice may be rooted in the kinesic synchrony constraints (see § 2.3). The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; GDLI; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) searches did not give any result for the collocation, indicating that it did not historically belong to Italian. On the other hand, the expression has been retrieved in the Zing. 2008, in the Devoto-Oli 2009, and in the GDI 2013, confirming that the locution is entrenched in present-day Italian. The Zing. 2008, in particular, reports:

**Dare, battere un (o il) cinque** = Greeting formula which consists in hitting someone's hand, especially as a way to congratulate (from the English 'give me five')<sup>64</sup>.

The Zing. 2008, then, defines the expression as the result from the interference from English; moreover, on the grounds that together with the literal translation, the physical gesture has been imported as well, *dammi/batti il cinque* is also a very likely candidate of DI. It seems indeed more plausible that the expression originated in cinema, that is in dubbing, rather than in written texts translations where there was no visual content, and then spread from there (see also the analysis of *incrociamo le dita*, § 5.4.2, point 69).

The frequency of *dammi/batti il cinque* is investigated in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus in contrast with *qua la mano* (give me your hand) used in similar communicative contexts as reported by the TB 1861-1879 (vol. III: 86) and Treccani:

**Qua la mano!** = To congratulate, as a conciliation or agreement gesture<sup>65</sup>

This is to verify the findings of the lexicographic searches; the results are reported in tables 20 and 21 below.

DiaCORIS	DAMMI/BATTI (IL) CINQUE	QUA LA MANO!
1861-1900	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	5 (0.02 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	0
1968-2001	0	0

<sup>64</sup> Forma di saluto che consiste nel battere la mano aperta contro quella di un altro, spec. per congratularsi (dalla frase inglese give me five, 'qua la mano').

<sup>65</sup> Invitando altri per un gesto di congratulazione, di riappacificazione o di accordo.

<b>TOT.</b>	0	8
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.32

**Table 60: *Dammi/batti il cinque vs qua la mano!* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>DAMMI/BATTI (IL) CINQUE</b>	<b>QUA LA MANO!</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	11	14
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.08	0.11

**Table 21: *Dammi/batti il cinque vs qua la mano!* – CORIS results**

The results confirm that the expression was not in use in Italian before dubbing while it has entered the Italian language in modern times; *batti/dammi il cinque!* qualifies as an instance of DI and it will therefore be analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

#### **5.2.1.4 Checking understanding markers**

These devices are associated with the communication channel between speaker and listener, and their function is to initiate and maintain communication between them. The linguistic expressions performing this function are: *si?* (yes?), *puoi sentirmi?* (can you hear me?), *giusto?* (right?).

### **9. Si? (yes?) (phatic function)**

The phatic use of *si?* (hello?) has been identified by Rando (1973a: 117) as being an AVT interference phenomenon from American English. He hypothesises that the reason is to be found in the constraints imposed by the lip-sync. The scholar also argues that dubbing has caused the spreading of the habit of answering the phone by saying *si?* instead of the traditional *pronto?* (hello?).

The GDLI (vol. XVIII: 1043) documents the phatic function of *si* and dates it back to 1964<sup>66</sup>. No other trace is found in older dictionaries, suggesting that *si?* has acquired such a use in more modern times. Contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014, Treccani; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008, 1994; DM 2000) report the phatic use of *si?* as fulfilling the same function as *pronto?* which confirms its entrenchment in the Italian language.

<sup>66</sup> Mario Soldati, *Le due città*, Milano, 1964: 415.

At this stage, then, the phatic use of *si?* appears to be a case of DI; to assess its frequency of use, diachronic quantitative searches are carried out in contrast with *pronto?* within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. Tables 22 and 23 show the results:

DiaCORIS	Si?	PRONTO?
1861-1900	0	0
1901-1922	0	0
1923-1945	0	1
1946-1967	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	17 (0.68 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)
TOT.	2	23
p.p.m.	0.08	0.92

Table 22: *Si?* vs *pronto?* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	Si?	PRONTO?
1980-2011	13	148
p.p.m.	0.1	1.14

Table 23: *Si?* vs *pronto?* – DiaCORIS results

The corpora results show that the first occurrence of *si?* fulfilling a phatic function dates back to 1967, which is consistent with previous findings. The expression is a likely instance of DI of which the increase use in modern Italian can also be noted. Considering the reported high frequency in AVT products, the diffusing role of dubbing in real use Italian can be envisaged; for this reason, the phatic use of *si?* will be further investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 10. Puoi sentirmi? (can you hear me?)

Alfieri *et al* (2008) list this locution as a typical interference phenomenon and automatism in Italian dubbing from the translation of *Can you hear me?*. Specifically, the linguistic expression is perceived as grammatically incorrect in Italian. The claim is verified and confirmed by the grammatical analysis: when *can* expresses ability



and is linked to a verb of perception, typically, in Italian, it is not translated at all (Collins-Zanichelli, 2008: 175). Normally, the verb *potere* (can/be able to) which expresses ability in Italian (Treccani), is in fact not used to communicate perception ability.

The analysis suggests that *puoi sentirmi?* is a likely instance of DI; diachronic quantitative investigations of the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are carried out to verify its frequency of occurrence in real use Italian. Queries are launched for the counterpart *mi senti?*; tables 24 and 25 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>PUOI SENTIRMI?</b>	<b>MI SENTI?</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	6 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	9
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.36

**Table 24: *Puoi sentirmi?* vs *mi senti?* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>PUOI SENTIRMI?</b>	<b>MI SENTI?</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	7	72
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.05	0.55

**Table 25: *Puoi sentirmi?* – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with previous findings as no occurrences have been found in the corpus of old Italian; however, seven occurrences have been found in the CORIS Corpus evidencing that the expression is in use in present-day Italian. In light of the fact that the repeated presence of *puoi sentirmi?* has been observed in AVT corpora, a link between its entrenchment in real use Italian and dubbing can be

appreciated. For this reason, the expression will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 11. *Giusto?* (right?)

The expression is isolated by Viola (forthcoming) as a potential interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *right?* when fulfilling the function of a checking understanding marker. The DELI (2008: 671) documents the use of *giusto* as an agreement marker (1613<sup>67</sup>) while its use as a checking understanding device was not found (TB 1861-1879; Crusca 1863-1923; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950). What emerged from the lexicographic search was that this function seems to be traditionally fulfilled by expressions such as *(non è) vero?/no?* (isn't it true?) (Crusca 1729-1738, vol. IV: 651). Similarly, contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Hoepli 2011; Treccani; GDI 2013) report the use of *giusto* only as an agreement device.

At this stage, then, the lexicographic search indicates *giusto?* as a potential instance of DI. The frequency of *giusto* is investigated in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus in contrast with *(non è) vero?* so as to validate the lexicographic results. Tables 26 and 27 show the results of the queries:

DiaCORIS	GIUSTO?	(NON) È VERO?
1861-1900	0	187 (7.48 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	261 (10.44 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	99 (3.96 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	183 (7.32 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	0	64 (2.56 p.p.m.)
TOT.	0	794
p.p.m.	0	31.76

Table 26: *Giusto?* vs *(non) è vero?* – DiaCORIS results

<sup>67</sup> Traiano Boccalini, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, before 1631.

CORIS	GIUSTO?	(NON) È VERO?
1980-2011	312	1984
p.p.m.	2.4	15.26

Table 27: *Giusto?* vs *(non) è vero?* – CORIS results

The corpora results are consistent with previous findings and indicate that the function of checking understanding/verifying agreement did not use to be performed by *giusto* before the introduction of dubbing in Italy. After dubbing, not only has *giusto?* started to be used, but the frequency of occurrence of the traditional expression *(non è) vero?* has also decreased. These data will be compared with investigations of spoken Italian corpora.

#### 5.2.1.5 Response/reaction markers

These signals are used to express a response or a reaction to what has been said previously or attitude towards the incoming discourse (Brinton, 1996: 37). The expressions belonging to this group are: *stai scherzando?* (are you kidding?), *dannazione!* (damn!), *fottuto/va' a farti fottere* (fucked/fuck off), *bastardo* (bastard), *(questa è) spazzatura!* (this is rubbish!).

## 12. Grande! (great!)

When used in answers as a response/reaction marker, this expression is considered as the potential result of the interference from the AV translation of *great!* (Viola forthcoming). The OED defines this specific use of *great* as follows:

**Great** = *colloq.* (orig. and chiefly U.S.) In a highly satisfactory or successful manner; excellently, very well | Expressing approval or satisfaction | *colloq.* (orig. U.S.) As a general term of approval: excellent, admirable, very pleasing, first-rate.

From the above definition, it appears that equivalent expressions such as *benissimo*, *ottimo*, *perfetto* (very good/brilliant/perfect) would be valid alternatives to be used in similar communicative situations in Italian.

**Benissimo** = As an exclamation, to express approval for something accomplished.<sup>68</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 942).

Moreover, the fact that such a use in English is mainly U.S. may be a strong indicator of the influence of dubbing, considering that the majority of the imported films in Italy is of U.S. origin (Antonini, 2008: 135).

The use of *grande!* as a response/reaction marker was not found within etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; GDLI; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950), indicating that this particular use would not historically belong to the Italian language. However, among contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Treccani; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013), the Zing. 2008 reports:

**Grande** = (colloq.) Excellent (referred to a person)<sup>69</sup>.

The above definition shows that the use which mirrors the American function of expressing approval has entered the Italian language (at least when referred to a person). Moreover, it is defined as *colloquial* indicating an informal context of use. Thus, from the results of the lexicographic investigation, *grande!* appears to be a likely instance of DI when used as a response/reaction marker. Further searches within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus need, however, to be conducted to verify its real use frequency throughout time. The results are reported in tables 28 and 29 below.

DiaCORIS	GRANDE (!)	BENISSIMO (!)
1861-1900	0	27 (1.08 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	11

<sup>68</sup> Assol. Approvazione di cosa fatta a modo d'escl.

<sup>69</sup> (colloq.) Bravissimo: *grande!*.

		(0.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	5
		(0.2 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	50
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	2

**Table 28: *Grande!* vs *benissimo!* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>GRANDE (!)</b>	<b>BENISSIMO (!)</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	12	36
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.09	0.28

**Table 29: *Grande!* vs *benissimo!* – CORIS results**

The results further confirm that the investigated use of *grande!* has entered real use Italian in modern times. Moreover, it is worthwhile to mention that the contexts in which *grande!* has been retrieved did not exclusively refer to a person, as reported by the Zing. 2008, but also to situations and manners, thus mirroring the U.S. use. In conclusion, considering the reported occurrence of *grande!* in AVT products, the expression can be considered as an instance of DI; its real use and frequency in oral Italian will be investigated in corpora of spoken Italian.

### **13. *Stai scherzando?* (are you kidding?/joking?)**

Pavesi (2005: 48) highlighted the overuse of the progressive present in Italian dubbed products; according to the scholar, the overuse is such that it has affected more or less fixed expressions that used to be at the simple present form. The example provided is *stai scherzando?* (are you kidding?) at the progressive present form, whereas *scherzi?* (do you joke?) at the simple present would be traditionally preferred. The same observation has been made by Ferro and Sardo (2008: 405) who have analysed television discourse in Italian programmes for children.

Following these claims, the hypothesis that the English use has influenced the use of progressive constructions in Italian is investigated here by focussing the analysis on the locution *stai scherzando?*. Without going into too much detail, it will suffice to say that, generally speaking, English and Italian have different rules to

express progressivity<sup>70</sup>. Giacalone Ramat (1997: 267), for instance, affirms: “the English progressive is an obligatory category in the verbal system of the language, while in Italian [...] progressive constructions are an optional variant of the simple forms”. However, this scholar also clarifies that simple and progressive forms in Italian are not always synonymous; there are contexts in which, pragmatically, progressive forms are preferred (ibid.: 182).

The progressive form in Italian can be considered marked, in the light of the three criteria for establishing markedness proposed by Greenberg (1966) and later developed by Croft (1990:70ff). These criteria are: **the structural criterion** (number of morphemes in progressive vs. imperfective/simple forms), **the behavioural criterion** (number of contexts in which both forms appear) and **the frequency criterion** (number of occurrences in texts of a language). Therefore, progressive forms in Italian are marked in the sense that they have a smaller number of morphemes than the imperfective/simple ones (structural criterion), they occur less frequently (frequency criterion) and in fewer contexts (behavioural criterion) (Giacalone Ramat, ibid.: 264). Furthermore, considering that the progressive form is not obligatory in Italian, a lower frequency occurrence is to be expected. Conversely, in English, because progressive forms are obligatory, they are unmarked and therefore more frequent than in Italian.

Tables 30 and 31 show the results of queries launched within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus to analyse the frequency trend of the construction *stare + gerundio* (stay + gerund), which is used in Italian to construct the progressive form. In consideration of the fact that the progressive is marked in Italian, a general constant (low) frequency is expected.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>STARE + GERUND</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	292 (11.68 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	357 (14.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	560 (22.4 p.p.m.)

<sup>70</sup> For example, in Italian the use of progressive forms is not possible with the auxiliary verbs *essere/avere* (be/have) in sentences such as: “John is being silly again” (example taken from Giacalone Ramat, 1997: 269). Interestingly, Giacalone Ramat (ibid.) as well argues that a television influence from English in the use of such incorrect periphrases is not to be excluded, especially among younger Italian speakers. She claims: “A typical stereotype of TV speech is *sta avendo molto successo* (he/she is having a great success). Such sentences describe a contingent state as a gradual incrementative process. An influence of English models is not excluded (ibid.: 282).

<b>1946-1967</b>	1,568 (62.72 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	2,083 (83.32 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	4,860
<b>p.p.m.</b>	194.4

**Table 70: Progressive form frequency – DiaCORIS**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>STARE + GERUND</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	57,324
<b>p.p.m.</b>	440.95

**Table 31: Progressive form frequency – CORIS**

The findings show that the use of the periphrasis *stare + gerund* has increased considerably throughout the years. It is worthwhile to remind the reader that only original Italian texts have been considered for the analysis, so that the results mirror a real use trend. Furthermore, random analyses of the progressive forms' contexts of occurrence have been conducted revealing that in the oldest time blocks (1861-1922), they were used to express on-going and continuing situations, i.e., they were preferable. In more recent times, on the contrary, the use of simple/imperfective forms would have been equally acceptable, which clearly indicates that in modern Italian the two forms can be almost interchanged.

As for the expression *stai scherzando?* in particular, the lexicographic search (TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 636; GDLI, vol. VII: 973) reports the use of the verb *scherzare* as a response/reaction marker, but only in expressions such as *si scherza?*, *che scherziamo?* (do we kid?), that is at the simple present form. Contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Treccani; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; DM 2000; Zing. 2008) as well report the use of *scherzare* as a reaction marker only in expressions at the simple form such as: *scherzi?*, *scherzate?*, *che scherziamo?*. At this stage, then, the findings indicate that *stai scherzando?* is a likely instance of DI.

However, the frequency of occurrence of the two forms in real use Italian needs to be empirically verified from a diachronic perspective; tables 32 and 33 show the results of the queries within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>SCHERZI?</b>	<b>STAI SCHERZANDO?</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	19	2
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.76	0.08

**Table 32: *Scherzi?* vs *stai scherzando?* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>SCHERZI?</b>	<b>STAI SCHERZANDO?</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	53	39
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.41	0.3

**Table 33: *Scherzi?* vs *stai scherzando?* – CORIS results**

The analysis has shown that the use of the progressive form in Italian has remarkably increased over the years to the extent that even more or less fixed expressions such as *scherzi?* which were used traditionally at the simple form are now used in the progressive form. The findings also show that both forms coexist in contemporary Italian. The frequency of occurrence of *stai scherzando?* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora so as to verify whether the use of the progressive variant has entered the oral language too.

#### **14. Dannazione! (damn!)**

Many scholars (Bollettieri Bosinelli 2002: 81; Pavesi, 2005: 48; Rossi 2010) have pointed out that the expression *dannazione!* in Italian is the result of the incorrect



translation of *damn!/damned* in dubbing. These scholars argue that the same function as *damn* would be performed by the expression *maledizione!* instead.

The lexicographic search gave the following results:

**Damn** = The utterance of the word ‘damn’ as a profane imprecation | (interj.) Expressing anger or frustration. (OED).

**Dannazione** = The act and effect of damning and of being damned, and also the reason of being damned and of deserving it<sup>71</sup>. (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 16).

**Dannazione** = Sentence | Infernal punishment | Torment, pain<sup>72</sup> (1685). (DELI: 430).

**Maledizione** = As an interjection or imprecation, to express profound displeasure, unpleasant surprise, disdain, etc.<sup>73</sup>. (GDLI, vol. IX: 530<sup>74</sup>).

**Maledizione!** = Used emphatically, as a serious trouble, or familiar use, as a hyperbole, annoying<sup>75</sup>. (TB 1861-1879, vol III: 46).

The lexicographic search validated previous claims: the use as an imprecation/interjection has been retrieved only for *maledizione!* indicating that, historically, it did not belong to *dannazione!*. Moreover, in the Garzanti 1965 (491: 990) the two terms are defined as synonyms when used as an imprecation/interjection indicating that in 1965 the linguistic change had already occurred. Similarly, in contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DISC 2008; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; DM 2000; Zing. 2008) the use in question is associated to both expressions.

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<sup>71</sup> Atto e effetto del dannare e dell'esser dannato, e anche cagione di ciò, e il meritarlo.

<sup>72</sup> Condanna (1342) | Condanna alla pena infernale (1292) | Tormento, pena.

<sup>73</sup> Come interiezione o imprecazione, per esprimere vivo disappunto, spiacevole sorpresa, sdegno, ecc.

<sup>74</sup> Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Terra vergine – Il libro delle vergini*, Lanciano 1915.

<sup>75</sup> *Modo enf.* Male grave, o per iperb. fam., molesto.

The analysis carried out so far indicates that *dannazione!* is likely to be an instance of DI; further investigations are conducted within real use Italian corpora to examine the use of both expressions from a diachronic perspective, and to obtain important information on their real frequency of use. Tables 34 and 35 below show quantitative information of both expressions used as an imprecation/interjection.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>MALEDIZIONE!</b>	<b>DANNAZIONE!</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	0
<b>TOT.</b>	14	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.56	0.04

**Table 34: *Maledizione!* vs *Dannazione!* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>MALEDIZIONE!</b>	<b>DANNAZIONE!</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	110	59
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.85	0.45

**Table 35: *Maledizione!* vs *Dannazione!* – CORIS results**

The tables above confirm that the use of *dannazione!* as an imprecation has started to appear in Italian in modern times and that, since then, its frequency has gradually increased. In light of the results of the lexicographic searches and considering the recurrent presence of the use of *dannazione!* as an imprecation in AVT products reported in literature, the linguistic expression is considered as an DI phenomenon and will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 15. Fottuto/va' a farti fottere/fottiti (fuck/fuck off)

Many authors (Galassi 2000; Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81; Pavesi, 2005: 48; Rossi 2010) have reported the use of these expressions to be among the most typical translational routines and interference phenomena in Italian dubbing. Galassi, for instance, (2000: 7) claims:

*Fottiti, amico*. How many times did we happen to hear this alien expression in dubbed movies? And yet, I believe that none of us has never happened to use it during a dust-up. [...] ‘Fottiti amico’ is not functional – it doesn’t convey the same meaning as *fuck, man* – because its link with our linguistic and cultural context is not the same as the one that the original line has with its context<sup>76</sup>.

Galassi also argues that the reasons for such a translational choice may be rooted in the lip-synch<sup>77</sup> constraints which, if on the one hand would have worked around the lip-synch issue, on the other, it has led to a pragmatic failure.

The lexicographic search gave the following results:

**Fuck** = In oaths and imprecations (chiefly in optative with no subject expressed): expressing annoyance, hatred, dismissal | Imprecatory and exclamatory phrases (typically in imperative or optative with no subject expressed). Expressing hostility, contempt, or defiant indifference (OED).

**Fottere** = To have sexual intercourse (vulgar)<sup>78</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. VI: 418).

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<sup>76</sup> *Fottiti, amico*. Quante volte ci è capitato di sentire questa frase marziana nei film doppiati! Eppure credo che a nessuno di noi sia mai accaduto di usare una simile espressione durante un alterco. [...] *Fottiti, amico* non è funzionale – non è elemento portatore del medesimo senso contenuto in *fuck, man* – perché non ha col contesto linguistico e culturale del nostro paese lo stesso rapporto che aveva, in inglese, con il contesto d’origine.

<sup>77</sup> See § 2.3.

<sup>78</sup> Usare il coito; voce oscena.

**Fottere** = To possess a woman carnally | To cheat, to mislead<sup>79</sup> (1887).  
(DELI: 607).

**Fottere** = Used as in old Latin with an obscene sense. In familial and plebeian use it means to cheat, to win, to pot<sup>80</sup> (Panzini 1905: 274).

**Fottuto** = Associated with a person or thing name is used in plebeian talk as disdain<sup>81</sup> (Panzini 1905: 274).

**Andare a farsi fottere** = To go to hell, to pot (and it is used as an imprecation)<sup>82</sup> (GDLI, vol. VI: 262<sup>83</sup>).

**Fottuto** = Despicable, hideous, odious (and it is used as an insult); which causes a disturbance, annoyance, pain or shame (and it is often used pleonastically to indicate the impatience, anger or disgust that an object or a condition determine in someone (source Carlo Emilio Gadda *I sogni e la folgore*, Torino, 1955)<sup>84</sup> (GDLI, vol. VI: 262).

**Fottuto** = (Also as an adj.) Without any specific meaning, it is used as an insulting epithet or as an expression of surge<sup>85</sup> (Treccani).

**Fottiti!** = Fuck off! Go to hell!<sup>86</sup> (DISC 2008).

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<sup>79</sup> Possedere carnalmente una donna (1349) | Ingannare, imbrogliare.

<sup>80</sup> Usato, come già in antico Latino in senso osceno. Nel parlare familiare e plebeo vale ingannare, vincere, ridurre a mal partito, tradire.

<sup>81</sup> Accompagnato a nome di persona o di cosa, nel parlare plebeo, esecrazione e dispetto.

<sup>82</sup> Andare al diavolo, andare in malora (e si usa come imprecazione).

<sup>83</sup> Ferdinando Paolieri, *Natio borgo selvaggio*, Firenze, 1922.

<sup>84</sup> Spregevole, detestabile, esecrabile (e si usa come epiteto ingiurioso); che arreca o provoca fastidio, noia, dolore o vergogna (ed è spesso usato pleonasticamente per indicare l'impazienza, la rabbia o il disgusto, che un oggetto o una condizione determinano nel soggetto).

<sup>85</sup> (anche come agg.) Senza un preciso significato proprio ma usato come epiteto ingiurioso o come espressione di sfogo.

<sup>86</sup> Va' a farti fottere!, va' all'inferno, va' al diavolo.

The lexicographic search shows that *fottiti* in Italian was not traditionally used as an insult/imprecation and that the use has entered the language in relatively recent times. The use is also reported by contemporary dictionaries indicating that the expression is entrenched in present-day Italian. The locution *va' a farti fottere*, on the contrary, dates back to 1922 (GDLI), as well as *fottuto* (1905), that is before the coming of dubbing in Italy, thus discarding the expressions as instances of DI.

The analysis carried out so far, indicates that *fottiti!* when used as a response/reaction marker and as an insult/imprecation is a potential instance of DI, while *va' a farti fottere* and *fottuto* have been proven to pre-exist dubbing. To examine their occurrence in real use Italian corpora, the frequency of all these expressions is diachronically investigated. Tables 36 and 37 show the results of the queries of the DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus.

DiaCORIS	FOTTUTO	FOTTITI!	VA' A FARTI FOTTERE
1861-1900	0	0	0
1901-1922	0	0	0
1923-1945	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0	0
1946-1967	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	0	0
1968-2001	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	0	0
TOT.	11	0	0
p.p.m.	0.44	0	0

Table 36: *Fottuto-fottiti-va' a farti fottere* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	FOTTUTO	FOTTITI!	VA' A FARTI FOTTERE
1980-2011	396	23	19
p.p.m.	3.05	0.18	0.15

Table 37: *Fottuto-fottiti-va' a farti fottere* –CORIS results

The results confirm the lexicographic findings: occurrences for *fottuto* have been found before the coming of dubbing while *fottiti!* was retrieved only in modern

Italian. However, the frequency of occurrence of both *fottuto* and *va'a farti fottere* has increased in modern Italian, which could be due to the influence of their repeated presence observed in Italian AVT products. The frequency of these expressions will be then investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 16. Bastardo! (bastard!)

Rossi (2010) lists the use of this word as a general form of insult as being a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *bastard*, claiming that it did not traditionally belong to the range of Italian swear words. Klajn (1972: 138) as well ascribes this use of *bastardo* to the English influence on the Italian language, though not specifically to dubbing. The DELI (2008: 189) reports:

**Bastardo** = Born from unmarried parents | Referred to an animal or a plant born from two different species | *fig.* Corrupted, irregular, heterogeneous | Generically, offensive word which mirrors the English *bastard*<sup>87</sup>.

**Bastardo** = Used to disdain | Son of a bastard<sup>88</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 887).

**Bastardo** = With derogatory sense, used as an insult (especially referred to a boy)<sup>89</sup> (GDLI, vol. II: 96<sup>90</sup>).

The examples above show the use of *bastardo* as an insult linked to the original meaning of being born from unmarried parents, while its use as a general insult is listed by the DELI as dating back to 1961-62 and as being influenced by the English use. The use of the word as a general insult is however found in Garzanti 1965 (203), confirming that the semantic change had already taken place in 1965. The same use released from its original meaning has been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries

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<sup>87</sup> Nato da genitori non legittimamente coniugati (1306) | Detto di animale o vegetale nato da incrocio fra due razze diverse (1350) | *fig.* Spurio, corrotto, irregolare, eterogeneo (1321) | Genericamente, termine offensivo che riflette l'inglese *bastard* (1961-62).

<sup>88</sup> Per ispregio | Figliuolo d'un bastardo.

<sup>89</sup> In senso spregiativo, come ingiuria (detto in specie di ragazzo).

<sup>90</sup> 1441-1449, Matteo Maria Boiardo, *Le vite degli eccellenti capitani di Cornelio Nepote volgarizzate*, edited by O. Guerrini and C. Ricci, Bologna, 1908, vol. 2: 49.

(DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Hoepli 2011; Treccani; GDI 2013) indicating that the use is entrenched in present-day Italian.

To investigate the frequency of use of *bastardo* as a general form of insult, it is crucial to carry out a deep in detail analysis of the context in which the word occurs. The contexts provided by the DiaCORIS and the CORIS, however, are not wide enough<sup>91</sup> for such an analysis. For this reason, only the results of the lexicographic search will be taken into account which show that a semantic change affected the use of the word *bastardo* in Italian before 1965 and that this use mirrors the English one. The expression will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora as a likely instance of DI.

### 17. (questa è) Spazzatura! (that's) Rubbish!

This expression has been isolated by Alfieri *et al* (2008: 334) while analysing Italian dubbed programmes from English. These scholars defined it as a phraseological interference from *(that's) rubbish!* arguing that, in Italian, an expression such as *(queste sono) sciocchezze!* would be preferred in the same communicative situation.

The OED reports:

**Rubbish** = Worthless or absurd ideas, talk, or writing; nonsense | *(colloq.)* Chiefly in response to a statement with which one disagrees: 'nonsense!'.  
*(colloq.)* Chiefly in response to a statement with which one disagrees: 'nonsense!'.

Such a use has not been found within the etymological (DELI) and lexicographic (Crusca 1729-1738; TB 1861-1879; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Garzanti 1965) searches, while GDLI (vol. XIX: 758) reports:

**Spazzatura** = Referred to what is worth little or nothing, both inherently and incidentally, or is of a very poor quality<sup>92</sup> (before 1705).

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<sup>91</sup> Before and after each occurrence, about 100 words are given. Although this is normally sufficient to determine the function/use of the occurrence under study, in this particular case it is not enough to establish whether *bastardo* refers to a character in the text whose parents are not married.

<sup>92</sup> Quanto vale poco o nulla, sia intrinsecamente sia per ragioni contingente, o è di qualità del tutto scadente (av. 1375) | Massa di notizie o di principi che non hanno nessun valore o lo hanno perduto (av. 1705).

In the GDLI's definition, the English use of the word rubbish as being of little or no value is found; however, its use as a response/reaction marker was not retrieved, the latter being on the contrary found for *sciocchezze*.

**Sciocchezza** = Of little or no importance | Concretely, used to refer to stupid actions or words, or to things done or said without thinking<sup>93</sup>. Ex: *Non dire sciocchezze*" (Treccani).

Finally, contemporary dictionaries do not list the function under analysis (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) which would suggest that such a use in Italian is not linked to the word *spazzatura* and that the expression is likely to be an instance of DI. To investigate further the real use of the locution as a response/reaction marker, quantitative searches are carried out within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus; the results are shown in tables 38 and 39.

DiaCORIS	(QUESTA È) SPAZZATURA !	(QUESTE SONO) SCIOCCHENZE
1861-1900	0	12 (0.28 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	36
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	1.44

**Table 38: *Questa è spazzatura vs queste sono sciocchezze* – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>93</sup> Cosa o fatto di nessuna importanza, inezia | In senso concr., azione, parole da sciocco, cosa fatta o detta in modo sciocco, senza adeguatamente riflettere.



CORIS	(QUESTA È) SPAZZATURA!	(QUESTE SONO) SCIOCCHENZE
1980-2011	4	64
p.p.m.	0.03	0.49

Table 39: *Questa è spazzatura vs queste sono sciocchezze* – CORIS results

Although the use of *spazzatura!* as a response marker was not retrieved within the lexicographic analysis, occurrences were found in the written Italian corpora suggesting that such a use has entered the Italian language. The expression appears to be a likely instance of DI and it will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 5.2.2 Attention-getters (AGs)

AGs can be seen as devices of which the main function is to signal a new action in discourse (Trosborg 1995), that is to claim attention of the hearer either to what has been said before or to what is about to be said. They include:

- Opening devices which signal to the hearer the intention to initiate a discourse. The expressions under analysis belonging to this sub-category are: *la sai una cosa?* (you know what?) and *bene* (well);
- Pre-closing and closing devices may be used to ‘save face’ when signaling to the interlocutor the intention to terminate the conversation (Brown and Levinson 1987). The expressions belonging to this sub-category are: *devo andare* (I gotta go); *scordatelo* (forget it!); *questo è tutto* (that’s it/that’s all); *fine della storia* (end of story); *dacci un taglio!* (cut it out!); *stanne fuori* (stay out of this); *chiudi il becco* (shut up!);
- Turn-taking/keeping/shifting devices which mark a change in conversation by signaling to the interlocutor the listener’s intention to take the floor and by indicating to the listener the speaker’s intention to relinquish or to keep the floor. The expressions belonging to this sub-category are: *spara!* (shoot!); *lasciami dire una cosa* (let me tell you something); *frena!* (hold on); *aspetta un minuto* (wait a minute);
- Interjections which primarily work as pragmatic markers; they can fulfill a wide range of interactional functions depending on their

position and intonation (Norrick 2009). The analysed interjections belonging to this sub-category are: *ehi* (hey); *uau* (wow); *ups* (oops).

### 18. **La sai una cosa? (do you know one thing?)**

Pavesi (2005, 2008) have considered the locution *(la) sai una cosa?* used as an opening device as an interference phenomenon of *you know what?*. According to these scholars, an expression such as *sai che ti dico?* (you know what I tell you?) would traditionally be preferred instead.

The following are the results of the lexicographic analysis:

**Sai, sapete, sa, sanno che cosa?** = Familial elliptical constructions used to get the attention of the interlocutor about some ideas, doubts or similar which have suddenly occurred and we want to share<sup>94</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. III: 882).

**Sai che ti dico? Sai che cosa?** = Rhetorical questions used to emphasise what is said<sup>95</sup> (1959/1982) (GDLI, vol. XVII: 548).

The findings indicate that, historically, expressions such as *sai che cosa?* and *sai che ti dico?* are the opening devices used to get the interlocutor's attention. At the same time, however, contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009; Treccani; DM 2000) report the expression *(la) sai una cosa?* thus indicating that the innovative locution has now entered the Italian language.

At this point, the analysis suggests that *la sai una cosa?* is a potential DI phenomenon, whereas, traditionally, the expressions used as opening devices would be *sai che cosa?* and *sai che ti dico?*. To corroborate such findings, quantitative investigations within real use Italian corpora are carried out; tables 40 and 41 show the results.

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<sup>94</sup> Sono maniere familiari ed ellittiche, che usiamo nel discorso per richiamare l'attenzione altrui sopra qualche idea, dubbio, o simili, venutici ad un tratto, e che vogliamo esporre.

<sup>95</sup> Domande retoriche per enfatizzare quanto si dice.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>(LA) SAI UNA COSA?</b>	<b>SAI CHE TI DICO?</b>	<b>SAI CHE COSA (TI DICO)?</b>	<b>SAI COSA (TI DICO)?</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0	0	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	12 (0.48 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	5	13	4	2
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.2	0.52	0.16	0.64

**Table 80: *(la) sai una cosa?* vs *sai che ti dico?* vs *sai che cosa (ti dico)?* vs *sai cosa (ti dico)?* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>(LA) SAI UNA COSA?</b>	<b>SAI CHE TI DICO?</b>	<b>SAI CHE COSA (TI DICO)?</b>	<b>SAI COSA (TI DICO)?</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	43	43	1	16
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.33	0.33	0.01	0.12

**Table 41: *(la) sai una cosa?* vs *sai che ti dico?* vs *sai che cosa (ti dico)?* vs *sai cosa (ti dico)?* – CORIS results**

The results of the corpora contradict the findings of the lexicographic search: one occurrence of *(la) sai una cosa?* in the DiaCORIS pre-exists dubbing which evidences that *(la) sai una cosa?* is not an instance of DI; moreover, the overall frequency of use of this locution has not substantially increased over time such that

an influence from dubbing cannot be claimed. The expression will not be analysed within spoken Italian corpora.

### 19. Bene (well)

Dardano (1986: 231) and Rossi (2010) described *bene* as an instance of interference from *well* when used as a device to initiate the discourse; other discourse markers, they claim, would be “more Italian” (e.g., *dunque*, *allora*, and similar).

The following are the results of the lexicographic search:

**Bene** = As a reply, partly approving what heard from others; but then taking up again the question or the objection<sup>96</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 929).

**Bene** = Placed at the beginning of the sentence, before a question, it has almost the same value as *dunque*; although nowadays the use of *ebbene* is more common<sup>97</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. II: 138).

**Bene** = To initiate or to end a discourse<sup>98</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 212).

As evidenced by the lexicographic investigation, the use of *bene* as an opening device is not an instance of DI. In order to verify any possible influence from dubbing on real use Italian, diachronic quantitative investigations are carried out within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. The results are reported in tables 42 and 43 below.

DiaCORIS	BENE	DUNQUE	ALLORA
<b>1861-1900</b>	38 (1.52 p.p.m.)	68 (2.72 p.p.m.)	154 (6.16 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	55 (2.2 p.p.m.)	120 (4.8 p.p.m.)	229 (9.16 p.p.m.)

<sup>96</sup> Modo di rispondere, approvando in parte quel che si è sentito da altri; ma poi ripigliando l'interrogazione o l'obbiezione. Esempio: - Bene, frate, dond'è egli?

<sup>97</sup> Posto nel principio del periodo avanti all'interrogativo, vale quasi quanto *Dunque*; ma oggi più comunemente usasi *Ebbene*.

<sup>98</sup> Per cominciare o troncare un discorso.

<b>1923-1945</b>	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)	56 (2.24 p.p.m.)	65 (2.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	57 (2.28 p.p.m.)	85 (3.4 p.p.m.)	133 (5.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	84 (3.36 p.p.m.)	130 (5.2 p.p.m.)	102 (4.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	257	459	683
<b>p.p.m.</b>	10.28	18.36	27.32

**Table 42: *Bene vs dunque vs allora* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>BENE</b>	<b>DUNQUE</b>	<b>ALLORA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	1,329	1,678	1,817
<b>p.p.m.</b>	10.22	12.91	13.98

**Table 43: *Bene vs dunque vs allora* – CORIS results**

The results reported above show that the use of *bene* as an opening device has not increased in modern time. Considering that its use is also largely documented in old Italian, the expression will not be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## **20. Devo andare (I have to go)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 322) list this locution as an interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *I gotta go*. According to these scholars, traditional Italian expressions used to signal the intention to terminate a conversation would be *è meglio che vada/vado* (it is better for me to go/I am going), while *devo chiudere/ti saluto* (I have to hang up/I am greeting you) would be more common when terminating a telephone conversation.

The lexicographic search of historical dictionaries (TB 1861-1879; Crusca 1863-1923; Garzanti 1965; GDLI) did not give any result for *devo andare* used as a pre-closing device, while among contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; DM 2000; Zing. 2008; Treccani) the locution is reported by the Devoto-Oli 2009. At the same time, the expression *vi saluto* (I greet you) has been retrieved in the TB (vol. IV: 521) as a closing device used, for instance, to end a letter.

The analysis carried out so far suggests that, although historically *devo andare* was not in use as a closing device, the expression is entrenched in contemporary Italian; this indicates that the expression is a potential instance of DI. These conclusions need to be verified by data which can provide proof of the real use of the expression over time; queries are launched within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. Tables 44 and 45 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>DEVO ANDARE</b>	<b>TI/VI SALUTO</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	22 (0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	15	65
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.6	2.6

**Table 44: *Devo andare* vs *ti/vi saluto* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>DEVO ANDARE</b>	<b>TI/VI SALUTO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	127	96
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.98	0.73

**Table 45: *Devo andare* vs *ti/vi saluto* – CORIS results**

The first appearance in the corpora of *devo andare* as a closing device is from 1938, that is, after dubbing was introduced in Italy. In light of its reported high frequency of occurrence in AVT products, an influence of dubbing cannot therefore be excluded. The expression will be then examined in spoken Italian corpora.

## 21. Scordatelo! (forget it!)

In her list of translational routines of dubbed Italian, Pavesi (2005: 49) included *scordatelo!* (forget it!) when fulfilling the function of pre-closing/terminal exchange device. According to this scholar, in Italian, this function is traditionally fulfilled by expressions such as *non se ne parla!* (let's not talk about it/no chance!).

The OED reports:

**Forget it** = Take no more notice of it, don't mention it | *informal* Said when insisting to someone that there is no need for apology or thanks (OED).

This use of *scordatelo* has not been retrieved in historical dictionaries (TB 1861-1879; Crusca 1729-1738; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Garzanti 1965; Zing. 1994, 2008), while the GDLI (vol. XVIII: 223) reports:

**Scordarsi, potersi scordare di qualcosa** = To renounce permanently the hope of obtaining or having something back (colloquial)<sup>99</sup>.

The function of *scordatelo!* described by the GDLI is different from the one performed by *forget it!*; thus, despite the similar structure, the two expressions convey different pragmatic meanings. Similarly, contemporary dictionaries (DISC 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; Treccani) define *scordatelo!* as fulfilling the function of communicating that there is no possibility of doing something.

At this point of the analysis, some conclusions can be drawn: *scordatelo!* may be not only an instance of DI but also the result of a translation mistake or misinterpretation in dubbing, which has, over the years, established as the norm. This hypothesis is supported by the findings of the lexicographic investigation, where the definition has been found after the introduction of dubbing in Italy and carrying a meaning which does not mirror the English one. On the contrary, the expression *lascia stare* has been retrieved in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. II: 1754) indicating that this is historically the expression used in the communicative situation in question:

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<sup>99</sup> Rinunciare definitivamente alla speranza di ottenerla, di riaverla (ed è di uso colloquiale).

**Lasciare stare una cosa** = Stop investigating this matter<sup>100</sup>.

The lexicographic results are further verified by conducting diachronic quantitative analyses within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus to assess the presence, function in context and frequency of the expression across real use data over time. Tables 46 and 47 show the results:

DiaCORIS	SCORDATELO!	LASCIA STARE!
1861-1900	0	41 (1.64 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	37 (1.48 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	21 (0.84 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	43 (1.72 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	17 (0.68 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	159
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	6.36

**Table 46: *Scordatelo!* vs *lascia stare!* – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	SCORDATELO!	LASCIA STARE!
1980-2011	13	298
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.1	2.29

**Table 47: *Scordatelo!* vs *lascia stare!* – CORIS results**

The results show that *scordatelo!* was not in use in the Italian language before the introduction of dubbing in Italy while *lascia stare!* has been confirmed to be the expression which was traditionally used in similar communicative situations. Moreover, the analysis of the contexts of occurrence showed that, in 12 cases out of 13, the function performed by *scordatelo!* was different from the English use. This

<sup>100</sup> Lasciare stare d'investigarla.



strongly supports the hypothesis that *scordatelo!* is a likely instance of DI and, at the same time, the result of a translation mistake. The expression will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora to verify its presence and use at the spoken level.

## 22. Questo è tutto (that's all/that's it)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 143) claimed that *questo è tutto* is an example of phraseological interference in Italian dubbing resulting from the translation of *that's all/that's it*; these scholars argue that, as a closing device, the traditional Italian expression would be *questo è quanto*. The lexicographic search (TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; GDLI) did not give any result for *questo è tutto* while *questo è quanto* has been found in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. III: 1370) reports:

**Questo è quanto** = Elliptical construction that stands for *This is all I wanted to say, to stress*. It can also be used to stress an objection, an observation *This is the point*, added by either the speaker or the listener<sup>101</sup>.

Contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Devoto-Oli 2009; DISC 2008; and Zing. 2008) define *questo è quanto* and *questo è tutto* as synonyms indicating that both expressions belong to present-day Italian.

The analysis carried out so far suggests that *questo è tutto* is a potential instance of DI; further investigations within real use data, however, need to be conducted to corroborate such findings. Queries for both the expressions are launched within the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus; tables 48 and 49 show the results.

DiaCORIS	QUESTO È QUANTO	QUESTO È TUTTO
1861-1900	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	0	2

<sup>101</sup> *ellitt.* cioè *Quanto avevo da dire, da notare*. Ma in altro senso, con questo modo intendiamo dare risalto a un'obiezione, a un'osservazione *Qui sta il punto*; o soggiunge chi parla, o risponde chi ascolta.

		(0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	10
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	0.4

**Table 48: *Questo è quanto* vs *questo è tutto* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>QUESTO È QUANTO</b>	<b>QUESTO È TUTTO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	13	31
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.1	0.24

**Table 49: *Questo è quanto* vs *questo è tutto* – CORIS results**

Although *questo è tutto* has not been retrieved within the lexicographic search, the corpora results evidence that it was already in use in 1861, thus excluding the possibility that the expression is an instance of DI. Moreover, its frequency of occurrence has not increased over time so that a potential influence of dubbing in boosting its use cannot be claimed. The locution will not be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### **23. Fine della storia! (end of story!)**

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 143) claim that this expression is, in Italian dubbing, a phraseological interference derived from the English locution *end of story/discussion*. According to these authors, traditional Italian locutions used as closing formulae would be *punto e basta/basta così* (stop it!/enough!) and similar.

The lexicographic search did not yield any instances, neither in old (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) nor in modern and contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; Hoepli 2011; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; GDI 2013; DISC 2008; GDLI; DM 2000; Zing. 2008). The dictionaries have also been consulted for the ‘genuine’ Italian counterparts believed to traditionally express the same function as *fine della storia* (e.g. *basta/basta così/punto e basta*). These searches are conducted to exclude the possibility that the alleged instance of DI may not be found because the communicative situation is not represented in the dictionaries, for example because it belongs to the spoken level of the language. Entries have been found for *basta* in Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. II: 90-91):

**Basta, e Basta basta, Basta così** = To impose silence to those who are talking or to make sb stop doing what they are doing | It is highly used to suddenly end a speech or talk, and to omit other things considered not essential to the conclusion of the reasoning<sup>102</sup>.

The finding indicates that *fine della storia* is a likely DI phenomenon; quantitative searches are conducted within real use Italian data to investigate its presence, use and frequency of occurrence and to corroborate the findings obtained so far. Tables 50 and 51 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>FINE DELLA STORIA</b>	<b>(PUNTO E) BASTA</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	15
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.6

**Table 50: *Fine della storia vs (punto e) basta* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>FINE DELLA STORIA</b>	<b>PUNTO E BASTA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	46	40
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.35	0.31

**Table 51: *Fine della storia vs (punto e) basta* – CORIS results**

<sup>102</sup> Modo di dire per imporre silenzio a uno che parli o per far che altri cessi di far chiacchierare. | È detto usatissimo per venire in un tratto alla conclusione di un discorso o racconto, col tralasciare altre cose che si sarebbero potute dire, ma che però non erano di molta conseguenza pel fine dell'intrapreso ragionamento.

The results are consistent with the lexicographic search in historical dictionaries and indicate that the expression was not in use in earlier stages of Italian; on the other side, although the formula has not been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries, the results show that, in present-day Italian, it is in use as a closing device. *Fine della storia* appears to be a likely instance of DI and its presence and use will be further investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

#### 24. **Dacci un taglio! (give it a cut!)**

This expression has been isolated by Pavesi (2005: 49) and Rossi (2010). Both these scholars consider it as a typical dubbese feature, i.e., the result of the interference from the English locution *cut it out*; traditional Italian expressions, they argue, would be *smettila*, *piantala* or *finiscila* (stop it) and similar.

The lexicographic investigation contradicts such claims:

**Dare un taglio a un discorso** = To stop a conversation<sup>103</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 1348).

This finding shows that *dacci un taglio* is not an instance of DI; the locution has also been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries. The Zing. 2008, for example, reports:

**Dare un taglio** = To terminate abruptly a conversation, an argument, a relationship with somebody<sup>104</sup>.

Similarly, entries have been retrieved for *piantala* (TB 1861-1879, vol. III: 990) and *finiscila* (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 812) indicating that these expressions were equally in use in earlier stages of Italian. At this stage, then, the analysis has shown that *dacci un taglio* is not the result of AVT translation, for its use pre-exists dubbing, as well as other expressions of familiar use such as *piantala* and *finiscila*. However, because of the high occurrence of *dacci un taglio* in AVT products, its frequency of use is investigated in contrast with *piantala* and *finiscila*, to explore potential frequency variations so as to draw relevant conclusions on a potential influence of dubbing. The DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus have been searched and the results are reported in tables 52 and 53 below:

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<sup>103</sup> Troncarlo.

<sup>104</sup> Troncare bruscamente un discorso, una questione o i rapporti con qlcu.

DiaCORIS	DACCI UN TAGLIO	PIANTALA	FINISCILA
1861-1900	0	0	12 (0.48 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	0	22 (0.88 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	22 (0.88 p.p.m.)	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	26	47
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	1.04	1.88

**Table 52: *Dacci un taglio vs piantala vs finiscila* – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	DACCI UN TAGLIO	PIANTALA	FINISCILA
1980-2011	52	135	33
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.4	1.04	0.23

**Table 53: *Dacci un taglio vs piantala vs finiscila* – CORIS results**

The results show that the frequency of *dacci un taglio* has increased in modern Italian as opposed to *piantala* and *finiscila*. Although the expression is not an instance of DI, such an increase may have been influenced by its high presence in dubbed products. Thus, the presence and frequency of use of *dacci un taglio* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 25. *Stanne fuori* (stay out of this)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 143) listed *stanne fuori* among the phraseological interference phenomena of Italian dubbing. According to these scholars, to express the function of terminating a discourse, an expression such as *non ti intromettere* (do not interfere) would be the traditional Italian locution instead.

The lexicographic search did not yield any instances, neither in old (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) nor in modern and contemporary

dictionaries (DISC 2008; Hoepli 2011; Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014; Treccani; GDI 2013) suggesting that it does not belong to the range of set phrases of the Italian language. Entries for *non ti intrromettere* have been found in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. II: 1646), though not specifically used as a terminal exchange device, while the Zing. 2008 reports this specific use.

The analysis carried out up to this point indicates that *stanne fuori* is a potential instance of DI; however, further searches in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are conducted to verify its real frequency of use throughout time. Tables 54 and 55 show the results of the queries:

DiaCORIS	STANNE FUORI	NON TI INTROMETTERE
1861-1900	0	1
1901-1922	0	0
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	0	0
1968-2001	0	0
TOT.	0	0
p.p.m.	0	0.04

Table 54: *Stanne fuori* vs *non ti intrromettere* – DiaCORIS results

DiaCORIS	STANNE FUORI	NON TI INTROMETTERE
1980-2011	12	2
p.p.m.	0.09	0.01

Table 55: *Stanne fuori* vs *non ti intrromettere* – CORIS results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained from the lexicographic search: *stanne fuori* appears not to have been in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing while occurrences have been found in the corpus of modern Italian. This would indicate a post-dubbing appearance of the expression in Italian; considering its recurrence observed in AVT products, the locution is a likely instance of DI. The presence and frequency of use of *stanne fuori* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 26. Chiudi il becco! (shut the beak!)

Pavesi (2005: 50) lists *chiudi il becco!* translation of *shut up*, among the translational routines typical of Italian dubbing. The DELI dates the locution to 1970<sup>105</sup> meaning *to stop talking*. The Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. II: 118) and the TB 1861-1879 (vol I: 912) report the use of *becco* in similes with the meaning of *bocca* (mouth). In this way, *chiudi il becco* would actually mean *chiudi la bocca* (shut your mouth); however, the whole locution has not been retrieved in the historical dictionaries, in line with the etymological results. Contemporary dictionaries, on the contrary, (Devoto-Oli 2009; Treccani; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; GDLI) all report this expression as belonging to the familiar level of the language.

The analysis indicates that *chiudi il becco* is a potential instance of DI that is entrenched in present-day Italian; its frequency of use is however further investigated within data of real use Italian in order to verify the findings obtained so far. Tables 56 and 57 show the results of the diachronic quantitative investigations of *chiudi il becco* in contrast with *(stai) zitto/a*, the expression traditionally used in similar communicative situations (TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 1943).

DiaCORIS	CHIUDI IL BECCO	STAI ZITTO/A
1861-1900	0	53 (2.12 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	77 (3.08 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	28 (1.12 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	1	18 (0.72 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	2	14 (0.56 p.p.m.)
TOT.	3	190
p.p.m.	0.12	7.6

Table 56: *Chiudi il becco* vs *stai zitto/a* – DiaCORIS results

<sup>105</sup> Zingarelli – *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, Bologna, 1970.

CORIS	CHIUDI IL BECCO	STAI ZITTO/A
1980-2011	32	154
p.p.m.	0.25	1.18

Table 57: *Chiudi il becco vs stai zitto/a* – CORIS results

The results are consistent with the findings of the etymological and lexicographic searches as the first occurrence of *chiudi il becco* dates back to 1958. Overall, then, the analysis indicates that the locution in question is a likely instance of DI; the occurrence and frequency of use of *chiudi il becco* will be searched within spoken Italian corpora to investigate its entrenchment in spoken Italian.

## 27. Spara! (shoot!)

The expression is isolated by Viola (forthcoming) as a potential interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *shoot!* when used as a shifting exchange device. The OED reports:

**Shoot** = To proceed, go ahead (with a speech, question, etc.), to ‘fire away’. Usu. imp., as an invitation to introduce a topic. Also *trans.* to direct (words); to say, speak; occas. imp. with it, and to shoot back, to riposte, retort. *colloq.* (orig. U.S.).

In Italian, the function described above is expressed by expressions such as *dimmi/dimmi pure/dimmi tutto* (tell me/go ahead/tell everything) and similar (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 210). The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches in old (TB 1861-1879; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Garzanti 1965; GDLI) and contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Treccani; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) did not yield any results for such a use of *spara!* which suggests that the expression may be a likely instance of DI.

Diachronic quantitative investigations are carried out within corpora of real use Italian to corroborate the findings obtained so far. Tables 58 and 59 show the results of the queries launched in the DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus for *spara!* in contrast with *dimmi* (tell me).



DiaCORIS	SPARA!	DIMMI
1861-1900	0	34 (1.36 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	33 (1.32 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	29 (1.16 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	0	12 (0.48 p.p.m.)
TOT.	0	118
p.p.m.	0	4.72

Table 58: *Spara!* vs *dimmi* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	SPARA!	DIMMI
1980-2011	17	183
p.p.m.	0.13	1.41

Table 59: *Spara!* vs *dimmi* – CORIS results

The results show occurrences in modern Italian for the use of the verb *sparare* as a shift exchange device which strongly supports the findings obtained within the analysis thus indicating that *spara!* may be an instance of DI. The expression will be then investigated in the next level of analysis to assess whether it is entrenched in spoken Italian as well.

## 28. **Lasciami dire una cosa (let me tell you something)**

The construction is isolated by Viola (forthcoming) as a potential instance of DI from the translation of *let me + infinitive*<sup>106</sup> as opposed to *lasciami + subj.* used to take the floor.

The Crusca (1863-1923, vol. IX: 100) reports:

<sup>106</sup> Gómez Capuz (2001) also argued that this English construction has had an influence on similar uses entrenched in Spanish.

**Lasciare** = It is also used in the meaning of *To Allow, To Permit, To Consent*, and also of *Not To Impede, To Make Possible*. In the meaning of *To Allow, To Permit* together with the conjunction *Che*<sup>107</sup>.

The same use of *lasciare* has been found in Garzanti 1965 (930), in GDLI (vol. VIII: 785), as well as in Treccani and Devoto-Oli 2009, 2014. The following is the definition from Garzanti 1965:

**Lasciare** = Followed by the infinitive or by *che + subj.*, it means *to allow*.<sup>108</sup>

The lexicographic search proves that *lasciare + inf.* is not an instance of DI as its use is documented in earlier stages of Italian. Nevertheless, the frequency of occurrence of *lasciare + inf.* in real use Italian is investigated in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus to explore any potential increase in its frequency of use. The verb *dire* (to say) has been chosen as a “pilot verb”; tables 60 and 61 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	LASCIAMI DIRE	LASCIA CHE TI DICA
1861-1900	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	0
1901-1922	22 (0.88 p.p.m.)	2 (0.2 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	2 (0.2 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	49	6
<b>p.p.m</b>	1.96	0.24

**Table 90: *Lasciami dire vs lascia che ti dica* – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>107</sup> Usasi anche per *Concedere, Consentire, Permettere*, ed altresì per *Non Impedire, Rendere Possibile*. Pure per *Concedere, Permettere* in costruito con la congiunzione *Che*.

<sup>108</sup> Seguito da un *inf.* o da *che* e il *cong.* significa *permettere*.

CORIS	LASCIAMI DIRE	LASCIA CHE TI DICA
1980-2011	60	23
p.p.m	0.46	0.18

Table 61: *Lasciami dire vs lascia che ti dica* – CORIS results

The results show that the frequency of use of *lasciami dire* has decreased over time; in light of the fact that the lexicographic analysis has proven that the construction is not an instance of DI, the expression will not be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

## 29. Frena! (break!)

Pavesi (2005: 49) lists this expression as a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of locutions such as *hold on!* used in those communicative situations when the speaker takes the floor, usually interrupting the interlocutor, because of disagreement or need for further clarification. In such communicative situations, this scholar claims, a more genuine Italian expression would be *aspetta* (wait).

The use of *frenare* as a turn-taking device has not been found in the etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches (TB 1861-1879; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Garzanti 1965). The collocation *frenare la lingua* (hold someone's tongue back) was found in the Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. VI: 497) used to tell someone to watch his/her language, to hush up, to impose silence. The function performed by this collocation is more imposing than *frena*, therefore, it will not be taken into account. The TB 1861-1879 (vol. I: 658), on the contrary, reports the use of *aspetta* as a turn-taking device. Finally, among contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; DM 2000; Zing. 2008), the Devoto-Oli 2009 reports the investigated use of *frena*:

**Frena!** = To suggest someone to be calm and reflective<sup>109</sup>.

The analysis carried out so far indicates that the use of *frena!* as a turn-taking device may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian; because entries

<sup>109</sup> Per invitare qualcuno alla calma o alla riflessione.

of this use were found only for *aspetta*, it is excluded that *frena* was not found because, for example, the communicative situation in question is not represented in the historical dictionaries. Moreover, the fact that *frena!* is reported in contemporary dictionaries confirms that the expression has entered the Italian language in modern times.

Diachronic quantitative investigations within data of real use Italian are finally carried out to corroborate the findings obtained so far. Tables 62 and 63 below show the results of the queries launched in the DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>FRENA!</b>	<b>ASPETTA!</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	40 (1.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	65 (2.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	28 (1.12 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	172
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	6.88

**Table 62: *Frena!* vs *aspetta!* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>FRENA!</b>	<b>ASPETTA!</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	4	351
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.03	2.7

**Table 63: *Frena!* vs *aspetta!* – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far: the use of *frena!* as a turn-taking device has entered the Italian language in recent times; considering its frequency of occurrence observed in AVT products, *frena!* is likely to be an instance of DI. The expression will be then investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next level of analysis to assess whether it is entrenched in spoken Italian as well.

### 30. **Aspetta un minuto/un secondo (wait a minute/second)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 334) claim that *aspetta un minuto/secondo* are phraseological interferences in Italian dubbing from *wait a minute/a second*; according to them, *aspetta un attimo* would be the ‘genuine’ expression instead.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches (TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) provided similar definitions for the figurative meaning of *minute* (minute), *secondo* (second), *attimo* (moment), *istante* (instant), *momento* (moment), which are all expressions that can be found in collocations with the verb *aspettare* (to wait) when used as a turn-taking device. The following is the definition for *momento* taken from Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. X: 458):

**Momento** = To express a mood or a situation of which one wants to indicate the short duration<sup>110</sup>.

However, in combination with *aspetta*, only the collocation *aspetta un momento* has been found in old Italian dictionaries:

**Aspetti e Aspetti un momento** = Used not only in contexts where someone physically runs but also when a person speaks or reasons too fast, to tell to slow down in order to give the listener enough time to answer, to pray, to suggest, to act<sup>111</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. III: 336).

The analysis carried out so far indicates that *aspetta un minuto/secondo* are potential instances of DI, for they have not been retrieved in old dictionaries. At the same time, however, it appears that *aspetta un momento* and not *aspetta un attimo* (as claimed by Alfieri *et al*) would be the traditional expression used in such communicative situations. However, these findings are further investigated within data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to verify the presence, use and frequency of occurrence of these collocations over time. Tables 64 and 65 below show the results of the queries for *aspetta + un minuto/secondo/momento/istante/attimo*.

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<sup>110</sup> Usasi pure con un compimento che esprima uno stato d’animo o una condizione di cose, di cui si vuol indicare la breve durata.

<sup>111</sup> Dicesi non solo a chi va co’ piedi, ma a chi corra colla parola o coll’opera o col pensiero; gli si dice per rallentare o riprendere la precipitazione sua o l’impazienza, e che a noi si dia tempo di rispondere, di pregare, di consigliare, d’operare.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN MINUTO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN ISTANTE</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN MOMENTO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN ATTIMO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN SECONDO</b>
			9		
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0	(0.36 p.p.m.)	0	0
			16		
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0	(0.64 p.p.m.)	0	0
			1		
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0	(0.04 p.p.m.)	0	0
	1		8		
<b>1946-1967</b>	(0.04 p.p.m.)	0	(0.32 p.p.m.)	0	0
	2		6	2	1
<b>1968-2001</b>	(0.08 p.p.m.)	0	(0.24 p.p.m.)	(0.04 p.p.m.)	(0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	3	0	40	2	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.12	0	1.6	0.08	0.04

Table 64: Aspetta + un minuto/un istante/un momento//un attimo/un secondo – DiaCORIS results

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN MINUTO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN ISTANTE</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN MOMENTO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN ATTIMO</b>	<b>ASPETTA UN SECONDO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	14	1	36	34	15
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.11	0.007	0.28	0.26	0.11

Table 65: Aspetta + un minuto/un istante/un momento//un attimo/un secondo – CORIS results

The results are in line with the findings obtained so far: *aspetta un minuto* and *aspetta un secondo* may be instances of DI which, although they were not in use in earlier stages of Italian, are now entrenched in the language. At the same time *aspetta un momento* is confirmed to be the traditional locution in use, with the highest frequency of occurrence recorded in the corpora. Considering the high frequency rate of *aspetta un minuto* and *aspetta un secondo* observed in Italian AVT products, these expressions are considered as instances of DI and they will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 31. Ehi (hey)

Rossi (2010) describes *ehi* as a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing. The etymological (DELI, 2008: 509) and lexicographic (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. V: 74) searches revealed on the contrary that *ehi* was already in use as an interjection before 1584<sup>112</sup>.

**Ehi** = A call to attract attention of someone or to express surprise, admiration<sup>113</sup>.

**Ehi** = Interjection of exclamation used to call, normally with enthusiasm | Sometimes used to express surprise, happiness or concern and similar, often ironically<sup>114</sup>.

These findings clearly discard the interjection from being an instance of DI. However, considering the observed high frequency of occurrence of *ehi* in Italian AVT products, any possible increase in its frequency of use is investigated within real use Italian data. Tables 66 and 67 show the results of the queries launched in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus.

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<sup>112</sup> Anton Francesco Grazzini, *I parentadi*, G. Grazzini, Bari, 1953.

<sup>113</sup> *inter.* Che si usa per richiamare l'attenzione di qc. o per esprimere meraviglia, ammirazione.

<sup>114</sup> Interiezione di esclamazione di chi chiama, e per lo più con un certo calore | Talora usati per significare meraviglia, allegrezza ovvero corruccio e simili affetti dell'animo per lo più con qualche scherzo o ironia.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>EHI</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	44 (1.76 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	38 (1.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	122
<b>p.p.m.</b>	4.88

**Table 66: Ehi – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>EHI</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	981
<b>p.p.m.</b>	7.55

**Table 67: Ehi – CORIS results**

The results show a remarkable increase of *ehi* in real use Italian. Although this interjection has been proven not to be an instance of DI, a link between its high frequency of occurrence in Italian AVT products and in real use Italian cannot be excluded. The use of *ehi* in spoken Italian, especially from a diachronic perspective, will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora so as to verify whether a similar increase has affected the oral level as well.

### **32. Uau/wow (wow)**

Rossi (2010) affirms that in Italian dubbing there is an overuse of interjections of English origin; among others, he lists *wow*. The etymological search (Nocentini 2010) dates this interjection to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:



**Uau** = To express big and sudden shock or amazement, often used with childish tones. Graphic phonetic adaptation of the English *wow*<sup>115</sup>.

The Zing. 2008 dates the appearance of *wow* in Italian to 1959, while according to the DISC 2008 the interjection has been in use in the Italian language since before 1930. Diachronic quantitative searches within real use Italian data (DiaCORIS and CORIS) are carried out to investigate the use of the interjection over time; queries are launched for both orthographies (*uau* and *wow*) and for two traditional Italian expressions which are expected to be used in similar communicative situations, *caspita/cavoli* (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. II: 544). As established in § 4.2 and § 5.1, the contrastive quantitative queries are mainly conducted to verify whether the investigated expression may not be found because the communicative situation in question is not represented in the corpora. The procedure remains valid<sup>116</sup> also when analysing onomatopoeias vs non onomatopoeic expressions. This is further confirmed by the fact that the onomatopoeic expression is founded in one of the two corpora. Tables 68 and 69 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>UAU</b>	<b>WOW</b>	<b>CASPITA/ CAVOLI</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0	31 (1.24 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0	26 (1.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0	24 (0.96 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	0	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	0	97
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0	3.88

**Table 68: Uau/wow – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>115</sup> Esprime grande e improvviso smarrimento o meraviglia, spesso con affettazione di toni e atteggiamenti puerili. ETIMO Adatt. fonetico e grafico dell'ingl. *wow*.

<sup>116</sup> See also the case of *ops* in the following analysis.

CORIS	UAU	WOW	CASPITA/ CAVOLI
1980-2011	30	88	220
p.p.m.	0.23	0.68	1.69

Table 69: Uau/wow – CORIS results

The results indicate that *wow* started to appear in Italian in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in Italian AVT, it is a likely instance of DI that is now entrenched in the language. Further investigations in spoken Italian corpora will be carried out in the next level of analysis.

### 33. Ops/ups/oops! (Oops!)

The interjection has been isolated by Rossi (2010) as an example of instances of translation interferences from English in Italian dubbing. The case of *ops* is similar to *uau* analysed above: multiple spellings exist. The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Garzanti 1965) did not yield any instances. The Zing. 2008, however, reports:

**Oops** = Onomatopoeic expression derived from English; 1989; interjection. Exclamation of surprise or apologies if hitting someone or something, if causing harm or making a mistake<sup>117</sup>.

Diachronic quantitative searches within real use Italian data (DiaCORIS and CORIS) are carried out to investigate the use of the interjection over time; queries are launched for the three orthographies (*ops*, *ups* and *oops*) in contrast with *mannaggia*<sup>118</sup>, the Italian traditional expression used in similar communicative situations. The results are reported in tables 70 and 71 below.

DiaCORIS	OPS	UPS	OOPS	MANNAGGIA
1861-1900	0	0	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)

<sup>117</sup> *vc. ingl. di orig. onomat.*; 1989; *inter.* Esclamazione di sorpresa o di scuse se si urta qlcu. o qlco., si combina un guaio o si fa un errore.

<sup>118</sup> (before 1336) Zing. 2008.

<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0	0	8 (0.32p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0	0	11 (0.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0	0	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	0	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	0	0	35
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0	0	1.4

**Table 100: *Ops/ups/oops vs mannaggia* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>OPS</b>	<b>UPS</b>	<b>OOPS</b>	<b>MANNAGGIA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	100	1	16	51
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.21	0.01	0.12	0.39

**Table 71: *Ops/ups/oops vs mannaggia* – CORIS results**

The results confirm that the interjection was not in use before dubbing was introduced in Italy but it is entrenched in present-day Italian. Considering its high frequency of occurrence reported in Italian AVT products, it cannot be excluded that it is an instance of DI and that dubbing has also diffused its use in Italian. In the next level of analysis, the presence and frequency of use of *oops* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### **5.2.3 Modality markers**

The main function of modality markers is to manifest the speaker's attitude towards what he/she utters. As pointed out in § 4.4.1.4, modal items do not necessarily have to be modal verbs: they can be expressed by verbs, adverbs, adjectives and PMs. These particular PMs are also known as evidential markers (EMs) or evidentials (i.e., Carretero 2002; Precht 2003) and they are defined as devices that mark the degree of confidence or certainty in a statement. The investigated examples include: *assolutamente* (absolutely) and *incredibilmente* (incredibly).

### 34. Assolutamente (absolutely)

The case of *assolutamente* (absolutely) has been pointed out by a number of scholars (i.e., Nuccorini 2007; Alfieri *et al* 2008; Ferro & Sardo 2008) who, on the whole, report an influence from English in Italian dubbing on two main uses of this adverb, i.e., as an adjective intensifier and as an affirmative holophrastic. Alfieri *et al* (*ibid.*: 331), for instance, affirm (bold is mine):

Syntagmatic interferences concern adverbial or definite constructions which affect everyday Italian usage as in *Io sono **assolutamente** convinta che sia Eric il responsabile* back translation of *I'm **absolutely** convinced...*, which, in Italian, **would be better conveyed** by *Io sono del tutto certa che...* The use of adverbs such as *assolutamente*, *incredibilmente*, *certamente*, *esattamente*, *eventualmente* seems now to be largely spread in adjectival constructions, especially among younger generations. The relevant incidence of these syntagmatic interferences is shown by the high number of occurrences found in the corpus of both the fictions. Such a diffusion is confirmed by those cases in which, significantly, these adverbs are used in the dubbed version but not in the original one:

- KRISTEN: Tutto questo sembra **assolutamente** giusto//
- KRISTEN: Oh God, this just feels **so** right.<sup>119</sup>

Similarly, Rossi (2010) states (bold is mine):

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<sup>119</sup> Le interferenze sintagmatiche riguardano i costrutti avverbiali o determinativi che intaccano l'uso abituale italiano, come in "Io sono assolutamente convinta che sia Eric il responsabile" traduzione automatica di "I'm absolutely convinced..." espressione che si sarebbe potuta rendere meglio con "Io sono del tutto certa che". Tale uso degli avverbi *assolutamente*, *incredibilmente*, *certamente*, *esattamente*, *eventualmente* sembra ormai del tutto diffuso nei costrutti aggettivali, specie in quelli usati dalle generazioni più giovani. Il grande rilievo di tali interferenze sintagmatiche è testimoniato dalle numerose occorrenze riscontrate nel corpus, per entrambe le fiction. A conferma della loro diffusione, poi, risultano significativi alcuni casi in cui tali avverbi vengono usati nella versione adattata in italiano e non in quella originale:

KRISTEN: Tutto questo sembra **assolutamente** giusto//

KRISTEN: Oh God, this just feels **so** right.

More or less spotted calques, especially from AE, are the most evident characteristics of dubbese [...] [which have] **all entered** both media language and **everyday Italian**: [...] [such as] *assolutamente* (absolutely) used as an affirmative adverb without any other holophrastic of specification<sup>120</sup>.

Thus, according to these scholars, the uses of *assolutamente* described above are the result of the English influence in Italian dubbing; moreover, their high frequency in AVT products has ultimately affected spoken Italian.

The lexicographic search contradicts both claims:

**Assolutamente** = As opposite to *Partially*. Absolutely evil<sup>121</sup>. (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 694).

**Assolutamente** = The same as *Certainly, Without any doubt*<sup>122</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. I: 789).

Both uses are documented in earlier stages of Italian, thus excluding any AVT influence from English. However, considering the observed high frequency of the uses in question in Italian AVT products, real use Italian data (the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) are queried to investigate any possible change in their occurrence rate, which could be attributed to the influence of dubbing. Tables 72 and 73 below show the results:

DiaCORIS	ASSOLUTAMENTE (ADJ. INTENSIFIER)	ASSOLUTAMENTE (POSITIVE ANSWERS WITHOUT HOLPHRATIC)
<b>1861-1900</b>	116 (4.64 p.p.m.)	0

<sup>120</sup> Quello dei calchi [...] più o meno inavvertiti, soprattutto dall'angloamericano, è il fenomeno più evidente del doppiaggese [...] tutti penetrati generalmente nella lingua dei mass media oltreché nell'italiano comune: [...] *assolutamente* (absolutely) usato come avverbio affermativo, privo di altro olofrastico di specificazione.

<sup>121</sup> Si fa contrapporre a *In parte* o *Mezzanamente*. Assolutamente cattivo.

<sup>122</sup> Vale anche per *certo, senza dubbio*.

<b>1901-1922</b>	188 (7.52 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	188 (7.52 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	148 (5.92 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	241 (9.64 p.p.m.)	0
<b>TOT.</b>	881	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	35.24	0.04

**Table 72: Assolutamente – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>ASSOLUTAMENTE ADJ. INTENSIFIER</b>	<b>ASSOLUTAMENTE POSITIVE ANSWERS WITHOUT HOLPHRASTIC</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	3,843	7
<b>p.p.m.</b>	29.56	0.05

**Table 73: Assolutamente – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the lexicographic search and also show that the frequency of occurrence of the investigated uses of *assolutamente* have not substantially changed over the years (in fact, its use as an adjective intensifier has decreased in contemporary Italian). Hence, *assolutamente* is excluded from the last stage of the analysis.

### **35. Incredibilmente (incredibly)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 331) claim that the use of *incredibilmente* in dubbed Italian products is often the result of the interference from the translation of *incredibly*; this would be especially evident in those cases when the use of the absolute superlative would be more natural. They affirm (*ibid.*):

As an additional example, let's consider the sentence *Lui può essere incredibilmente dolce* literal translation of *incredibly sweet* which could

have been efficiently translated in Italian simply by using the absolute superlative *dolcissimo*<sup>123</sup>.

The Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. VIII: 522) reports:

**Incredibilmente** = In an incredible way; more often used in a hyperbolic sense meaning An extraordinary way, hard to believe. Example: Incredibly admirable<sup>124</sup>.

**Incredibilmente** = Often with a hyperbolic value<sup>125</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 1433).

Similar findings have been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Treccani; Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011). The lexicographic search shows that the use of *incredibilmente* as an adjective intensifier is not an instance of DI, for it is documented in earlier stages of Italian. Moreover, this specific use is a well known rhetorical device, commonly used in advertising discourse as a persuasive strategy (see for example Claridge 2010). In this way, it cannot be excluded that any potential increase in the use of *incredibilmente* in real use Italian would be the result of the influence from advertisement discourse, rather than dubbing. For these reasons, the expression is excluded from the next level of analysis.

#### 5.2.4 Deictic pointers

Deictic pointers are used in face-to-face spoken interaction for the reason that their meaning can be inferred just by those who have access to the context in which the utterance is pronounced. Fillmore (1971) defines as pronominal deixis those deictic pointers which refer to a person or to an assigner playing a social role in human

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<sup>123</sup> Valga come ulteriore esempio la frase ‘Lui può essere incredibilmente dolce’ traduzione letterale di *incredibly sweet* che poteva essere resa efficacemente in italiano col semplice uso del superlativo *dolcissimo*.

<sup>124</sup> In modo incredibile, in modo da non credersi; usato più spesso in senso iperbolico per *In modo sommo, meraviglioso e quasi da non prestarvi fede*. Esempio: ‘Posto che sia incredibilmente mirabile.

<sup>125</sup> Sovente tiene, più o meno, d'iperbole.

interaction, for example, for the sake of politeness (social deixis). The investigated example is the construction *Signor X e io* (Mr X and I).

### 36. Signor X e io (Mr X and I)

According to Alfieri *et al* (2008: 288), the use of the construction *first name + and + I/me/you etc.* observed in AVT products would not traditionally belong to the Italian language but it is an interference from English. These scholars argue that a more genuine construction would be *I/me/you/us + and + first name* instead.

Data of real use Italian (the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) are investigated diachronically so as to verify potential uses of the construction before the introduction of dubbing and/or any increase in its frequency of occurrence. Tables 74 and 75 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	FIRST NAME + E + IO/TU...	IO/TU... + E + FIRST NAME
<b>1861-1900</b>	25 (1 p.p.m.)	29 (1.16 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	32 (1.28 p.p.m.)	52 (2.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	32 (1.28 p.p.m.)	37 (1.48 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	71 (2.84 p.p.m.)	91 (3.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	52 (2.08 p.p.m.)	82 (3.28 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	212	291
<b>p.p.m.</b>	8.48	11.64

Table 74: *First name + and + I vs I + and + first name* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	FIRST NAME + E + IO/TU...	IO/TU... + E + FIRST NAME
<b>1980-2011</b>	1,389	1,710
<b>p.p.m.</b>	10.68	13.15

Table 75: *First name + and + I vs I + and + first name* – CORIS results



The results evidence that the use of a construction such as *first name + and + io* pre-exists dubbing, thus discarding the expression from being an instance of DI. At the same time, although an overall increase is observed in modern Italian for the construction in question, an influence from dubbing cannot be isolated because both uses have increased in frequency. Hence, the expression will not be further investigated.

### 5.3 Formulaic language (FL)

Together with PMs, formulaic expressions are typical of spontaneous oral talk and they include idioms, conversational routines (CRs) and flexible strings. Additionally, it has been shown (Wray and Perkins, 2000: 13) how FL can be used as a tool for social interaction and that, as such, formulaic sequences are highly conventionalised and culturally bound.

Following the qualitative analysis, the following categories have been derived according to the functions performed by the linguistic expressions: forms of address (§ 5.3.1), rituals (§ 5.3.2), greetings and farewells (§ 5.3.3), and politeness formulae (§ 5.3.4).

#### 5.3.1 Forms of address

These formulae signal the social relationship (usually related to status or age) between the speaker and the addressee. The expressions belonging to this category are: *sissignore!* (yes, sir!), *amico* (man/buddy/dude/mate), *fratello* (bro), *Vostro Onore* (Your Honour), and *figliolo* (son).

#### 37. Sissignore! (yes, sir!)

This expression has been isolated by Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 81); according to this scholar, the influence from English has not so much concerned the translation itself as the spread of its use to those communicative situations that are not strictly military. While in English *yes, sir* can also be used as a deferential formula of acceptance - for example between a father and a son – or even ironically, in Italian, she claims, *sissignore* would have a stronger military connotation. An expression such as *agli ordini* (as commanded) would be more appropriate.

The OED reports the use of *yes, sir* not necessarily linked to a military context:

**Yes, sir** = an emphatic assertion; Chiefly U.S. colloq.

Similarly, the DELI (2008: 1537) indicates:

**Sissignore** = *inter*. It is used as an affirmative answer when addressing a superior or, with an ironic meaning, also others (before 1861)<sup>126</sup>.

The ironic use of *sissignore* not necessarily bound to the military context is in the same way reported by contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Devoto-Oli 2009; Treccani; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011). The analysis invalidates the hypothesis advanced by Bollettieri Bosinelli: no influence from English can be claimed for the pragmatic use of *sissignore* in Italian dubbed products, which, therefore, is not an instance of DI.

However, considering the observed high frequency of this expression in Italian AVT products, dubbing may still have played a role in boosting such a use. Diachronic quantitative investigations of real use Italian can help verify this hypothesis; tables 76 and 77 show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>SISSIGNORE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	73 (2.92 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	90 (3.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	20 (0.8 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	203
<b>p.p.m.</b>	8.12

**Table 76: Sissignore – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>126</sup> 'sì', che si usa come risposta affermativa rivolgendosi a un superiore o, in forma ironica, anche ad altri (av. 1861).

CORIS	SISSIGNORE
1980-2011	193
p.p.m.	1.48

Table 77: Sissignore – CORIS results

The results show a decrease in the use of *sissignore* overtime; in view of these lexicographic results, the expression is excluded from the next stage of the analysis in spoken Italian corpora.

### 38. Amico (friend)

Many scholars (Galassi, 2000: 3-8; Bollettieri Bosinelli, 2002: 81; Pavesi, 2005: 50; Rossi 2010) have claimed that this expression is, perhaps, the most typical case of dubbese. Bollettieri Bosinelli (ibid.), for instance, affirms:

Italian audiences got used to accept, within the fiction context, some linguistic habits which are foreign to the Italian language. For example, the appellation *friend*, typical of Black English, which is almost always translated with *amico*. Obviously, it is a forced solution, since in Italian this appellation (ehi, amico) does not exist, or in any case, it conveys a different T-V distinction force<sup>127</sup>.

Similarly, Pavesi (ibid.) argues that, in Italian dubbing, *amico* is a translational routine because the Italian language lacks a pragmatic counterpart:

In Italians' Italian, there is no real use corresponding to this expression, which has passed from being a conversational routine in American English to a translational routine and a frequent feature of Italian dubbese. Similarly to other translational routines that have become

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<sup>127</sup> Il pubblico italiano si è abituato ad accettare, nel contesto della finzione filmica, certi vezzi linguistici che sono estranei alla nostra lingua: si pensi all'appellativo *friend*, tipico del *Black English*, reso quasi sempre con "amico", con una forzatura rilevante, dato che in italiano questo appellativo (ehi, amico) non si usa, o comunque ha una forza allocutiva diversa.

features of dubbese, the use of *amico* has, overtime, turned into the norm<sup>128</sup>.

The followings are the OED definitions for those entries that are normally rendered with *amico* in Italian AVT products, including *dude*, *buddy*, *mate*, *man*.

**Dude** = *U.S.* More generally, any man who catches the attention in some way; a fellow or chap, a guy. Hence also approvingly, esp. (through Black English) applied to a member of one's own circle or group.

**Buddy** = *U.S.* Brother; companion, friend; freq. as a form of address.

**Mate** = A companion, fellow, comrade, friend; a fellow worker or business partner. Also fig. Now chiefly *colloq.* Used as a form of address to a person, esp. a man, regarded as an equal. *Not used in N. Amer.*

**Man** = *orig. among African-Americans.* **my man** n. a male person regarded with great respect or admiration; a person's very close male friend. Freq. as a form of address (sometimes without connotation of close friendship, as a merely familiar form of address between two males).

The definitions above report that these expressions can be used as forms of address not necessarily in contexts of friendship. Within the lexicographic search of historical dictionaries (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) the following use of *amico* has been found:

**Amico** = Between joke and reproach, or joke and threat, i.e. said to someone whose behaviour is not appropriate, or who is trying to do

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<sup>128</sup> L'espressione, prima routine conversazionale in inglese americano, diventa routine traduttiva e frequente stilema del doppiaggese italiano, cui non corrisponde alcun uso reale nell'italiano degli italiani. In questo, come in altri casi di routines traduttive che diventano stilemi di doppiaggese, si è stabilita nel tempo una norma.

something the speaker wants to impede. *Oh amico! Oh quell'amico!* In some conversations, it can also be used as a filler. *Amico mio, amico caro*<sup>129</sup>. It can occur during a fit of impatience and sometimes it is a threat. Colloquial uses: *Avverti, amico, avverti.* [T.] *Senti, amico. Che te ne pare, amico?*<sup>130</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 380).

At some levels, the definition of *amico* given above resembles the (American) English use; similarly, among contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Treccani; DISC 2008; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013; GDLI), the Devoto-Oli 2014 reports:

**Amico** = As a form of address, it can indicate the peak of authentic love and trust or, at the other end of the spectrum, courtesy, perhaps excessive, aimed to hide indifference or even mistrust. Examples: *amico, che te ne pare?*; *che stai facendo, amico?*<sup>131</sup>.

The findings indicate that there is no real pragmatic gap between the English expressions and *amico* such that the expression cannot be considered as an instance of DI. Moreover, the TB 1861-1879 defines as colloquial those uses that are detached from contexts of friendship, thus mirroring the English expressions.

The diachronic frequency of occurrence of *amico* used as a form of address is investigated across data of real use Italian, so as to corroborate the findings obtained so far. The queries launched in the DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus, however, yield occurrences of *amico* when performing the function under analysis, but because the context provided is relatively limited, it is not possible to isolate those instances of occurrences when detached from contexts of friendship. Hence, the results of the quantitative analysis provided below are to be considered in their role of providing information on the diachronic frequency of *amico* used as a general form of address. Tables 78 and 79 show the results:

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<sup>129</sup> Buonarroti, Michelangelo il giovane, *la Fiera Commedia* (1568-1646)

<sup>130</sup> Tra *celia* e *rimprovero*, *celia* e *minaccia*, p. es. a chi allunga le mani, o accenna di fare altra cosa che noi vogliamo impedire. *Oh amico! Oh quell'amico!* E' in certi DISC 2008orsi quasi ripieno. *Amico mio, amico caro.* Scatto d'impazienza. E talvolta minaccia. Usi familiari: Buon. Fier. 4.4.2.. (Man.) *Avverti, amico, avverti.* [T.] *Senti, amico. Che te ne pare, amico?*.

<sup>131</sup> Come epiteto, può denotare il colmo dell'affetto autentico e della fiducia (*Amico, hai vinto...*, Tasso) o, all'opposto, una cordialità magari eccessiva, atta a mascherare indifferenza o addirittura diffidenza (a., *che te ne pare?*; *che stai facendo*, a.?).

DiaCORIS	AMICO
1861-1900	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	62 (2.48 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
TOT.	94
p.p.m.	3.76

**Table 78: *Amico* as a form of address – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	AMICO
1980-2011	97
p.p.m.	0.75

**Table 79: *Amico* as a form of address – CORIS results**

The results show that the frequency of use of *amico* as a form of address has decreased over time, which, coupled with the results of the lexicographic search, exclude the expression from being investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### **39. Fratello (brother)**

Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 81) isolated the use of *fratello* (bro) in Italian dubbing as being an interference phenomenon from the American English (AE) *bro*; this scholar, in particular, claims that *bro* does not correspond to any real use in the Italian language.

The OED reports:

**Bro** = *slang* (orig. *U.S.*) A fellow, ‘guy’, ‘dude’. Also: *spec.* a black man. A male friend. Originally in African-American usage: (as a familiar form of address for a man) ‘brother’, ‘man’.

In the lexicographic search (Crusca 1863-1927; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) the following use was retrieved:

**Fratello** = Used normally as an affectionate form of address, referred to a person of the same age or condition, to whom the speaker feels as close as a brother, or he wants to express benevolence. Used with truly affectionate mates, close friends and similar<sup>132</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. VI: 467).

The Italian definition reports that *fratello* could, historically, be found in contexts outside kinship, provided that some sort of closeness among the interlocutors exists. On the contrary, *bro* can also simply refer to another man, detached from all relations of friendship. Interestingly, according to contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Treccani; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; Devoto-Oli 2009), *fratello* as a form of address can only refer to family or religious communities members. This indicates that this use of *fratello* (benevolence/friendship) has been lost in modern Italian and yet, it has been reported by Bollettieri Bosinelli (ibid.) as being very frequent in Italian dubbing. Consequently, the analysis conducted so far suggests that the investigated use of *fratello* is a potential instance of DI.

As for *bastardo* analysed in § 5.2.1.5 point 16, an accurate analysis of the contexts of occurrence is crucial to confidently isolate only the instances of *fratello* outside contexts of kinship, friendship or religiosity. However, the contexts provided by the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are not comprehensive enough for such an investigation. For this reason, only the results of the lexicographic search will be taken into account which have shown that the AE use of *brother* does not belong to modern Italian. The presence, use and frequency of occurrence of the expression will be searched in spoken Italian corpora.

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<sup>132</sup> Usasi comunemente come denominazione amorevole, riferito a una persona di pari età o condizione, verso la quale colui che parla abbia affetto come da fratello, od anche semplicemente voglia dimostrare benevolenza. Per compagno grandemente affezionato, Amico intrinseco e simili.

#### 40. **Vostro Onore (Your Honor)**

Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 81) claims that this expression is an interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from *Your Honor* whereby *Signor Giudice* (Mr Judge) would be the genuine Italian counterpart. Particularly, she argues that this expression, together with several other formulae specific of the American judicial system, does not exist in the Italian language. In AVT texts, however, they have been translated literally and used so frequently that, overtime, they have become translational routines (ibid.).

The etymological (DELI; Le Monnier 2014) and lexicographic searches (Crusca 1863-1923; Garzanti 1965) did not yield any instances for the locution *Vostro Onore*, while contemporary dictionaries report:

**Vostro Onore** = English translation for *Your Honour*, the title given in Anglo-Saxon countries to law officers, especially judges and magistrates<sup>133</sup> (Treccani).

**Vostro Onore** = It translates the title given in English to magistrates<sup>134</sup> (DISC 2008).

The results confirm that *Vostro Onore* is derived from English. Diachronic quantitative investigations within real use Italian data will help establish whether the expression can be considered as an instance of DI and will show its frequency of use over the years. Tables 80 and 81 show the results of the queries for *Vostro Onore* in comparison with *Signor Gudice*.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>VOSTRO ONORE</b>	<b>SIGNOR GIUDICE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m)

<sup>133</sup> Traduz. dell'ingl. *Your Honour* (o Honor), titolo di rispetto attribuito nei paesi anglosassoni ad alti personaggi, e in partic. a giudici e magistrati.

<sup>134</sup> Traduce il titolo dato in inglese ai magistrati.



<b>1923-1945</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	12	18
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.48	0.72

**Table 80: *Vostro Onore* vs *Signor Giudice* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>VOSTRO ONORE</b>	<b>SIGNOR GIUDICE</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	22	79
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.17	0.61

**Table 81: *Vostro Onore* vs *Signor Giudice* – CORIS results**

The first occurrence of *Vostro Onore* dates to 1937, i.e., after dubbing was introduced in Italy (*cf.* § 2.2), thus suggesting that the expression is a likely instance of DI. Although its frequency of use has not increased over time (in fact, it has decreased), the results overall indicate that *Vostro Onore* may be an instance of DI; therefore, the expression will be investigated in the next stage of the method.

#### **41. Figliolo (son)**

When used as a form of address, Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 82) defines *figliolo* as a typical interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from the translation of *son*; in Italian, she argues, no real use would correspond to it. The etymological search (DELI) dates the use of *figliolo* in Italian as an affectionate form of address to 1292<sup>135</sup>; the following are the results of the lexicographic search:

**Son** = Used as a term of affectionate address to a man or boy by an older person or by one in a superior (esp. ecclesiastical) relation, and as a term of familiar address without implication of affection (OED).

<sup>135</sup> B. Giamboni, *Affitti della Badia di Coltibuono*: Cast. Tosc. 11.

**Figliolo** = Normally used as an affectionate form of address, especially when talking to someone, and more specifically to someone either younger or of a minor condition, towards whom the speaker harbours affection of a father, or simply wants to show benevolence. It has the same familial meaning as *Giovanotto*, *Ragazzo*, or *Giovane*, *Giovanotto*; and sometimes it acquires the meaning of adult, but always used either affectionately or jokingly<sup>136</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. VI: 68).

**Figliolo** = Colloquially used, it can express irony or reproach, not necessarily referred to a young person; it can also be addressed to people of the same age of the speaker, or even older. If it is not used as a joke, it expresses derision or outrageous superiority. In this way, *figliolo* can be uttered with affection, with respect from older to younger, from superior to inferior, but also with disdain or pretentious pity<sup>137</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 786).

These findings reveal that in stages of Italian prior to dubbing, *figliolo* could be pragmatically used as a form of address in contexts not necessarily between father and son. Finally, contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Zing. 2008; Treccani; DISC 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) report the same use, which evidences that no change has occurred over time. The Zing. 2008, for instance, reports:

**Figliolo** = Referred to someone admired and loved | *Caro figliolo!* expression (also ironic) used by an older person towards a younger one, or by an ecclesiastic to a devotee, and similar<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>136</sup> Usati comunemente come denominazione amorevole, specialmente rivolgendosi altrui la parola, riferito a persona, e propriamente minore, o di condizione o d'età, verso la quale colui che parla abbia affetto come di padre, o anche semplicemente voglia dimostrare benevolenza. Prendesi familiarmente per Giovanotto, Ragazzo, ovvero Giovane, Giovanotto; e talora estendesi anche a Uomo Fatto: però sempre o con qualche affetto o con certo scherzo.

<sup>137</sup> Modo fam. tra d'ironia e di rimprovero, anco a non giovanetto, anco a uguali d'età, anco a più vecchi. Se non è celia, è scherno o affettazione oltraggiosa di superiorità. Così *figliolo* può essere pronunciato con affetto, con rispetto da vecchio a giovane, da superiore a inferiore; ma può anco, con atto di disprezzo o di sdegnosa pietà.

<sup>138</sup> Persona per cui si ha stima e affetto | *Caro figliolo!*, espressione (anche iron.) che una persona più anziana rivolge a una più giovane, un ecclesiastico a un fedele e sim.

The lexicographic search has therefore shown that the contexts in which this form of address occurs are almost completely equivalent in English and in Italian, thus revealing that there is no pragmatic gap between the two languages. Bollettieri Bosinelli's claim that such a use may have originated in dubbing is then contradicted by the results.

However, it is possible that dubbing has played a role in increasing this use in Italian; for that, its frequency of occurrence is now investigated in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. Tables 82 and 83 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>FIGLIOLO</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	11
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.44

**Table 82: Figliolo – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>FIGLIOLO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	62
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.48

**Table 83: Figliolo – CORIS results**

The results of the quantitative investigations of data of real use Italian show that the frequency of use of *figliolo* as a form of address has not substantially increased throughout time; in consideration of the results of the lexicographic and etymological searches which have discarded any influence from dubbing on the origin of *figliolo*, the expression is excluded from the investigation in spoken Italian corpora.

### 5.3.2 Rituals

Expressions used in rituals (ceremonies, official and institutionalised events, etc.) are particularly bound to the culture where they originated and often do not have any corresponding formulae in the target culture. The expressions belonging to this category are: *obiezione accolta/respinta* (objection sustained/overruled) and *giuro di dire la verità, tutta la verità nient'altro che la verità* (I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth).

#### 42. *Obiezione accolta/respinta* (objection sustained/overruled)

This formula, typical of the Anglo-Saxon judicial system, has been isolated by Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 81) as an instance of AV translation interference. As for the case of *Your Honour* analysed above, this scholar reports that “These formulae do not exist in the Italian judicial system”<sup>139</sup> (ibid.) and they have become translational routines in Italian dubbing.

The lexicographic search did not yield any instances neither in historical (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; GDLI; Garzanti 1965) nor in contemporary dictionaries of Italian (DM 2000; Devoto-Oli 2009; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; Hoepli 2011; Treccani) which supports the hypothesis that the formula is an instance of DI.

The investigation of the frequency of occurrence of these expressions by means of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) will help verify the results obtained so far; tables 84 and 85 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>OBIEZIONE ACCOLTA</b>	<b>OBIEZIONE RESPINTA</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	0
<b>TOT.</b>	0	0
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0

**Table 114: *Obiezione accolta/respinta* – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>139</sup> (si tratta di) Formule che non esistono nel nostro sistema giudiziario.

CORIS	OBIEZIONE ACCOLTA	OBIEZIONE RESPINTA
1980-2011	2	4
p.p.m.	0.01	0.03

Table 85: Obiezione accolta/respinta – CORIS results

The findings show that the expressions, though with a very low frequency, have entered contemporary Italian; considering the results of the analysis, *obiezione accolta* and *obiezione respinta* may be instances of DI that are in use in Italian. The presence of these expressions will be investigated at the spoken level in the next stage of the method.

#### 43. **Giuro di dire la verità... (I swear to tell the truth...)**

Bollettieri Bosinelli (2002: 81) listed this oath formula among those instances of AV translation interference from English in Italian dubbing. Investigations of the Italian civil code, however, revealed that this expression was in use in Italy from 1940 to 1995 (Codice di procedura civile, art. 251, secondo comma – Italian civil code, art. 251, second paragraph); in 1995, a sentence (Constitutional Court, sentence n. 149/1995) declared the formula anti-constitutional and it has not been employed since then.

This finding proves that *giuro di dire la verità* is not an instance of DI; however, its recurrent presence in AVT products may have caused an increase in its use in real Italian. The DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus have been queried to assess the diachronic frequency of use of the formula under analysis. The results are reported in tables 86 and 87 below.

DiaCORIS	GIURO DI DIRE LA VERITÀ...
1861-1900	0
1901-1922	0
1923-1945	0
1946-1967	0
1968-2001	0
TOT.	0

p.p.m.	0
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Table 86: *Giuro di dire la vaerità...* - DiaCORIS results

CORIS	GIURO DI DIRE LA VERITÀ...
1980-2011	3
p.p.m.	0.01

Table 87: *Giuro di dire la vaerità...* - CORIS results

The results show a very low frequency of use of the formula; considering that the analysis has proven the expression not to be an instance of DI, *giuro di dire la verità* will not be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 5.3.3 Greetings and farewells

Greetings are one of the most frequent linguistic interactional routines and, because the situations in which they are used are highly conventionalised, they are also highly formulaic. Through greetings, people create social relationships and express commitment to one another in social encounters (Agyekum 2008). The examples belonging to this category are: *salve* (hello), *è bello vederti* (it's good to see you), *buona giornata* (have a nice day), and *abbi cura di te* (take care).

#### 44. *Salve* (hello/hi)

Pavesi (2005: 51) isolated the case of *salve* in Italian dubbing, claiming that its overuse in AVT products may have originated its use in real Italian. She affirms (ibid.):

Dubbing also probably originated the spreading of *salve* among Italian speakers, especially among young people. This word neutralises the differences between formal and informal forms of greeting among interlocutors. By avoiding the choice between *ciao* and *buongiorno/buonasera*, in initial position, it fills a socio-pragmatic gap. In Italian dubbing, *salve* is a translational routine of *hello/hi*, greeting

formulae that can be used even when there is no familiarity among the speakers<sup>140</sup>.

The following are the results of the etymological and lexicographic searches:

**Salve** = *inter.* Used as a form of greeting<sup>141</sup> (sec. XVI<sup>142</sup> (DELI: 1433)).

**Salve** = *interj.* Used as a wish/greeting; courtesy greeting formula which, renewing a past manner of politeness, is found on the doors of many modern houses<sup>143</sup> (Panzini 1905: 603-604).

**Salve** = *interj.* Greeting formula used when meeting or welcoming someone<sup>144</sup> (GDLI, vol. XVII: 476).

The findings show that *salve* as a greeting formula has been in use in Italian since the XVI century. Moreover, the historical dictionaries do not report any specific T-V distinction conveyed by *salve*, which would indicate that, historically, *salve* is a neutral form of greeting. At the same time, contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; Devoto-Oli 2009; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) state that, in literature and poetry, *salve* can be very formal and denotes a high register, while in spoken language it is colloquial and informal.

The analysis carried out so far indicates that *salve* is not an instance of DI and that, historically, it is a neutral form of greeting; therefore, the hypothesis that dubbing may have triggered its unmarked use is disproven. Finally, the frequency of occurrence of *salve* is diachronically investigated (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus)

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<sup>140</sup> Il doppiaggio è d'altro canto probabilmente all'origine della diffusione di *salve* tra i parlanti italiani, in particolare i giovani. La forma di saluto neutralizza le differenze tra forma di rispetto e forma di familiarità nel rapporto tra gli interlocutori, riempiendo, in posizione iniziale, un vuoto socio-pragmatico in italiano e permettendo così di evitare la scelta tra *ciao* e *buongiorno/buonasera*. *Salve* è nel doppiaggio italiano una routine traduttiva dell'inglese *hello/hi*, formule di saluto utilizzabili anche quando non c'è familiarità tra interlocutori.

<sup>141</sup> Che si usa come espressione di saluto augurale.

<sup>142</sup> Strozzi, Lorenzo Di Filippo (sec. XVI), in *Nuovi canti carnascialeschi del Rinascimento*, C. S. Singleton (ed), 63, 1940, Modena.

<sup>143</sup> *Interj.* Formula di saluto ospitale, che rinnovando antica gentilezza, è scritta sul limitare di molte case moderne.

<sup>144</sup> *Interj.* Espressione di saluto usata incontrando una persona o per darle il benvenuto.

to verify whether the repeated use of this formula in Italian AVT products has caused an increase in its occurrence in real use Italian. Tables 88 and 89 show the results of queries launched for *salve* in relation to the three marked and most common greeting formulae in Italian: *buongiorno*, *buonasera*, and *ciao*.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>SALVE</b>	<b>BUONGIORNO</b>	<b>BUONASERA</b>	<b>CIAO</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	18 (0.72 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	12 (0.48 p.p.m.)	15 (0.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	11 (0.44 p.p.m.)	25 (1 p.p.m.)	24 (0.96 p.p.m.)	99 (3.96 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	29 (1.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	21	43	44	167
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.84	1.72	1.76	6.68

**Table 88: *Salve vs Buongiorno vs Buonasera vs Ciao* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>SALVE</b>	<b>BUONGIORNO</b>	<b>BUONASERA</b>	<b>CIAO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	345	621	229	2,560
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.65	4.78	1.76	19.70

**Table 89: *Salve vs Buongiorno vs Buonasera vs Ciao* – CORIS results**

The results show an increase in the use of *salve* since 1861; however, because *buongiorno* and *ciao* have increased too, the finding is not indicative of dubbing influence. In combination with the results provided by the lexicographic searches, *salve* is excluded from next stage investigations.

#### **45. È (stato) bello vederti (it's nice to see you)**

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 127) included this formula in the list of expressions in Italian dubbing claimed to be phraseological interferences from English; according to them,



the typical Italian expression used when meeting someone known or just before leaving would be *è/è stato un piacere vederti* (it is/was a pleasure to see you).

The lexicographic search (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965) did not yield any instances for this locution while the formula *essere un piacere vedere qualcuno* has been found in Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. III: 115). Similarly, in contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) *è bello vederti* has not been found, thus suggesting that the locution may be an instance of DI interference.

The frequency of use *è bello vederti* needs, however, to be further investigated so as to explore its real use over time and validate the findings obtained so far. Queries are launched in the DiaCORIS and in the CORIS Corpus for *è bello vederti* in contrast with *è stato un piacere*; tables 90 and 91 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	È BELLO VEDERTI	È (STATO) UN PIACERE VEDERTI
1861-1900	0	0
1901-1922	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0
TOT.	2	4
p.p.m.	0.08	0.16

Table 90: *È bello vederti* vs *è un piacere vederti* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	È BELLO VEDERTI	È (STATO) UN PIACERE VEDERTI
1980-2011	5	3
p.p.m.	0.04	0.02

Table 91: *È bello vederti* vs *è un piacere vederti* – CORIS results

The results show that this formula has not only entered real use Italian in modern times, but also that its frequency of occurrence is higher than the traditional Italian formula used in the communicative situation analysed. The findings overall indicate that *è bello vederti* may be an instance of DI which has entered the Italian language; the presence and frequency of occurrence of this expression will be investigated at the spoken level as well.

#### **46. Buona giornata (have a nice day)**

Pavesi (2005: 48) included this formula in the list of expressions in Italian dubbing claimed to be translational routines from English. She affirms (ibid.):

*Buona giornata* is the calque of *have a nice/good day* in American English leave-takings. This is ascribable to both the presence of translational routines [...] and the repetitiveness of film dialogues; the latter, in particular, which imitates and amplifies a typical characteristic of spontaneous conversation. It is not only a matter of correspondences between communicative situations and linguistic formulae in a given language, but also of systematic correspondences from one language into the other one, once some similarity (in the meaning or in the linguistic structure) is detected<sup>145</sup>.

In his study about the linguistic changes in contemporary Italian, the linguist Renzi (2000: 311) analyses the case of *buona giornata*; he claims (ibid.):

I think some greeting formulae, or I should say greeting-wish formulae, like *buona giornata! Buona serata!* might seem absolutely normal to many readers [...]. Younger people have always heard them, but what about the others? I think that they were not in use fifteen, twenty years ago at the most. What happens is, I believe, that not many have noticed

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<sup>145</sup> Si consideri [...] il caso di *buona giornata*, su calco dell'inglese americano *have a nice/good day* impiegato nei commiati. Ciò è imputabile sia alla presenza di *routines* traduttive [...] non solo corrispondenze tra situazioni comunicative e formule olistiche in una determinata lingua, ma corrispondenze sistematiche tra una lingua e l'altra, una volta ravvisata una somiglianza nel significato o nell'uso di determinate strutture linguistiche, sia alla ripetitività del dialogo filmico, che in questo riprende e amplifica un tratto caratteristico della conversazione spontanea.

this innovation, and consequently, they pretend that this greeting-wish formula ‘has always been said’. I don’t think so<sup>146</sup>.

He also hypothesises that the source model is the English language; in particular, the Italian language would have imported the function which this formula conveys, that is, to use formulas that express both greeting and wish at the moment of leaving. The scholar concludes his analysis by saying (ibid.): “Romance languages may have imitated not the English form, but rather this Anglo-Saxon use which was foreign to us until not so long ago, but which is nice and, apparently, Italians like to imitate<sup>147</sup>”.

The lexicographic search of historical dictionaries (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) did not produce any result for the formula, while among contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013; Treccani), Treccani reports:

**Buona giornata** [Greeting formula used in the morning]  $\approx$  *buon giorno*<sup>148</sup>.

This finding indicates that *buona giornata* has started to be used in recent times, i.e., it is an instance of DI, and that it is now entrenched in the Italian language. Diachronic quantitative investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) are carried out to validate the findings obtained so far. Tables 92 and 93 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>BUONA GIORNATA</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0

<sup>146</sup> Credo che per molti lettori, delle forme di saluto, o meglio di saluto-augurio, del tipo di *buona giornata! Buona serata!*, sembreranno del tutto normali, [...]. I più giovani le hanno certo sempre sentite, ma gli altri? Io credo che quindici, al massimo, vent’anni fa non si dicessero. Succede, credo, che non molti si sono accorti dell’innovazione, e così pretendono che questo saluto-augurio “si sia sempre detto”. Non credo.

<sup>147</sup> Le lingue romanze avrebbero imitato non la forma inglese, ma un uso anglo-sassone a noi fino a poco fa sconosciuto, ma che è simpatico e che, a quanto pare, ci pare bello imitare.

<sup>148</sup> [formula di saluto che si usa in mattinata]  $\approx$  buon giorno.

1968-2001	2
TOT.	2
p.p.m.	0.08

Table 92: Buona giornata – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	BUONA GIORNATA
1980-2011	97
p.p.m.	0.75

Table 93: Buona giornata – CORIS results

The results confirm the findings of the lexicographic search: *buona giornata* has started to be used in recent times and spread ever since. The expression qualifies as an instance of DI that has entered real use Italian; in the next step of the analysis, *buona giornata* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

#### 47. **Abbi cura di te (have care of yourself)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 336) and Calabò (1996: 92) isolated this farewell formula in Italian dubbing as being a frequent phraseological interference from *take care*; the particular use of this locution, they claim, would not historically belong to the system of the Italian language. The OED reports:

**Take care** = (often in imperative) said to someone on leaving them.

The locution *aversi cura* (to have care) has been retrieved in the lexicographic search (Crusca 1863-1923; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) although it is not specified any use as a farewell formula.

**Aversi cura** = To take care of oneself, to look after ourselves<sup>149</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 782).

<sup>149</sup> Vale *Riguardarsi, Attendere alla propria salute*.

**Avere/aversi cura di qlcu.** = To care of our own health; To have much attention towards someone; To look after ourselves<sup>150</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. III: 1088).

Contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013; Treccani) report similar definitions with no specification of its use as a farewell device; this function is historically fulfilled by expressions such as *riguardati* (TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 248) and *stammi bene* (Treccani), both meaning *take care*.

The analysis so far indicates that *abbi cura di te* used as a farewell device is a potential instance of DI; this specific use is therefore investigated diachronically across data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) so as to assess its presence and frequency of occurrence over time. Tables 94 and 95 report the results of the queries launched for *abbi cura di te* in contrast with *riguardati* and *stammi bene*:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>ABBI CURA DI TE</b>	<b>RIGUARDATI</b>	<b>STAMMI BENE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	1	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0	1
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	1	0
<b>TOT.</b>	0	2	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.08	0.04

**Table 94: *Abbi cura di te* vs *riguardati* vs *stammi bene* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>ABBI CURA DI TE</b>	<b>RIGUARDATI</b>	<b>STAMMI BENE</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	47	7	14
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.36	0.05	0.11

**Table 95: *Abbi cura di te* vs *riguardati* vs *stammi bene* – CORIS results**

<sup>150</sup> Aver pensiero della propria salute; Usare molti riguardi; Riguardarsi.

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far: the locution is in use in Italian and it has entered the language in recent times, i.e., it may be an instance of DI and dubbing may have triggered its use. The presence and frequency of use of *abbi cura di te* will be searched in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

#### 5.3.4 Politeness formulae

These formulae seek to establish a positive relationship between the parties involved in the conversation reflecting the interlocutors' need to be liked and understood. The expressions belonging to this group are: *prego* (please), *per favore* (please), *(come) posso aiutarla?* (how can I help?), *grazie per* (thanks for).

#### 48. **Prego** (please)

A number of scholars (Dardano, 1986: 231; Maraschio, 1982: 149; Rossi 2010) have isolated this expression in Italian dubbing as being an instance of interference when translating *please* in imperative requests and invitations (for example, in sentences such as *take a seat, please*). The reasons for such a translational choice may be rooted in the isochrony and lip synchrony constraints (see § 2.3). The traditional Italian device used in such communicative situations, they claim, would be *per favore* instead.

The etymological and lexicographic searches report:

**Prego** = Interjection used as a politeness formula in answers to thank or apologise or to invite s.o. to take a seat, to accept something and similar<sup>151</sup> (DELI: 1247).

**Per favore** = Formula of courtesy to ask for something<sup>152</sup> (DELI: 566).

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<sup>151</sup> Interiezione usata come formula di cortesia per rispondere a chi ringrazia o chiede scusa o per invitare qualcuno ad accomodarsi, ad accettare qualcosa o simili (*Bitte! Bitte! Prego!*, 1868, C. v. Reinhardstoettner, Vocabolario sistematico e guida della conversazione italiana, Berlin, p. 302).

<sup>152</sup> Formula di cortesia per chiedere qualcosa (1869).

**Prego** = Elliptical construction of courtesy, when inviting someone to take a seat or to accept something offered, or to stop to be too formal<sup>153</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. III: 1180).

**Prego** = Pragmatic reply to *thank you*<sup>154</sup> (Panzini 1905: 537).

**Prego** = Politeness interjection to answer thanks or apologies, or to invite s.o. to take a seat or to accept something. Example: - Please, take a seat<sup>155</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 1319).

**Per favore** = Way to ask for something politely<sup>156</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 661).

The analysis has shown that *prego* is historically the device used for invitations at the imperative form, while *per favore* is used for general requests; thus, the expression has been proven not to be an instance of DI. Its frequency rate is, however, diachronically investigated in data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to verify whether its recurrent use in AVT products might have boosted an increase in real use Italian. Tables 96 and 97 show the results:

DiaCORIS	PREGO
1861-1900	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	30 (1.2 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	17

<sup>153</sup> Ellissi di cortesia, a chi s'invita o a sedere o prender cosa offerta, o a smettere parole di cerimonia.

<sup>154</sup> Risposta di prammatica a grazie.

<sup>155</sup> Interiezione di cortesia per rispondere a persona che ringrazia o chiede scusa, o per invitare ad accomodarsi o a prendere qualcosa. Esempio: - Prego, si accomodi!

<sup>156</sup> Modo di chiedere qualcosa con gentilezza.

	(0.68 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	72
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.88

**Table 96: Prego – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>PREGO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	347
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.67

**Table 97: Prego – CORIS results**

The results show that the use of *prego* in imperative requests and invitations has not increased over time, such that any link with its frequent presence in dubbing cannot be claimed. In combination with the results provided by the lexicographic searches, *prego* is excluded from next stage investigations.

#### **49. Per favore (please)**

Dardano (1986: 231) and Maraschio (1982: 149) claim that the use of *per favore* in pragmatic replies to offers (for example, in sentences such as *sì, per favore*) would be an instance of interference from the translation of *yes, please*. According to these scholars, the pragmatic answer traditionally used in Italian in similar communicative situations would be *sì, grazie* (yes, thanks) instead.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches (TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; GDLI) did not produce any result for the use of *per favore* under investigation, thus suggesting that it may be an instance of DI. Diachronic investigations of *sì per favore* and *sì, grazie* are conducted in data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to validate the findings obtained so far. Tables 98 and 99 below show the results.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>SI', PER FAVORE</b>	<b>SI', GRAZIE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	4
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	3
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	2



1968-2001	0	2
TOT.	0	13
p.p.m.	0	0.52

Table 98: *Si, per favore* vs *si, grazie* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	SI', PER FAVORE	SI', GRAZIE
1980-2011	6	127
p.p.m.	0.05	0.97

Table 99: *Per favore* vs *grazie* –CORIS results

The quantitative investigations in the corpus of modern Italian yielded six occurrences for the use of *per favore* in replies to offers; this finding, by providing evidence of such an employment in modern Italian, strongly suggests that this expression is a likely instance of DI which has entered the language. Thus, the use of *per favore* in replies to offers will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

#### 50. (come) Posso aiutarla? [(how) can I help?]

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 266) and Rossi (2010) included this formula in the list of expressions in Italian dubbing claimed to be phraseological interferences from (*how*) *can I help?/Can I help you?*; according to them, the typical Italian expression used when asking to offer help (e.g., in shops, offices, etc.) would be *desidera?* (what would you like?) instead.

The lexicographic search (Crusca 1863-1923; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) did not produce any result for *desidera?* while contemporary dictionaries (Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; DISC 2008; GDI 2013; DM 2000; Zing. 2008; Treccani) describe it as the Italian formula of courtesy used in addressing someone who is about to ask something or who is entering a shop, office, and similar. In analogous communicative situations, the expression *che posso fare per te/lei/voi?* has also been retrieved; at the same time, no results for the expression *come posso aiutarla?* have been obtained.

The analysis carried out so far does not conclusively determine whether the investigated expression was not in use in earlier stages of Italian; since its ‘genuine’ counterpart *desidera?* was found only in contemporary dictionaries, it is possible that

*come posso aiutarla?* has not been found because the communicative situation in question is not represented in the historical dictionaries. However, thanks to the corpora of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and CORIS Corpus), the frequency of use of the three expressions can be empirically verified over time. Tables 100 and 101 display the results.

DiaCORIS	(COME) POSSO AIUTARLA/ VI?	DESIDERA?	CHE POSSO FARE PER TE/VOI/LEI?
1861-1900	0	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	0	0
1946-1967	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)	0
1968-2001	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
TOT.	0	18	7
p.p.m.	0	0.72	0.28

Table 100: *Come posso aiutarla vs desidera? vs che posso fare per lei?* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	(COME) POSSO AIUTARLA/VI?	DESIDERA?	CHE POSSO FARE PER LEI?
1980-2011	22	46	27
p.p.m.	0.17	0.35	0.21

Table 101: *Come posso aiutarla vs desidera? vs che posso fare per lei?* – CORIS results

The results confirm that in Italian *desidera?* and *che posso fare per lei?* are the expressions historically used to offer help in shops, offices, etc., while *(come) posso aiutarla?* has entered the language only recently. These findings qualify the expression as a likely instance of DI that is in use in Italian; *(come) posso aiutarla?* will be therefore investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

## 51. Grazie per (thanks for)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 331) singled out this construction as being a common case of interference from English in Italian dubbing; they claim (bold is mine):

Among syntagmatic interferences, there are some typical English prepositional constructions which are becoming more and more established in Italian and of which several occurrences have been found in the corpus. For example *ringraziare per qualcosa*, occurred four times, translation of *to thank for something* which nowadays seems to be more frequent than the traditional *ringraziare di qualcosa*, the latter not found in the corpus<sup>157</sup>.

The interference from English would then be apparent in the use of the preposition *per* instead of *di*, the latter being, they claim, more traditional. The grammar investigation (Grande Grammatica Italiana di Consultazione) revealed that in Italian *grazie* or *ringraziare* (*thanks* or *to thank*) usually introduce an indirect object by means of the preposition *di*. More specifically, when *grazie* and *ringraziare* introduce a subordinate infinite clause, they may be followed by both *di* and *per*. However, there are exceptions in which the use of *di* is mandatory, for the use of *per* would be grammatically unacceptable in Italian (e.g., *grazie di* + present infinitive<sup>158</sup>).

In the etymological (DELI) and lexicographic (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. VII: 565) searches only *ringraziare di* has been retrieved while the GDLI (vol. XVI: 555) reports both constructions. Thanks to the corpora of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and CORIS Corpus), the diachronic frequency of use of the two uses can be empirically verified so as to establish if, within the range of grammatically acceptable possibilities, the use of *grazie per* has increased. Tables 102 and 103 show the results:

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<sup>157</sup> Alle interferenze sintagmatiche appartengono anche delle reggenze preposizionali tipiche dell'inglese, che stanno prendendo sempre più piede in italiano e delle quali infatti sono stati riscontrati diversi esempi nel corpus. Si tratta di *ringraziare per qualcosa*, di cui sono state riscontrate 4 occorrenze, che traduce *to thank for something* e che ormai sembra essere più frequente del tradizionale *ringraziare di qualcosa*, di cui infatti nel corpus non si è trovata alcuna occorrenza.

<sup>158</sup> For a detailed overview on the use of *grazie di* + present infinitive see Grasso (2007).

DiaCORIS	GRAZIE	GRAZIE	RINGRAZIARE	RINGRAZIARE
	PER	DI	PER	DI
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	12 (0.48 p.p.m.)	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)	47 (1.88 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	17 (0.68 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	34 (1.36 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)	36 (1.44 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)	20 (0.8 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)	18 (0.72 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	8	49	53	155
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.32	1.96	2.12	6.2

Table 102: *Grazie per/ringraziare per vs grazie di/ringraziare di* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	GRAZIE	GRAZIE	RINGRAZIARE	RINGRAZIARE
	PER	DI	PER	DI
<b>1980-2011</b>	485	290	468	210
<b>p.p.m.</b>	4.72	2.23	3.6	1.61

Table 103: *Grazie per/ringraziare per vs grazie di/ringraziare di* – CORIS results

The findings show that *grazie di* and *ringraziare di* were more used in earlier stages of Italian than *grazie per* and *ringraziare per* in those collocations when both constructions could have been used. The findings also evidence a remarkable increase in the corpus of modern Italian in the frequency of the prepositional construction with *per* and a decrease in the use of *ringraziare* followed by *di*. These data, in addition to the high frequency of *grazie per* and *ringraziare per* reported in AVT products, qualify such changes in real use Italian as likely results of DI. The frequency of occurrence of both constructions will be then investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next chapter.

## 5.4 Fixed expressions (FEs)

Following the qualitative analysis carried out in chapter 4, the last category of DI is the one which appears in the form of phraseological strings of more or less fixed sequences. The term is used as an umbrella expression to cover the following sub-categories: simple formulae (§ 5.4.1), sayings (§ 5.4.2), similes (§ 5.4.3).

### 5.4.1 Simple formulae

These are strings which are typically fixed but which, nevertheless, perform discursal functions (Moon, 1998: 22). The investigated expressions belonging to this sub-category are: *non c'è problema* (no problem), *niente di personale* (nothing personal), *(non) essere in condizione di* [(not) to be in condition to], *qual è il problema* (what's the problem?), *avere una possibilità* (to have a chance), *posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* (can I call you + first name?), *essere eccitante/eccitato* (to be exciting/excited), *fare la differenza* (to make the difference), *essere uno spasso* (to be/to have a hoot), *fare secco qualcuno* (to knock someone off), *essere forte* (to be cool), *bersi il cervello* (to be out of one's mind/to be nuts), *mettere a rischio* (to put at risk), *si rilassi* (relax), *non ci posso credere* (I can't believe it), *come ti suona?* (how does it sound to you?), *fare la cosa giusta* (to do the right thing).

### 5.2. Non c'è problema (there is no problem)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 323) and Rossi (2010) claimed that *non c'è problema*<sup>159</sup> (no problem) is an interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing, whereas expressions such as *con piacere* (with pleasure) or *va bene* (that's ok) would be the 'genuine' Italian formulae used in similar communicative situations.

The DELI (2008: 1262) reports that at the end of the 50s, the meaning of the word *problema* extended to define a generic 'difficulty', especially in the locution *non c'è problema*<sup>160</sup>. The GDLI (vol. XIV: 422) dates *non c'è problema* to 1977<sup>161</sup> and describes it as very frequent, while other historical dictionaries (TB 1861-1879;

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<sup>159</sup> In 1990, Radtke (1990: 68-69) published an analysis of *non c'è problema*; in this article, the expression is investigated as being a neologism, sign that this set phrase was perceived as new in Italian. In confirmation of that, he reported the lack of findings in neologism dictionaries while only *Il Grande Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (1987: 1489) described *non c'è problema* as belonging to colloquial spoken language. Radtke also claimed that it could not be excluded that dubbing had originated its spreading in the language.

<sup>160</sup> Alla fine degli anni Cinquanta il significato di *problema* si estese fino a definire una generica "difficoltà", soprattutto nella locuzione *non c'è problema*.

<sup>161</sup> Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Affabulazione – Pilade*, Milano 1977: 184.

Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) do not report it. On the contrary, the locution has been retrieved in all the contemporary dictionaries consulted (Treccani; DM 2000; GDI 2013; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009). Moreover, the expression *con piacere* has been retrieved in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. III: 975), which evidences that this expression was in use in earlier stages of Italian (as opposed to *non c'è problema*) and that the communicative situation under analysis is represented in the dictionary.

The analysis carried out so far indicates that *non c'è problema* is a potential instance of DI which has entered the language in recent times. Data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) allow for these findings to be diachronically verified; tables 104 and 105 report the results.

DiaCORIS	NON C'È PROBLEMA	CON PIACERE
1861-1900	0	0
1901-1922	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	2	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
TOT.	2	6
p.p.m.	0.08	0.24

**Table 104: *Non c'è problema* vs *con piacere* – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	NON C'È PROBLEMA	CON PIACERE
1980-2011	237	23
p.p.m.	1.82	0.18

**Table 105: *Non c'è problema* vs *con piacere* – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far and indicate that *non c'è problema* was not in use before the introduction of dubbing. In combination with the etymological and lexicographic results, and considering its high frequency of

occurrence observed in AVT products, the analysis overall qualifies the expression as an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The presence and frequency of occurrence of *non c'è problema* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

### 53. Niente di personale (nothing personal)

*Niente di personale* (nothing personal) has been identified as a translational routine by Pavesi (2005: 49) whereas *non ce l'ho con te* (I don't have anything with you) would be the expression traditionally used in similar contexts. The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches did not yield any instances for *niente di personale* neither in old (TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; GDLI; Zing. 1994) nor in contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; GDI 2013; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009).

At the same time, *avercela con qualcuno* (to have something with someone) has indeed been found in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. I: 774), indicating that the communicative situation is represented in the historical dictionary and that this is the expression traditionally used in those contexts. Finally, the Zing. 2008 reports:

**Metterla, andare sul personale** = (colloq.) to handle something as if it was personal<sup>162</sup>.

The analysis carried out so far indicates that *niente di personale* is a potential instance of DI whereas *non ce l'ho con te* is the formula historically used in Italian to tell someone that something is not directed against themselves. These findings are verified by means of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) where the use of these expressions is diachronically investigated; tables 106 and 107 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	NIENTE DI PERSONALE	NON CE L'HO CON TE
1861-1900	0	0
1901-1922	0	0
1923-1945	0	2

<sup>162</sup> (colloq.) Affrontare una questione come se fosse un fatto personale.

		(0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	1	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	13
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	0.52

**Table 106: *Niente di personale* vs *non ce l'ho con te* – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	NIENTE DI PERSONALE	NON CE L'HO CON TE
<b>1980-2011</b>	25	106
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.19	0.81

**Table 107: *Niente di personale* vs *non ce l'ho con te* – CORIS results**

The findings show that *niente di personale* has entered the Italian language in modern times and that its use has increased since then. In combination with the results of the lexicographic search and in consideration of the reported high frequency of occurrence in AVT products, the locution qualifies as a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The presence and frequency of use of this locution will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next chapter.

#### **54. (Non) essere in condizione di [(not) to be in condition to]**

*(Non) essere in condizione di* [(not) to be in condition to] has been identified as an interference phenomenon from dubbing by Patuelli (1936: 28-31) who claimed that, expressions such as *(non) essere in grado di/capace di* (able to) would be traditionally expected to be used in Italian instead.

The lexicographic search (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) reports:

**Essere, o Non essere in condizione di fare checchessia** = Means to have or not to have the possibility to do something<sup>163</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. III: 382).

<sup>163</sup> Vale Avere, o Non Avere, il modo, la possibilità e simili di farlo.



As evidenced by the lexicographic investigation, the use of *(non) essere in condizione di* is not an instance of DI. Considering the repeated use of the expression in AVT products, any possible influence from dubbing on real use Italian is investigated by conducting diachronic quantitative investigations in the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus. The results are reported in tables 108 and 109 below.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>(NON) ESSERE IN CONDIZIONE DI</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	20 (0.8 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	32 (1.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	21 (0.84 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	29 (1.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	115
<b>p.p.m.</b>	4.6

**Table 108: (Non) essere in condizione di – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>(NON) ESSERE IN CONDIZIONE DI</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	520
<b>p.p.m.</b>	4

**Table 109: (Non) essere in condizione di – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far and show that *(non) essere in condizione di* were already in use before dubbing. Moreover, considering that its frequency of use has not increased over time and, the expression is excluded from next stage investigations.

## 55. Qual è il problema? (what's the problem?)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 334) list this locution as an interference phenomenon from the translation of *what's the problem?/what seems to be the problem?* in Italian dubbing. According to these scholars, an expression such as *che c'è che non va?* (what's wrong?) would be traditionally expected to be used instead.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches did not produce any results for *qual è il problema?* neither in old (TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905) nor in contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013). On the contrary, the string *che c'è?* (what is it?) has been found in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. II: 569):

**Che c'è?** = *Ell. di sensi varii.* – Simple answer in question form |  
Question for what will follow | When asking the reason of something |  
As an act of impatience or reproach<sup>164</sup>.

The analysis so far suggests that *qual è il problema?* is a potential instance of DI; diachronic investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) are conducted to validate the findings obtained so far. The results are shown in tables 110 and 111 below.

DiaCORIS	QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?	CHE C' È (CHE NON VA)?
1861-1900	0	46 (1.84 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	26 (1.04 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	18 (0.72 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	4

<sup>164</sup> Sempl. risposta in forma d'interr. | Interr. di quel che segue. | Nel chiedere ragione di cosa. | In atto d'impazienza o di rimprovero.

		(0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	117
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	4.68

**Table 110: *Qual è il problema vs che c'è che non va?* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?</b>	<b>CHE C È (CHE NON VA)?</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	82	198
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.63	1.52

**Table 111: *Qual è il problema vs che c'è che non va?* – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far and indicate that *qual è il problema?* was not in use before the introduction of dubbing. In combination with the lexicographic results, and considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in AVT products, the analysis overall qualifies the expression as an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The presence and frequency of occurrence of *qual è il problema?* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

## **56. Avere una possibilità (to have a chance)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 266) claimed that *avere una possibilità* is an interference phenomenon in Italian dubbing from *to have a chance*, whereas an expression such as *avere una speranza* (to have a hope) would better convey the original meaning.

The following are the results of the lexicographic search:

**Chance** = An opportunity that comes in any one's way | To have a chance of success or victory. (OED)

**Possibilità** = What is possible to happen or to do | The same as capacity, ability<sup>165</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. III: 1141).

<sup>165</sup> Ciò che è possibile ad avvenire, o a farsi | Per Capacità, Abilità.

**Possibilità** = Capacity, ability, opportunity to do<sup>166</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 1304).

**Possibilità** = Opportunity<sup>167</sup> (GDLI, vol. XIII: 1053).

**Possibilità** = Opportunity<sup>168</sup> (Zing. 1994: 1387).

The results of the lexicographic search clearly show the semantic change that has affected the word *possibilità* in Italian. The transition from meaning *capacity* and *ability* to *opportunity* is apparent in the definitions given by dictionaries of different stages of Italian. Particularly, in Garzanti 1965 it is visible that both meanings co-existed, while in a more modern dictionary (Zing. 1994) the old meanings appear to be lost. However, although these findings evidence that in present-day Italian *possibilità* mirrors the English *chance*, the locution *avere una possibilità*, has not been retrieved (DM 2000; Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013).

Similarly, the expression *avere una speranza*, claimed by Alfieri *et al* to be the ‘genuine’ Italian expression, has not been found either. The locution *avere speranza* (to have hope) has been retrieved (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 790), though conveying the meaning of *to hope*. Finally, contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) include the meaning *possibility* in the semantic area of *speranza*.

The analysis carried out so far shows that a semantic change has affected the word *possibilità* in Italian such that, nowadays, it mirrors the English meaning. Considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in AVT products and that the semantic change occurred in the second half of the XX century, the expression is a potential instance of DI. Moreover, it appears that the expression *avere una speranza* does not belong to the range of set phrases of the Italian language, while the words *speranza* and *possibilità* share the meaning of *opportunity* in present-day Italian.

Diachronic investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) are conducted to validate the findings obtained so far; tables 112 and 113 report the results.

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<sup>166</sup> Capacità, potere, occasione di fare.

<sup>167</sup> Opportunità.

<sup>168</sup> Opportunità.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>AVERE UNA POSSIBILITÀ</b>	<b>AVERE UNA SPERANZA</b>
<b>1861-900</b>	0	0
<b>1901-922</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-945</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-967</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-001</b>	0	0
<b>TOT.</b>	0	3
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.12

**Table 112: *Avere una possibilità* vs *avere una speranza* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>AVERE UNA POSSIBILITÀ</b>	<b>AVERE UNA SPERANZA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	32	41
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.25	0.31

**Table 113: *Avere una possibilità* vs *avere una speranza* – CORIS results**

What emerged from the corpora queries is that *avere una speranza* was in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing, while *avere una possibilità* has entered the Italian language after dubbing. The expression is a likely instance of DI entrenched in present-day Italian and it will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

### **57. Posso chiamarla + nome proprio? (Can I call you + first name?)**

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 323) isolated this expression in Italian dubbing as being a typical interference phenomenon from *Can I call you + first name?*. This formula is used in English when the speaker checks if it is appropriate to employ the informal form of address with the interlocutor, in the event that he/she has a different social role (i.e., is older) or when the relationship between the addresser and the addressee is formal. This function, in Italian, is conveyed by the expression *dare del tu* (to talk on first

name basis) (see for example Giglioli, 1972) and its origin dates back to 1612<sup>169</sup> (DELI, 2008: 1748) meaning “to address someone using the pronoun *tu*”. The expression has also extended its meaning to “to have familiarity and confidence with someone” (1891<sup>170</sup>).

The lexicographic search of old (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950; Zing. 1994) and contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Treccani; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) did not yield any instances for such a function associated to the verb *chiamare*.

The analysis so far indicates that the formula *posso chiamarla + nome proprio* is a potential instance of DI; the investigation of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) allows for these findings to be diachronically verified; tables 114 and 115 report the results.

DiaCORIS	POSSO CHIAMARLA + NOME PROPRIO?	DARE DEL TU
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	23 (0.92 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	30 (1.2 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	17 (0.68 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	51 (2.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	19 (0.76 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	140
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	5.6

**Table 114: *Dare del tu vs posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>169</sup> M. Buonarroti il Giovane, *il Vocabolario della Crusca*.

<sup>170</sup> P. Petrocchi, *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, Milano, 1887-1891.

CORIS	POSSO	
	CHIAMARLA + NOME PROPRIO?	DARE DEL TU
1980-2011	10	176
p.p.m.	0.08	1.35

**Table 115: *Dare del tu vs posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* – CORIS results**

The corpora results are consistent with the findings obtained so far and indicate that the *posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* is a likely instance of DI which is in use in contemporary Italian. Although its frequency of occurrence is low, the presence and occurrence of the formula will be searched in spoken Italian corpora.

### **58. Essere eccitante/eccitato (to be exciting/excited)**

Pavesi (2005: 49) claims that these expressions are translational routines in Italian dubbing as *eccitato/eccitante* convey a different meaning in Italian; expressions such as *to be nervoso/a, agitato/a, emozionato/a* (nervous, agitated, thrilled) would be the ‘genuine’ Italian formulae used in similar communicative situations.

The following are the results of the lexicographic and etymological searches:

**Exciting** = Causing great enthusiasm and eagerness (OED).

**Excited** = Very enthusiastic and eager | Sexually aroused | *Physics*: of or in an energy state higher than the normal or ground state (OED).

**Eccitante** = Awakening, stimulating, causing a reaction<sup>171</sup> | Substance that stimulates organs making them more ready for their functions<sup>172</sup> (DELI, 2008: 504-505)<sup>173</sup>.

**Eccitare** = To awaken, to wake someone up | To cause, to provoke, to arise, to move, to awaken something like pain, thirst, hunger | To cause

<sup>171</sup> Bono Giamboni, 1292, *Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi e il trattato di virtù e di vizi*, Cesare Segre (ed), Torino, 1968).

<sup>172</sup> Pietro Colletta, 1831, *Lettere filologico-militari intorno al Dizionario militare di Giuseppe Grassi*, I: 497-547.

<sup>173</sup> Sostanza che stimola gli organi rendendoli più pronti alle loro funzioni | Che risveglia, stimola, suscita.

desire, to awaken, to stimulate, to incite, to turn something on | (moral sense) To excite emotions (TB 1861-1879, vol. II: 433)<sup>174</sup>.

**Eccitante** = Stimulating<sup>175</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. V: 23).

**Eccitato** = Related to the soul and its abilities, it means Stimulated, Shaken, Awaken, and similar. | Related to thoughts, and similar, it means suddenly arose<sup>176</sup> (Crusca 1863-1923, vol. V: 24).

**Eccitare** = To provoke, to stimulate; to agitate<sup>177</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 584).

**Eccitante** = What induces, pushes, encourages, incites to do something<sup>178</sup> (GDLI, vol. V: 19).

**Eccitato** = Moved by excitement, which expresses excitement, upset, deep emotion<sup>179</sup> | Passionate, made more sensitive (spiritual ability)<sup>180</sup> (GDLI, vol. V: 21).<sup>181</sup>

**Eccitante** = Thrilling, electrifying | Alluring, seductive<sup>182</sup> (Zing. 2008).

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<sup>174</sup> Destare, svegliare | Cagionare, Suscitare, Far nascere, Muovere, Provocare, Svegliare checchessia, come il dolore, la sete, l'appetito | Far venir voglia e disposizione, Risvegliare, Stimolare, Instigare, Invaghire, Accendere | (Senso mor.) Eccitare commozone.

<sup>175</sup> Che stimola.

<sup>176</sup> Detto dell'anima o delle sue facoltà, vale Stimolato, Mosso, Desto, e simili. | Detto di pensiero, e simile, vale Che è suscitato d'un tratto, Sorto subitaneamente.

<sup>177</sup> Provocare, stimolare; mettere in agitazione.

<sup>178</sup> Che induce, spinge, incoraggia, incita a qualcosa.

<sup>179</sup> Emilio De Marchi, 1960, *Grandi romanzi*, G. Ferrata (ed), Milano, 1960: 474, posthumous.

<sup>180</sup> Ugo Foscolo, *Epistolario*, P. Carli (ed), 1949-1956, vol. I: 14, Firenze. Comprende le lettere composte dal 1794 al 1816.

<sup>181</sup> Che muove da eccitazione, che esprime eccitazione, turbamento, profonda emozione | Animato da una passione, da un'emozione; reso più sensibile (una facoltà spirituale).

<sup>182</sup> Emozionante, elettrizzante | Provocante, seducente.



**Eccitato** = Shaken, agitated, unsettled | Thrilled, enthusiastic | Sexually aroused<sup>183</sup> (Zing. 2008).

**Eccitante/eccitato** = To be agitated, for anger or passion, passing to an orgasmic condition, shaken, in an orgasmic mood<sup>184</sup> (Treccani).

The etymological and lexicographic searches show that, historically, *eccitato/eccitante* convey meanings that are close to the English ones. Furthermore, the thesaurus dictionary of old Italian Tommaseo 1858 (TN: 433) defines *nervoso/agitato/emozionato* as synonyms of *eccitato/a*, confirming that the expressions are not instances of DI. Thanks to the corpora of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and CORIS Corpus), the diachronic frequency of occurrence of *essere eccitato/eccitante* can be empirically verified so as to investigate any potential increase which could be due to the repeated use of these expressions in AVT products. Tables 116 and 117 show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>(ESSERE) ECCITATO</b>	<b>(ESSERE) ECCITANTE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	71 (2.84 p.p.m.)	26 (1.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	30 (1.2 p.p.m.)	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	50 (2 p.p.m.)	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	104 (0.16 p.p.m.)	40 (1.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	44 (1.76 p.p.m.)	37 (1.48 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	299	129
<b>p.p.m.</b>	11.96	5.16

**Table 116: Eccitato/eccitante – DiaCORIS results**

<sup>183</sup> Turbato, agitato, irrequieto | Emozionato, esalta.to | Che prova un forte desiderio sessuale.

<sup>184</sup> Agitarsi, per collera o per qualche passione, passare a uno stato di orgasmo o di eccitamento, agitato, con l'animo in orgasmo.

CORIS	(ESSERE) ECCITATO	(ESSERE) ECCITANTE
1980-2011	849	549
p.p.m.	6.53	4.22

Table 117: Eccitato/eccitante – CORIS results

The results show that the frequency of occurrence of *eccitato/eccitante* have decreased over time, thus excluding a possible influence from dubbing in increasing the use of these expressions. In combination with the etymological and lexicographic results, *eccitato/eccitante* are excluded from next investigations of spoken Italian corpora.

### 59. Fare la differenza (to make the difference)

This locution was isolated by Pavesi (2005: 49) who claimed it to be, in Italian dubbing, a translational routine of *to make the difference*. According to this scholar, *essere importante/cambiare le cose* (to be important/to change things) would be the expressions traditionally used in similar contexts<sup>185</sup>.

The Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. IV: 300) reports:

**Far differenza** = Used independently, it means *To have a certain importance, To be more or less important*, referred to the topic of the conversation<sup>186</sup>.

The finding shows that, historically, the expression used in Italian to convey the meaning under analysis is in fact *fare differenza* (to make difference). The following are the results which stemmed from the lexicographic search of contemporary dictionaries.

**Fare differenza** = To treat or to consider in a different way, to put on two different levels, and similar<sup>187</sup> (Zing. 1994: 535).

<sup>185</sup> To have a significant effect (or no effect) on a person or situation (OED).

<sup>186</sup> Usato assolutamente, vale Essere di una certa importanza, Importare più o meno, alla cosa di cui si discorre.

<sup>187</sup> Trattare o considerare in modo diverso, porre su due piani diversi e sim.

**Fare differenza** = To treat or to consider in a different way, to put on two different levels, and similar<sup>188</sup> (Zing. 2008).

**Fare la differenza** = To represent a crucial factor of advantage, of superiority<sup>189</sup> (Zing. 2008).

The findings show that, in contemporary Italian, *fare la differenza* conveys the same meaning as *to make the difference*, which, in old Italian, used to be conveyed by *fare differenza*. The influence from English would therefore be apparent in the fact that the traditional expression has lost its original meaning, which has been in fact acquired by *fare la differenza*, a potential instance of DI.

Diachronic quantitative investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) are carried out to validate the findings obtained so far. Only occurrences conveying the meaning under analysis are counted and reported. Tables 118 and 119 display the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>FARE DIFFERENZA</b>	<b>FARE LA DIFFERENZA</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	1	1
<b>TOT.</b>	1	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	0.04

**Table 118: *Fare differenza* vs *fare la differenza* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>FARE DIFFERENZA</b>	<b>FARE LA DIFFERENZA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	3	11
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.02	0.08

**Table 119: *Fare differenza* vs *fare la differenza* – CORIS results**

<sup>188</sup> Trattare o considerare in modo diverso, porre su due piani diversi e sim.

<sup>189</sup> Costituire un fattore decisivo di vantaggio, di superiorità.

Evidence is gathered that *fare la differenza* was not in use in old Italian and that, at the same time, it is entrenched in present-day language. Although no occurrences for *fare differenza* have been retrieved prior to dubbing, the lexicographic results document its existence, while *fare la differenza* has been found only in contemporary dictionaries. The expression may be an instance of DI which has entered real use Italian; its presence and frequency of occurrence will be analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

#### **60. Essere uno spasso/spassarsela (to be a hoot/have a hoot)**

Pavesi (2005: 49) singled out the locution *essere uno spasso/spassarsela* as a translational routine in Italian dubbing; expressions such as *essere divertente/divertirsi* (to be fun/have fun), she argues (ibid.), would be more natural in Italian.

The etymological search (DELI, 2008: 1578) dates *spassare* back to approximately 1350<sup>190</sup> carrying the meaning of ‘to entertain’; first occurrences of *spasso* meaning ‘amusement’ are dated back to before 1543<sup>191</sup> which could also be referred to a person since before 1520<sup>192</sup>. Finally, the expression *spassarsela* conveying the meaning of ‘to have fun’ was already in use in 1916<sup>193</sup>. These expressions have also been retrieved in the TB 1861-1879 (vol. IV: 1069-1070) and in Garzanti 1965 (1693).

The findings demonstrate that these locutions are not instances of DI; data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and the CORIS Corpus) are searched to analyse any possible increase in the frequency of use of both the expressions which could be due to their repeated occurrence in Italian AVT products. Tables 120 and 121 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	SPASSO/ESSER E UNO SPASSO	SPASSARSELA
<b>1861-1900</b>	17	23

<sup>190</sup> Pietro de’ Crescenzi, *Volgarizzamento del Trattato d’Agricoltura*.

<sup>191</sup> Agnolo Firenzuola, *La prima veste de’ DISC 2008orsi degli animali*, 1541, in *Opere*, A. Seroni (ed), Firenze, 1958.

<sup>192</sup> Bernardo Bibbiena, *Commedia elegantissima in prosa nuovamente composta da p. Mess. Bernardo da Bibbiena, intitolata Calndra, Siena, 1521* in *Commedie del Cinquecento*, N. Borsellino (ed), Milano, 1967: 7-97.

<sup>193</sup> Giulio Cappuccini, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, Torino, 1945.

	(0.68 p.p.m.)	(0.92 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	25 (1 p.p.m.)	15 (0.6 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	14 (0.56 p.p.m.)	8 (0.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	74	56
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.96	2.24

**Table 120: Spasso/Essere uno spass/spassarsela – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>SPASSO/ESSERE UNO SPASSO</b>	<b>SPASSARSELA</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	18	94
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.14	0.72

**Table 121: Spasso/Essere uno spass/spassarsela – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the finding obtained so far and do not show any increase in the frequency of occurrence of *spasso/essere uno spasso/spassarsela* over time. In light of the etymological and lexicographic results, any influence from dubbing is to be excluded; these expressions will not be analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

### **61. Fare secco qualcuno (to dry someone off)**

Pavesi (2005: 49) included this expression in the list of translational routines in Italian dubbing whereas *uccidere qualcuno* (to kill someone) would be a more natural expression in similar communicative situations.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic search of old Italian dictionaries (Crusca 1729-1738; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965, Panzini 1905, Migliorni 1950) did not produce any instances for *fare secco qualcuno*. Contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013), on the contrary, report the expression as conveying the meaning of *to kill someone*.

Finally, the GDLI (vol. XVIII: 403) dates its first occurrence to 1958<sup>194</sup> suggesting its recent entrenchment in the Italian language.

The analysis so far indicates that *fare secco qualcuno* is a potential instance of DI which is in use in present-day Italian. The frequency of occurrence of this expression is diachronically investigated across data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to empirically verify the findings obtained thus far. The results are shown in tables 122 and 123 below.

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>FARE SECCO QUALCUNO</b>	<b>UCCIDERE QUALCUNO</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	721 (28.84 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	525 (21 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	438 (17.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	683 (27.32 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	877 (35.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	6	3244
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.24	129.76

**Table 122: *Fare secco qualcuno* vs *uccidere qualcuno* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>FARE SECCO QUALCUNO</b>	<b>UCCIDERE QUALCUNO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	41	13425
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.31	103.27

**Table 123: *Fare secco qualcuno* vs *uccidere qualcuno* – CORIS results**

The results are consistent with the findings of the etymological and lexicographic searches and indicate that the expression *fare secco qualcuno* was not in use in stages

<sup>194</sup> Francesco Jóvine, *Signora Ava*, Torino, 1° ed. 1942, p. 154.

of Italian prior to dubbing. The analysis overall suggests that *fare secco qualcuno* may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The expression will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

## 62. Essere forte (to be strong)

This expression has been identified by Pavesi (2005: 49) as a typical automatism of the dubbing translation of *to be cool*. The qualitative analysis has indicated that the locution expresses the pragmatic function of referring to a person, a thing or a situation with the positive meaning of being admirable. A locution such as *avere successo* (to have success), she argues (ibid.), would be more natural in similar communicative contexts.

The OED reports:

**Cool** = *colloq.* (orig. *U.S.*) Attractively shrewd or clever; sophisticated, stylish, classy; fashionable, up to date; sexually attractive.

*Cool* can also be used as an interjection:

**Cool** = *colloq.* (orig. *U.S.*) Expressing approval or assent: ‘All right!’ ‘OK!’ ‘Great!’”.

The etymological search (DELI) did not yield any instance for such a use of *forte* while the Crusca 1863-1923 (vol. VI: 370-375) states:

**Forte** = Referred to a person, and used figuratively means Someone who is very knowledgeable and is valuable in some discipline or art, or at doing something; Talented at something<sup>195</sup>.

**Forte!** = Used as an exclamation to incite, to push someone who is fighting to hit even more harshly<sup>196</sup>.

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<sup>195</sup> Detto di persona, significa figuratamente Che molto sa e vale in una qualche disciplina od arte, o nel fare una data cosa; Versato in checchessia.

<sup>196</sup> Usasi in modo esclamativo per animare, incitare, alcuno che bussi un altro a percuoterlo anche più aspramente.

In English, the quality of *to be cool* can exist in itself, while according to the Crusca's definition, the skill in question presupposes the presence of some sort of discipline or art<sup>197</sup>; however, the figurative use of *forte* is documented in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. The use of *forte!* as an interjection, on the contrary, is very different in the two languages. The following are the results of the lexicographic search of contemporary Italian dictionaries:

**Forte** = (popular Italian) Exceptional, extraordinary; also in exclamations: *forte! Che forte!*; nice, hilarious (also in the form of *fortissimo*)<sup>198</sup> (DISC 2008).

**Forte** = (family Italian) referred to something or someone who is generally appreciated: (a person, a film, etc.)<sup>199</sup> (Hoepli 2011).

**Forte** = (family Italian) Nice, hilarious<sup>200</sup> (GDI 2013).

**Forte** = (colloq.) Very skillful, clever | (family Italian) Very hilarious, brilliant<sup>201</sup> (Zing. 2008).

The findings show that in present-day Italian the uses of *forte* mirror the English *cool!* and *to be cool*. The analysis carried out up to this point indicates that *forte!* and *essere forte* are potential instances of DI which are entrenched in contemporary Italian. As the modern definitions report, in contemporary Italian, unlike in older Italian. Thanks to the corpora of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and CORIS Corpus), the diachronic frequency of occurrence of *forte/essere forte* can be empirically verified so as to corroborate the findings obtained so far. Tables 124 and 125 show the results:

DiaCORIS	ESSERE FORTE	(CHE) FORTE!
1861-1900	0	0

<sup>197</sup> I.e., *Sono forte in matematica* (I am good at maths).

<sup>198</sup> (pop.) Eccezionale, straordinario; anche in esclamazioni: *forte!, che forte!*; simpatico, spiritoso (spesso anche in forma superl.).

<sup>199</sup> (fam.) Con il significato generale di apprezzamento positivo: un tipo f.; un film davvero f.!; sei proprio f.!

<sup>200</sup> fam.) simpatico, spiritoso: *che forte che sei!*

<sup>201</sup> (colloq.) Molto abile, bravo | (fam.) Molto simpatico, estroso.



1901-1922	0	0
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	0	1
1968-2001	0	0
TOT.	0	1
p.p.m.	0	0.04

Table 124: Essere forte/forte! – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	ESSERE FORTE	(CHE) FORTE!
1980-2011	20	16
p.p.m.	0.15	0.12

Table 125: Essere forte/forte! – CORIS results

The results confirm the findings of the lexicographic searches and indicate that *forte/essere forte* were not in use before dubbing. Overall the analysis suggests that these expressions are likely instances of DI which have entered the Italian language. In the next stage of the method, both uses of *forte* will be further investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

### 63. Bersi il cervello (to drink one's brain)

This expression has been identified by Pavesi (2005: 49) and by Alfieri *et al* (2008: 322) as an interference from the AVT of *to go nuts*; the Italian 'genuine' expression would be *impazzire* (to go crazy) instead.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic search of old Italian dictionaries (Crusca 1863-1925; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) did not yield any instances while contemporary dictionaries (Zing. 2008; DISC 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009) report:

**Bersi il cervello** = To become stupid<sup>202</sup> (DISC 2008).

**Bersi il cervello** = (fig. fam.) To go crazy<sup>203</sup> (Zing. 2008).

<sup>202</sup> Diventare sciocchi, rincretinare.

<sup>203</sup> (fig. fam.) impazzire.

**Bersi il cervello** = To behave foolishly (not necessarily because of alcohol)<sup>204</sup> (Devoto-Oli 2009).

The findings show that, although *bersi il cervello* did not historically belong to the system of the Italian language, it is entrenched in present-day Italian (albeit, there seems to be disagreement about its actual meaning). The expression qualifies as an instance of DI; the frequency of occurrence of the locution is diachronically investigated across data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to empirically verify the findings obtained thus far. Tables 126 and 127 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>BERSI IL CERVELLO</b>	<b>IMPAZZIRE</b>	<b>RIMBECILLIR E</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	29 (1.16 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	30 (1.2 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	40 (1.6 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	72 (2.88 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	44 (1.76 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	215	9
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	8.6	0.36

**Table 126: *Bersi il cervello* vs *impazzire/rimbecillire* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>BERSI IL CERVELLO</b>	<b>IMPAZZIRE</b>	<b>RIMBECILLIR E</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	18	971	32
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.14	7.47	0.25

**Table 127: *Bersi il cervello* vs *impazzire/rimbecillire* – CORIS results**

<sup>204</sup> Comportarsi in modo insensato, rimbecillire (non necessariamente per abuso di alcolici).

The quantitative results are consistent with the findings obtained up to now and indicate that *bersi il cervello* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. Considering that occurrences of *bersi il cervello* have been found only in the corpus of modern Italian and that a frequent occurrence of the expression has been observed in Italian AVT products, the expression may be an instance of DI which is now entrenched in real use Italian. The presence and frequency of use of the locution will be analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

#### 64. Mettere a rischio (to put at risk)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 142) singled out this expression as being, in Italian dubbing, a typical phraseological interference from the English *to put at risk*; *since*, the scholars argue that *mettere a repentaglio* (to jeopardise) is the expression expected to be used in similar communicative contexts.

The lexicographic search (Crusca 1729-1738, vol. I: 260; TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 349) reports the existence of the formula *mettere a rischio* since 1500<sup>205</sup>. The locution has also been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries (Zing. 2008 2008; Treccani, GDI 2013; Devoto-Oli 2009). Thus, the analysis demonstrates that *mettere a rischio* is not an instance of DI; its frequency of occurrence is diachronically investigated over data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to verify whether the repeated use of this formula in Italian AVT products could have caused an increase in its occurrence in real use Italian. The results (tables 128 and 129) show occurrences for *mettere a rischio* and *mettere a repentaglio* (TB 1861-1879, vol. III: 241) reported in below.

DiaCORIS	METTERE A RISCHIO	METTERE A REPENTAGLIO
<b>1861-1900</b>	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)

<sup>205</sup> Bernardo Segni, *Storie fiorentine*, vol. XIV: 369.

<b>1968-2001</b>	13 (0.52 p.p.m.)	10 (0.4 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	20	38
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.8	1.52

Table 128: *Mettere a rischio vs mettere a repentaglio* – DiaCORIS results

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>METTERE A RISCHIO</b>	<b>METTERE A REPENTAGLIO</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	364	309
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.8	2.34

Table 129: *Mettere a rischio vs mettere a repentaglio* – CORIS results

The findings show that, although both expressions were in use before the introduction of dubbing in Italy, over time the frequency of use of *mettere a rischio* has significantly increased. In consideration of the high frequency of occurrence which has been observed in Italian AVT products, the role of dubbing as a diffusing agent cannot be excluded. In the next stage of the method, the diachronic frequency rate of the locution will be analysed in spoken Italian corpora.

## 65. Si rilassi (relax)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 144-145) identify this expression as a phraseological interference of *relax* in Italian dubbing. According to these scholars, in these communicative situations<sup>206</sup>, the traditional Italian equivalent would be *calmarsi* (to calm down) instead.

The lexicographic search reports:

**Rilassare** = Literally To detach, to dissolve strengths, to loosen up | To leave, to release | To relax, referred to a ground, means to grind, to break down | To relax, referred to compassion, discipline, habits, or similar,

<sup>206</sup> To put (a person) at ease; to calm (a person) down, to make (a person) less tense or stressed (OED).

means to become less passionate about, to distance oneself from honesty<sup>207</sup> (Crusca 1729-1738, vol. IV: 168).

**Rilassare** = Literally To detach, To dissolve strengths | To relax, referred to a ground, means to grind, to break down | To relax, referred to compassion, discipline, habits, or similar, means to become less passionate about, to distance oneself from honesty<sup>208</sup> (TB 1861-1879, vol. IV: 253).

**Rilassare** = To loosen up, to stretch, to diminish the tension in something | To relax, to rest body and mind | To relax, to loosen up, to dissolve, to weaken, esp. in moral sense<sup>209</sup> (Garzanti 1965: 1460).

The definitions show that, historically, *rilassare/rilassarsi* did not convey the meaning of “to calm somebody down”. The definition given by Garzanti 1965, however, reports the meaning of “to rest body and mind”, which shows signs of a semantic change. Moreover, the etymological search (DELI) reports:

**Rilassare-rsi** = It has recently taken the meaning of the verb *relax*<sup>210</sup>.

According to the DELI, then, the semantic change is due to the influence of English. These findings are confirmed by the linguist Franco Fochi (1966), who, in his essay titled *Lingua in rivoluzione*, gave a detailed report of the Italian language at the time. In particular, he claimed that the English verb *to relax* had influenced the original Latin meaning of *rilassare* (ibid.: 135-136) in Italian. This statement is especially relevant as it demonstrates how such a use was perceived as innovative at the time.

Contemporary dictionaries report:

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<sup>207</sup> Propriamente Stracciare, Dissolvere le forze, Allentare | Per Lasciare, Rilasciare | Rilassarsi, parlandosi di terreno, vale Stritolarsi, Risolversi | Rilassarsi, parlandosi di pietà, di disciplina, di costumi, o simili, vale Rattiepidarsi nel fervore, discostarsi dall'onestà.

<sup>208</sup> Propriamente Stracciare, Dissolvere le forze | Rilassarsi, parlando di pietà, di disciplina, di costumi, o simili, vale Rattiepidarsi del fervore, discostarsi dall'onestà | Rilassarsi, parlandosi di terreno, vale Stritolarsi, Risolversi.

<sup>209</sup> Allentare, distendere, diminuire la tensione di qualcosa | Rilassarsi, distendersi nel corpo e nello spirito; riposarsi | Rilassarsi, allentarsi, dissolversi, infiacchirsi, spec. in senso morale.

<sup>210</sup> Ha preso da poco il significato del verbo *relax*.

**Rilassare** = To loosen up, to slacken, to reduce physical or psychic tension<sup>211</sup> (Treccani).

**Rilassare** = To stretch nerves, muscles, and similar | To become less tense, to slacken<sup>212</sup> (DISC 2008).

**Rilassare** = To loosen tension up, to reduce tension | To slacken, to let oneself go physically and psychologically<sup>213</sup> (Hoepli 2011).

**Rilassare** = To loosen up, to slacken, to reduce psychic and physical tension<sup>214</sup> (GDI 2013).

**Rilassare** = To loosen up, to slacken, espec. a physical tension | To slacken, to rest<sup>215</sup> (Zing. 2008).

**Rilassare** = To calm down, to reassure, getting the mind ready to meditate, to reflect, or also to rest, finding both physical and psychological relief free from concerns and serious thoughts<sup>216</sup> (GDLI vol. XVI: 357).

The results show that the current meaning of *rilassare/rilassarsi*, especially in the reflexive form of the verb, has replaced the old one, thus mirroring the English use. Such a finding is consistent with Alfieri *et al*'s (op.cit.), who have observed the influence of English particularly in the imperative use of *relax*, when the verb conveys the meaning of *calming someone down*. Investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) allow for these findings to be diachronically verified; tables 130 and 131 below show the results.

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<sup>211</sup> Allentare, distendere, far diminuire la tensione fisica e psichica.

<sup>212</sup> Distendere i nervi, i muscoli e simili | Rilassarsi, Diventare meno teso, distendersi.

<sup>213</sup> Allentare, diminuire uno stato di tensione | Rilassarsi, Distendersi, abbandonarsi fisicamente e psicologicamente.

<sup>214</sup> Allentare, distendere, diminuire la tensione fisica o psichica.

<sup>215</sup> Allentare, distendere, spec. una tensione fisica | Rilassarsi, Distendersi, riposarsi.

<sup>216</sup> Calmarsi, tranquillarsi, predisponendosi a uno stato d'animo di raccoglimento, di riflessione o, anche, di molle abbandono, trovando sollievo sia fisico sia psicologico nella liberazione da preoccupazioni e da pensieri troppo gravi.

DiaCORIS	SI RILASSI	SI CALMI
1861-1900	0	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
TOT.	1	30
p.p.m.	0.04	1.2

Table 130: *Si rilassi vs si calmi* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	SI RILASSI	SI CALMI
1980-2011	137	38
p.p.m.	1.05	0.29

Table 131: *Si rilassi vs si calmi* – CORIS results

The results confirm the findings obtained so far and indicate that the use of *rilassarsi* as ‘to calm someone down’ in the imperative form was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. The data of contemporary Italian, on the contrary, show that such a use is entrenched in the language and that its frequency is higher than its traditional Italian counterpart, *si calmi*. The imperative use of *rilassarsi* when meaning *to calm someone down* will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

#### 66. Non ci posso credere! (I can’t believe it!)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 288) list this expression among typical translation interferences in Italian dubbing and claim that *non riesco a crederci* would be the traditional Italian expression instead. The lexicographic search has yielded occurrences for the collocation *non + potere + credere* (Crusca 1729-1738, vol. II: 186; TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 1811) while no occurrences have been found for the construction *non +*

*riuscire + a + credere*. The same results have been obtained from contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Devoto-Oli 2009; Treccani; Hoepli 2011).

The analysis proves that *non ci posso credere* is not an instance of DI, such that its entrenchment in Italian is not due by dubbing. The frequency of occurrence of this formula is diachronically investigated over data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and CORIS Corpus) to verify whether its repeated occurrence in Italian AVT products could have caused an increase in real use Italian. Tables 132 and 133 below show the results:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>NON CI POSSO CREDERE</b>	<b>NON RIESCO A CREDERCI</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	12	3
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.48	0.12

**Table 132: *Non ci posso credere* vs *non riesco a crederci* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>NON CI POSSO CREDERE</b>	<b>NON RIESCO A CREDERCI</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	287	188
<b>p.p.m.</b>	2.21	1.44

**Table 133: *Non ci posso credere* vs *non riesco a crederci* – CORIS results**

The findings confirm the results of the lexicographic search: *non potere credere* was not only in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, but its frequency has



also been traditionally higher than *non riuscire a credere*. In fact, the results show that, the frequency of occurrence of *non potere credere* in the DiaCORIS is four times higher than that of *non riuscire a credere*, while in the CORIS it is lower than two times. This means that the increase in the use of *non ci posso credere* cannot be isolated and attributed to the influence of dubbing; therefore the expression will not be investigated in the next stage of the analysis.

#### 67. **Come ti suona/come ti sembra che suoni? (how does it sound to you?)**

This expression has been isolated by Alfieri *et al* (2008: 290) as a phraseological interference in Italian dubbing from *how does it sound to you?*. These scholars claim that, in similar communicative contexts<sup>217</sup>, *che ne pensi?* (what do you think?) would be more natural.

The lexicographic search reports:

**Suonare** = Referred to something that is not appreciated, approved. Ex.:

This thing sounds wrong to me<sup>218</sup> (TB 1861-1879 vol. IV: 986).

**Suonare** = To turn out to be, to seem; to give a certain impression, also arousing a given feeling<sup>219</sup> (1262-1347<sup>220</sup>) (GDLI, vol. XIX: 401).

As the definitions above show, the investigated meaning of *suonare* was already in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. Similarly, contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; DISC 2008; Hoepli 2011; Treccani; GDI 2013) report this use of *suonare*. However, no results have been found specifically for the formula *come ti suona?*.

Data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS Corpus and the CORIS Corpus) are searched to diachronically investigate the presence of *come ti suona?* and analyse the findings obtained so far more in depth. Tables 134 and 135 below show the results of queries for *come ti suona* and *che te ne pare?* (what do you think?) the Italian

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<sup>217</sup> To convey a specified impression when heard; (of something or someone that has been described to one) to convey a specified impression (OED).

<sup>218</sup> Di cosa che non piaccia, non sia approvata. *Questa cosa a me suona male*.

<sup>219</sup> Risultare, apparire; dare una certa impressione, anche suscitando un determinato stato d'animo.

<sup>220</sup> Bartolomeo da S. Concordio, *Gli ammaestramenti degli antichi latini e toscani*, vol. IX, cap. III; par. X, V. Nannucci (ed), Firenze, 1840.

expression traditionally expected to be used in analogous communicative situations (TB 1861-1879, vol.III: 768).

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>COME TI SUONA?</b>	<b>CHE TE NE PARE?</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	16 (0.64 p.p.m.)
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	7 (0.28 p.p.m.)
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	9 (0.36 p.p.m.)
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	0	35
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	1.4

**Table 134: *Come ti suona?* vs *che te ne pare?* – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>COME TI SUONA?</b>	<b>CHE TE NE PARE?</b>
<b>1980-2011</b>	1	40
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.007	0.31

**Table 135: *Come ti suona?* vs *che te ne pare?* – CORIS results**

The results show that, although the verb *suonare* historically conveys a meaning which is similar to the English one, the expression *come ti suona?* has not been retrieved in the DiaCORIS, in line with the findings of the lexicographic search. However, one occurrence has been found in the CORIS which suggests that the expression is in use in contemporary Italian. Finally, considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in Italian AVT products and its structure, which resembles the English *how does that sound?*, *come ti suona* may be an instance of DI which has entered real use Italian. The expression will be further investigated in spoken Italian corpora in next chapter investigations.

## 68. Fare la cosa giusta (to do the right thing)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 322, 334) included this locution among the phraseological interference phenomena in Italian dubbing derived from English. In the same communicative situation, they argue, expressions such as *comportarsi bene/agire correttamente* (to behave properly/to act honestly) would seem more natural in Italian.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic search of historical (TB 1861-1879; Crusca 1863-1923; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorni 1950) and contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) did not yield any instances. The expression may be a potential instance of DI; diachronic investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) will allow for the findings obtained so far to be verified. Tables 136 and 137 below show the results for *fare la cosa giusta*, *comportarsi bene* (TB 1861-1879, vol I: 1557) and *fare quello che si deve* (TB, vol. II: 397).

DiaCORIS	FARE LA COSA GIUSTA	COMPORTARSI BENE	FARE QUELLO CHE SI DEVE
1861-1900	0	0	0
1901-1922	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	0
1923-1945	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	4 (0.16 p.p.m.)	0
1968-2001	1	5 (0.2 p.p.m.)	0
TOT.	1	13	1
p.p.m.	0.04	0.52	0.04

Table 136: *Fare la cosa giusta vs comportarsi bene/fare quello che si deve* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	FARE LA COSA GIUSTA	COMPORTARSI BENE	FARE QUELLO CHE SI DEVE
1980-2011	142	133	15

p.p.m.	1.09	1.02	0.11
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Table 137: *Fare la cosa giusta vs comportarsi bene/fare quello che si deve* – CORIS results

The results indicate that *fare la cosa giusta* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing; the expression, however, is in use in present-day Italian. Considering the repeated occurrence of this expression which has been observed in Italian AVT products, the analysis overall suggests that *fare la cosa giusta* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in contemporary Italian. Its presence and frequency of use will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

#### 5.4.2 Sayings

Moon (1998: 22) adopts the term ‘saying’ to refer to formulae which are well-known but which are often unattributed. The expressions belonging to this sub-category are: *incrociamo le dita* (fingers crossed), *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* (a penny for your thoughts), *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* (to be in the right place at the right time), *la domanda da un milione di dollari* (the million dollar question).

#### 69. Incrociamo le dita! (let’s keep our fingers crossed!)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 127) consider this expression as a phraseological interference in Italian dubbing from (*let’s keep our*) *fingers crossed!*. The traditional formula used in similar communicative contexts, they argue, would be *speriamo bene!* (let’s hope for the best!) instead. The reasons for such a translational choice may be rooted in the kinesic synchrony constraints (see § 2.3).

The OED defines this locution as it follows:

**To cross one's fingers (or keep one's fingers crossed)** = To put one finger across another as a sign of hoping for good luck.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches of old dictionaries (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) did not produce any instances of the expression; at the same time, however, no instances have been found of *speriamo bene*. Finally, among contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013), the DISC 2008 reports:

**Incrociare le dita** = To put the middle finger across the index, as a hope for good luck<sup>221</sup>.

**Speriamo in bene!** = Exclamation used as a hope for positive outcomes<sup>222</sup>.

Thus, although no occurrences have been retrieved in old Italian dictionaries, both the expressions are ascertained in present-day Italian; diachronic investigations of real use data (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) will allow for assessing real use frequency of the two formulae over time. Tables 138 and 139 below show the results:

DiaCORIS	INCROCIAMO LE DITA	SPERIAMO BENE!
1861-1900	0	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
1901-1922	0	6 (0.24 p.p.m.)
1923-1945	0	2 (0.08 p.p.m.)
1946-1967	0	3 (0.12 p.p.m.)
1968-2001	1	1 (0.04 p.p.m.)
<b>TOT.</b>	1	13
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.04	0.52

**Table 138: *Incrociamo le dita vs speriamo bene* – DiaCORIS results**

CORIS	INCROCIAMO LE DITA	SPERIAMO BENE
1980-2011	80	47
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.61	0.36

**Table 139: *Incrociamo le dita vs speriamo bene* – CORIS results**

<sup>221</sup> Sovrapporre il medio all'indice, come buon auspicio.

<sup>222</sup> Esclamazione che auspica esiti favorevoli.

The findings show that *speriamo bene* was in use in stages of Italian prior to the introduction of dubbing, while *incrociamo le dita* has started to be used only after the introduction of dubbing. Furthermore, in present-day Italian, *incrociamo le dita* is even more used than the traditional Italian counterpart, *speriamo bene*. Because it is an expression which describes a gesture, it seems reasonable to conclude that *incrociare le dita* is an instance of DI (cfr. § 5.2.1.3 point 8, the case of *dammi/batti il cinque*). The presence and frequency of occurrence of this expression will be then investigated in spoken Italian corpora.

#### 70. Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri (a little coin for your thoughts)

Alfieri *et al* (2003: 127) identified this expression as a phraseological interference in Italian dubbing from *a penny for your thoughts*. The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches did not yield any instances neither in old (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) nor in contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013).

The absence of findings suggests that the expression may be an instance of DI; the frequency of occurrence of *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* is investigated in contrast with *dimmi che pensi*, its Italian counterpart which would be expected to be used in similar communicative situations. Tables 140 and 141 below show the results.

DiaCORIS	UN SOLDINO PER I TUOI PENSIERI	DIMMI CHE PENSI
1861-1900	0	1
1901-1922	0	1
1923-1945	0	0
1946-1967	0	0
1968-2001	0	0
TOT.	0	2
p.p.m.	0	0.08

Table 140: *Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* vs *dimmi che pensi* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	UN SOLDINO PER I TUOI PENSIERI	DIMMI CHE PENSI
1980-2011	2	6
p.p.m.	0.01	0.04

Table 141: *Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri vs dimmi che pensi* – CORIS results

The results show that the expression was not in use in Italian before dubbing was introduced; however, occurrences have been found in the corpus of contemporary Italian, thus evidencing that the expression has entered real use Italian after dubbing was introduced. Considering its frequency of occurrence which has been observed in Italian AVT products, *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* is a likely instance of DI which has entered the language. The frequency of this expression will be analysed in next chapter investigations of spoken Italian corpora.

#### 71. Essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto (to be in the right place at the right moment)

The locution has been singled out by Alfieri *et al* (2003: 127) who define it as a phraseological interference of *to be in the right place at the right moment*; the ‘genuine’ Italian counterpart would be *cadere a fagiolo*<sup>223</sup> (to fall like a bean).

The expressions were not found in dictionaries of old Italian (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965); however, Panzini 1905 (585) reports:

**The right man in the right place** = English saying referred to different contexts which means *A man qualified for a certain job should occupy a suitable place*<sup>224</sup>

The above definition clearly identifies the origin of the expression as English; however, because of its similarity with the expression under analysis, this finding would suggest that *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* is not an instance of DI either. The search of contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; GDLI; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) did not produce any

<sup>223</sup> To arrive at the right moment (Zing.2008).

<sup>224</sup> Motto inglese variamente attribuito, e vuol dire *Un uomo capace di un dato lavoro deve stare nel posto che gli compete.*

result for *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* while *cadere a fagiolo* is reported.

The results of the analysis carried out so far suggest that *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* is not an instance of DI. At the same, *cadere a fagiolo* cannot be considered as the traditional expression, for it was not found in old dictionaries. Diachronic investigations of real use data (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) will allow for assessing real use frequency of the two formulae over time so as to verify the findings obtained so far. The results are shown in tables 142 and 143.

DiaCORIS	ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO AL MOMENTO GIUSTO		CADERE A FAGIOLO
	1861-1900	0	
1901-1922	0	0	
1923-1945	0	0	
1946-1967	1	0	
1968-2001	1	0	
TOT.	2	0	
p.p.m.	0.08	0	

Table 142: *Essere nel posto giusto vs cadere a fagiolo* – DiaCORIS results

CORIS	ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO AL MOMENTO GIUSTO		CADERE A FAGIOLO
	1980-2011	30	
p.p.m.	0.23	0.06	

Table 143: *Essere nel posto giusto vs cadere a fagiolo* – CORIS results

The results show that, although *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* is not reported by contemporary dictionaries and no occurrences were found in the corpus of old Italian, the expression is in use in present-day Italian. The repeated frequency of the expression observed in Italian AVT products may have triggered its diffusion in real use Italian. It is also interesting to notice that *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* showed a higher frequency of occurrence in the corpus of



contemporary Italian than *cadere a fagiolo*, which is reported by contemporary dictionaries. The expression will then be searched in spoken Italian corpora in the next chapter.

## 72. La domanda da un milione di dollari (the million dollar question)

Alfieri *et al* (2008: 336) identified this expression as being a phraseological interference of *the million dollar question* in Italian dubbing whereas a formula such as *una domanda cruciale*<sup>225</sup> (a crucial question) would be expected to be used in similar communicative contexts<sup>226</sup> instead. The expression has not been found neither in old Italian (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Panzini 1905; Migliorini 1950) nor in contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; GDLI; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) thus qualifying it as a potential instance of DI.

Diachronic quantitative investigations of data of real use Italian (DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus) are carried out to validate the findings obtained so far. The results are shown in tables 144 and 145 below:

<b>DiaCORIS</b>	<b>LA DOMANDA DA UN MILIONE DI DOLLARI</b>	<b>UNA DOMANDA CRUCIALE</b>
<b>1861-1900</b>	0	0
<b>1901-1922</b>	0	0
<b>1923-1945</b>	0	0
<b>1946-1967</b>	0	0
<b>1968-2001</b>	0	1
<b>TOT.</b>	0	1
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0	0.04

**Table 144: La domanda da un milione di dollari vs una domanda cruciale – DiaCORIS results**

<b>CORIS</b>	<b>LA DOMANDA DA UN MILIONE DI DOLLARI</b>	<b>UNA DOMANDA CRUCIALE</b>
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<sup>225</sup> The first appearance of the adjective *cruciale* in Italian is recorded by the DELI in 1919.

<sup>226</sup> A crucial or essential question (OED).

<b>1980-2011</b>	2	18
<b>p.p.m.</b>	0.01	0.14

**Table 145: *La domanda da un milione di dollari vs una domanda cruciale* – CORIS results**

The results show that the formula *la domanda da un milione di dollari* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing and that, though with a very low frequency, it is in use in contemporary Italian. Considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in Italian AVT products, the analysis overall indicates that this expression may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in real use Italian. The presence and frequency of occurrence of this formula will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next stage of the method.

### 5.4.3 Similes

The term ‘similes’ is adopted here as employed by Moon (1998: 22) (*cf.* § 4.43). Following the qualitative analysis carried out in chapter 4, the investigated expression that belongs to this sub-category is *è come andare in bicicletta* (it’s like riding a bike).

#### 73. È come andare in bicicletta (it’s like riding a bike)

This expression has been included by Alfieri *et al* (2008: 288) in their list of phraseological interferences typical of Italian dubbing. According to these scholars, the ‘genuine’ Italian counterpart would be *è come bere un bicchier d’acqua* (it’s like drinking a glass of water) (TB 1861-1879, vol. I: 134)<sup>227</sup>.

The etymological (DELI) and lexicographic searches in old (Crusca 1863-1923; TB 1861-1879; Garzanti 1965; GDLI) and contemporary dictionaries (Treccani; DM 2000; DISC 2008; Zing. 2008; GDLI; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013) did not yield any instances for *è come andare in bicicletta*. At the same time, the phrase *it’s like riding a bike* was not found in the OED; this does not allow for the original communicative situation to be analysed and suggests that the English language may not be the source of *è come andare in bicicletta*. Because this information is missing, the context of occurrence within language corpora cannot be analysed and compared with the original, thus preventing the quantitative

<sup>227</sup> To indicate that something can be done with extreme ease.

investigations from being carried out. Thus, the expression is excluded from the next stage.

## 5.5 Conclusions

The in-depth investigations carried out in this chapter have been of crucial importance for the application of the evidence-based approach upon which the method is built. The linguistic expressions, which previous authors have singled out as instances of AVT interference, have been examined across a range of verifiable data (one grammar, two etymological dictionaries, six historical dictionaries, ten contemporary dictionaries, and two corpora of written Italian) to seek proof that could support or discard them as the result of dubbing influence.

Such investigations have provided evidence that, out of 73 expressions, 48 are potential instances of DI which are entrenched in present-day written Italian. As for the remaining 25 expressions which were found in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, three have shown an increase in their use in written Italian after dubbing. Hence, overall, the results indicate that, because all the linguistic expressions have been found in Italian dubbed products, dubbing may have been responsible for the introduction and/or diffusion of 51 present-day Italian linguistic expressions.

The analysis carried out in this chapter has shown the importance of using corpora to obtain a more realistic picture of the language so as to confirm previous findings and/or intuitions. Specifically, it was shown that 25 expressions did not originate in dubbing - as claimed in previous studies - and that the frequency of occurrence of 22 expressions, which according to previous studies had increased because of dubbing, had not substantially changed overtime, or had in fact even decreased. Moreover, by providing data of real use, the corpora searches proved decisive in those cases when the lexicographic search had not been conclusive.

The following table shows the 51 potential instances of DI which will be investigated in spoken Italian corpora in the next chapter. The table follows the categorisation derived from the qualitative analysis in PMs, FL, and FEs.

<b>PMS</b>	<b>FL</b>	<b>FES</b>
SI? (CONATIVE)	FRATELLO	NON C'È PROBLEMA
PUOI SCOMMETTERCI	VOSTRO ONORE	NIENTE DI PERSONALE
ESATTO	OBIEZIONE ACCOLTA/RESPINTA	QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?
DAMMI/BATTI IL CINQUE	È BELLO VEDERTI	AVERE UNA POSSIBILITÀ
SI? (PHATIC)	BUONA GIORNATA	POSSO CHIAMARLA + NOME PROPRIO?
PUOI SENTIRMI?	ABBI CURA DI TE	FARE LA DIFFERENZA
GIUSTO?	PER FAVORE	FARE SECCO QUALCUNO
GRANDE!	POSSO AIUTARLA?	ESSERE FORTE
STAI SCHERZANDO?	GRAZIE PER	BERSI IL CERVELLO
DANNAZIONE!		METTERE A RISCHIO
FOTTUTO		SI RILASSI
BASTARDO		COME TI SUONA?
QUESTA È SPAZZATURA		FARE LA COSA GIUSTA
DEVO ANDARE		INCROCIARE LE DITA
SCORDATELO!		UN SOLDINO PER I TUOI PENSIERI
FINE DELLA STORIA		ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO...
DACCI UN TAGLIO		LA DOMANDA DA UN MILIONE DI DOLLARI
STANNE FUORI		
CHIUDI IL BECCO!		
SPARA!		
FRENA!		
ASPETTA UN MINUTO/SECONDO		

EHI
Wow
OPS

**Table 146: List of potential instances of DI in use in present-day Italian**

## 5.6 Summary

In this chapter, the second and third stage of the empirical method have been completed. Grammars and dictionaries have been used to conduct the etymological and lexicographic investigations, while the corpora of written Italian have been employed to analyse the frequency of a construct or word. Altogether, these resources have allowed for a more rigorous approach to the study of translation interference and language change through dubbing so as to provide evidence that dubbing may have been not only the source for new expressions, but also the main channel through which some linguistic features have been increasingly diffused in the Italian language.

In the next chapter, the last stage of the method will be completed by diachronically investigating in spoken Italian corpora the 51 linguistic expressions shortlisted as potential instances of DI. The evidence-based approach adopted in this thesis culminates in this final stage where the hypothesis of the impact of dubbing on the end user's language is finally tested across four corpora of spoken Italian.

### 6.1 Introduction

A general issue which arose from the review of existing relevant research is the lack of an analytical approach which would validate the influence of dubbing in spoken Italian by empirically establishing the role played by TV and cinema in spoken language change. The adoption in this thesis of an evidence-based perspective is therefore also reflected in the strategy employed in this chapter. To validate the claims on the entrenchment of the instances of DI into spoken Italian, diachronic quantitative investigations are run across four corpora of spoken Italian<sup>228</sup>.

The investigations carried out in chapter 5 reduced from 73 to 51 the number of linguistic expressions which can be confidently claimed to be likely instances of DI. Here, these expressions will be further investigated in corpora of spoken Italian (Stammerjohann, LIP, C-ORAL-ROM, CLIPS) such that a direct link between AVT and spoken language change can be empirically established. The results of such investigations are presented in tables and figures (§ 6.2) which show the number of occurrences in each corpus (raw frequency) and the corresponding proportions in parts per million (p.p.m.) so as to allow direct comparisons between the different corpus data.

In § 5.1, it was clarified that, whenever no occurrences for the instance of DI had been found or ‘more Italian’ alternatives have been given by previous authors, alternative expressions have been used to carry out contrastive quantitative analyses. This was done to exclude the possibility that the alleged instance of DI may not be found because the communicative situation is not represented in the corpora, but also to verify claims made by previous authors on the alleged more naturalness (i.e., higher frequency of use) of their own alternative. If none of the two cases occurred during the analysis carried out in § 5, alternative expressions may be suggested here using the same method explained in § 5.1<sup>229</sup>. If the communicative situation will be

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<sup>228</sup> See § 3.5 for a full description of the corpora.

<sup>229</sup> An analysis is performed of the communicative situation in which the supposed instances of interference are expected to be used. Once a plausible alternative is found, lexicographic investigations are carried out to validate the author’s hypothesis.

found to be represented in the corpora, this will strengthen the hypothesis that the instance of DI in use is spoken Italian.

The results are elaborated and discussed in § 6.3, and a conclusive overview is also given, while § 6.4 recapitulates the main points of the chapter and introduces the final chapter, which draws general conclusions and concludes the thesis.

## **6.2 The spoken corpora results**

The analysis conducted in chapter 5 indicates that dubbing may be accountable for the introduction and/or diffusion of 51 present-day Italian linguistic expressions. The fourth and final stage of the method advanced in this thesis consists in investigating the presence and frequency of occurrence of these instances of DI across data of real use spoken Italian, so as to empirically verify their entrenchment in the oral language. Based on the list obtained in chapter 5 (see table 146), the spoken corpora investigations follow the order of the categorisation produced in chapter 4 which divides the linguistic expressions in Pragmatic Markers, Formulaic Language, and Fixed Expressions.

### **6.2.1 Pragmatic Markers (PMs)**

The etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative investigations carried out in chapter 5 provided evidence of DI for 25 linguistic expressions previously categorised as PMs. They include:

- Back-channel signals: *si?* (conative function);
- Agreement markers: *puoi scommetterci, esatto, dammi/batti il cinque*;
- Checking-understanding markers: *si?* (phatic function), *puoi sentirmi?, giusto?*;
- Response/reaction markers: *grande!, stai scherzando?, dannazione!, fottuto, bastardo, questa è spazzatura*;
- Attention-getters: *devo andare, scordatelo!, fine della storia, dacci un taglio, stanne fuori, chiudi il becco, spara!, frena!, aspetta un minuto/secondo, ehi, wow, ops*.

### 1. Si? (conative function)

The analysis carried out in the previous chapter showed that, while older dictionaries did not specifically mention that *si?* could also perform a conative function, this specific use was retrieved in all contemporary dictionaries instead, confirming that it is entrenched in present-day Italian. Also, the results of the quantitative analyses showed a substantial increase over time in the use of *si?* as a back-channel signal, to the detriment of *dimmi/dica*, the traditional device used to fulfil this communicative function.

Hence, on the whole, the analysis qualified *si?* as a likely instance of DI; to verify if the conative use of *si?* is entrenched at the spoken level as well, four spoken Italian corpora are queried in contrast with *dimmi/dica*. Tables 147 and 148 and figure 1 show the results.

<b>Si?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	3	29.96
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	39	79.72
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	11	35.30
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	21	38.73

**Table 147: Si? – Spoken Corpora results**



DIMMI/DICA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	10	99.87
LIP (1990-1992)	71	145.14
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	13	41.72
CLIPS (1999- 2004)	29	53.48

Table 148: Dimmi/dica - Spoken Corpora results

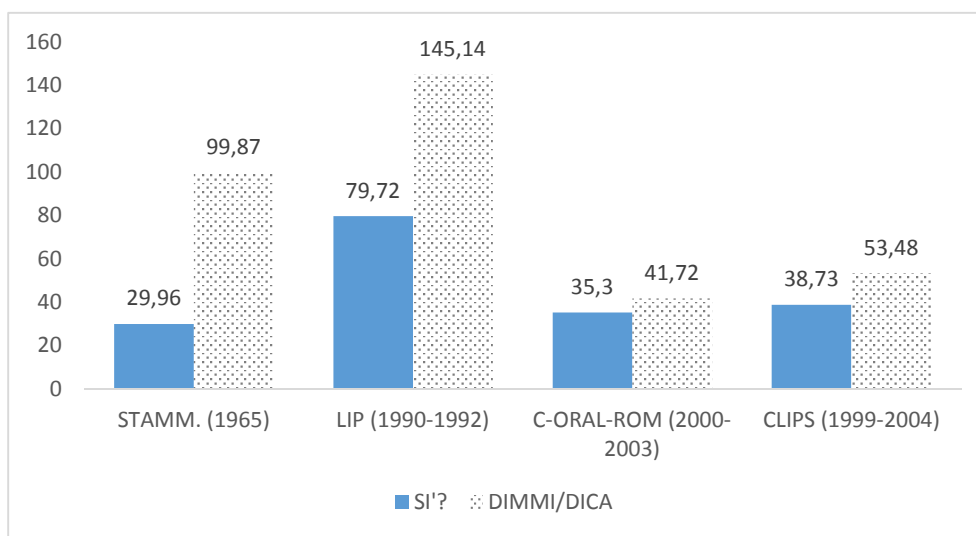


Figure 1: *Si?* vs *dimmi/dica* – Spoken corpora results

The results show that in the oldest corpus of Italian (Stammerjohann) the occurrence of *dimmi/dica* is considerably higher than the occurrence of *si?* (ratio 3: 10). In the LIP the ratio of *si?* and *dimmi/dica* is 39: 71, while in the C-ORAL-ROM is 11: 13 and finally in the CLIPS is 21: 29. This means that over time, the more the use of *si?* in spoken Italian has increased, the more the use of *dimmi/dica* has decreased.

The findings confirm that *si?* used as a conative device is a likely instance of DI which has entered spoken Italian.

## 2. Puoi scommetterci

The lexicographic investigations carried out in § 5.2.1.3 point 6 did not yield any result for the use of *puoi scommetterci* as an agreement marker. The expression was found, however, in the corpus of contemporary written Italian – the CORIS – showing that the expression is in use in present-day Italian. On the whole, the analysis

indicates that *puoi scommetterci* may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian.

To verify whether this expression is in use in spoken Italian as well, queries are launched in four corpora of spoken Italian for *puoi scommetterci* in contrast with the traditional Italian expressions *puoi giurarci* and *senza dubbio*. Tables 149, 150 and 151 show the results.

<b>PUOI SCOMMETTERCI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 149: Puoi scommetterci – Spoken corpora results**

<b>PUOI GIURARCI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 150: Puoi giurarci - Spoken corpora results**

<b>SENZA DUBBIO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 151: Senza dubbio - Spoken corpora results**

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian for *puoi scommetterci*, *puoi giurarci* or *senza dubbio*. This means that the situation in which the linguistic expression is expected to be used is not represented in the corpora; therefore, the final results are not conclusive (i.e., the instance of DI may be entrenched in spoken Italian even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it). At this stage, the method only provides evidence that *puoi scommetterci* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

### 3. Esatto

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.3 point 7 showed that *esatto* did not perform the function of agreement marker before the introduction of dubbing. *Esatto* was nonetheless found in more modern stages of written Italian and in contemporary dictionaries. Moreover, the diachronic quantitative investigations proved that its frequency has constantly increased over time, to the point that in the CORIS – the corpus of contemporary written Italian – the overall frequency of *esatto* as an agreement marker is almost seven times higher than in the DiaCORIS.

Hence, on the whole, the analysis qualified *esatto* as a likely instance of DI; to verify if it is entrenched at the spoken level as well, four spoken Italian corpora are queried in contrast with *giusto* (right). Tables 152 and 153 and figure 2 below show the results.

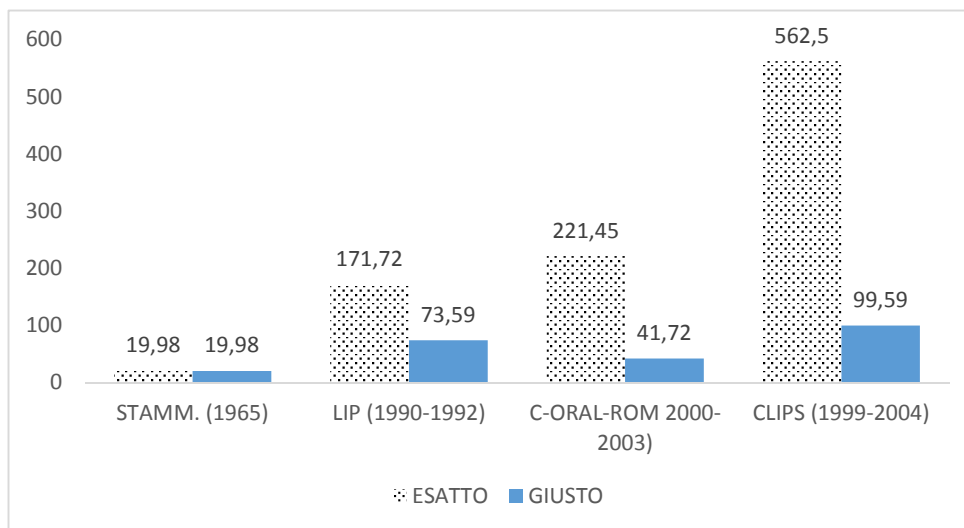
ESATTO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	2	19.98
LIP (1990-1992)	84	171.72
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	69	221.45
CLIPS (1999-2004)	305	562.50

Table 152: *Esatto* – Spoken corpora results

GIUSTO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	2	19.98
LIP (1990-1992)	36	73.59

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	13	41.72
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	54	99.59

**Table 153: Giusto - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 2: Esatto vs giusto – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings of the lexicographic and quantitative investigations: *esatto* as an agreement marker is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in the Italian language, both written and spoken.

#### **4. Dammi/batti il cinque**

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.3, point 8 showed that this expression was not in use in stages of the Italian language prior to dubbing, while today it is part of the language in use. *Dammi/batti il cinque* was indeed retrieved only in contemporary Italian dictionaries and in the modern corpus of written Italian. Hence, on the whole, the analysis indicated that *dammi/batti il cinque* is a likely instance of DI which is in use in present-day Italian; to verify if it is entrenched specifically at the spoken level as well, four spoken Italian corpora are queried for *dammi/batti il cinque* in contrast with *qua la mano* (give me your hand) (cfr. § 5.2.1.3, point 8). Tables 154 and 155 show the results.

<b>DAMMI/BATTI IL CINQUE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 154: Dammi/batti il cinque – Spoken corpora results**

<b>QUA LA MANO!</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 155: Qua la mano! - Spoken corpora results**

No occurrences have been found for the two analysed expressions; this means that the situation in which the linguistic expression is expected to be used (e.g., informal congratulations) is not represented in the corpora. Thus, the final results are not conclusive (i.e., the expression may be entrenched in spoken Italian - as reported by contemporary dictionaries - even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it). At this stage, however, the method provides evidence that *dammi/batti il cinque* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## **5. Sì? (phatic function)**

The lexicographic search carried out in the previous chapter (§ 5.2.1.4, point 9) documented the phatic use of *sì?* in Italian starting from 1964; the diachronic quantitative investigations confirmed this finding, thus suggesting that the investigated use is a potential instance of DI. The frequency of occurrence of the phatic use of *sì* is now investigated across four corpora of spoken Italian in contrast with the traditional *pronto?*; tables 156 and 157 and figure 3 below show the results.

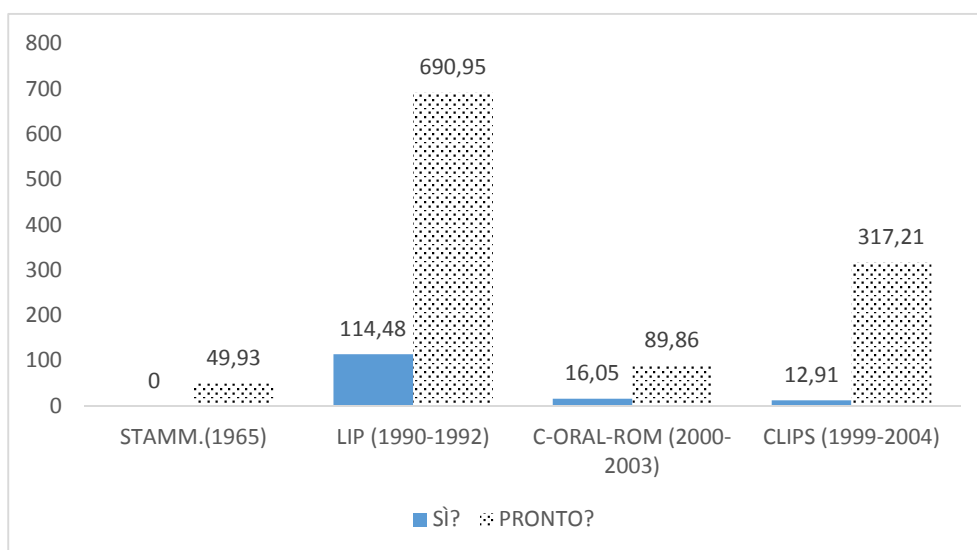
<b>SÌ?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	56	114.48

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	5	16.05
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	7	12.91

**Table 156: Sì (phatic use) – Spoken corpora results**

<b>PRONTO?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	5	49.93
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	338	690.95
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	28	89.86
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	172	317.21

**Table 157: Pronto? – Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 3: Sì? vs pronto? – Spoken corpora results**

As the tables and the graph show, *pronto?* is still the most used formula when answering the phone; at the same time, however, *sì?* is also present in the spoken corpora. This finding confirms that in spoken Italian *sì?* is used and it performs the phatic function once fulfilled only by *pronto?*. Therefore, the analysis overall indicates that *sì?* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

## 6. Puoi sentirmi?

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.4 point 10 showed that *puoi sentirmi?* is a likely instance of DI; the grammatical investigation established that in Italian, when *potere*

(can) expresses ability and is linked to a verb of perception, it is not typically translated. However, the expression *puoi sentirmi?* was retrieved in the CORIS Corpus.

To investigate the presence of the expression at the spoken level of the language, four corpora of spoken Italian are queried for *puoi sentirmi?* in contrast with *mi senti?*; the results are shown in tables 158 and 159 and in figure 4 below.

PUOI SENTIRMI?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M. in
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 158: *Puoi sentirmi?* – Spoken corpora results

MI SENTI?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	5	10.22
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	1	1.84

Table 159: *Mi senti?* - Spoken corpora results

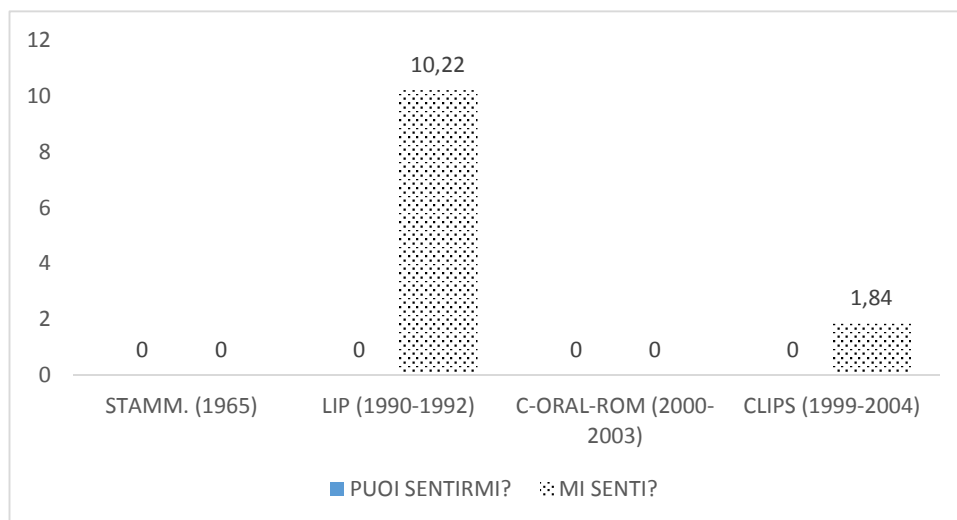


Figure 4: *Puoi sentirmi?* vs *mi senti?* - Spoken corpora results

No occurrences have been found for *puoi sentirmi?* while *mi senti?* has been found in the LIP and in the CLIPS. It is concluded that the expression may be an instance of DI which is not in use in spoken Italian (or the expression may be entrenched in spoken Italian but the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it).

## 7. Giusto?

In § 5.1.1.4 point 11, the analysis showed that the use of *giusto?* as a checking understanding/verifying agreement marker was not employed in Italian before the introduction of dubbing. Although contemporary dictionaries do not report such a use either, the corpus of modern written Italian reported a high frequency of the expression as fulfilling this function. These investigations indicate that *giusto?* is a likely instance of DI.

To investigate the presence and use of *giusto?* at the spoken level, four corpora of spoken Italian are queried also for the traditional device (*non è vero?*); the results are shown in tables 160 and 161 and in figure 5 below.

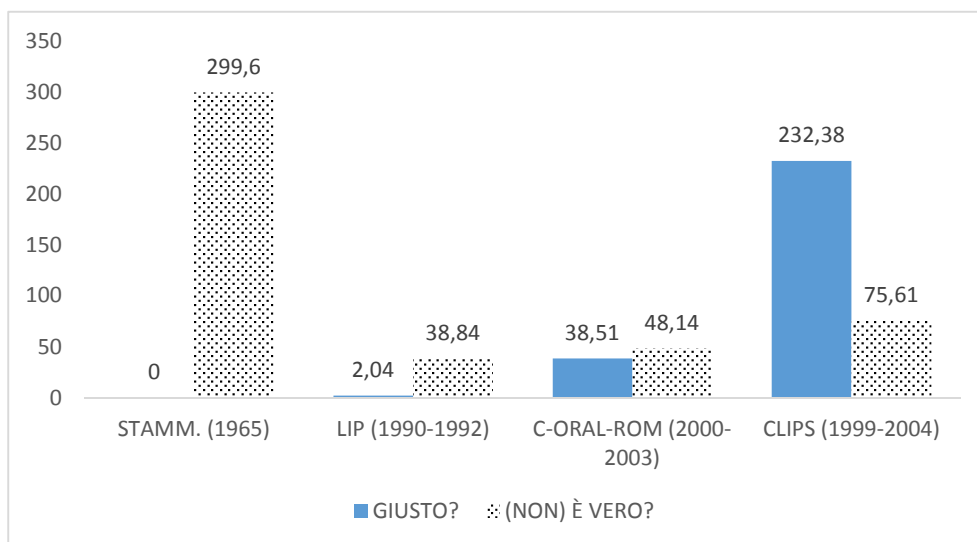
GIUSTO?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	12	38.51
CLIPS (1999-2004)	126	232.38

Table 160: Giusto? – Spoken corpora results

(NON) È VERO?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	30	299.60
LIP (1990-1992)	19	38.84
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	15	48.14
CLIPS (1999-2004)	41	75.61

Table 161: (non) è vero? - Spoken corpora results





**Figure 5: *(non) è vero?* vs *giusto?* - Spoken corpora results**

The results mirror the findings in the written corpora: the expression appears to have entered the language after dubbing and then spread more and more widely. On the whole, the method has established that *giusto?*, as a likely instance of DI, is in use in contemporary spoken Italian.

## 8. Grande!

The use of *grande!* as a response/reaction marker is not documented in stages of Italian prior to dubbing (see the lexicographic analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.5 point 12); such a use was, however, retrieved in the Zing. 2008. The diachronic quantitative investigations carried out across data of real use Italian confirmed these results and qualify *grande!* as a likely instance of DI.

Tables 162 and 163 and figure 6 show the results of the queries for launched for *grande!* in contrast with *benissimo!* across four spoken Italian corpora to verify if such a use is present in spontaneous Italian as well.

GRANDE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	4	12.84
CLIPS (1999-2004)	9	16.60

**Table 162: Grande! – Spoken corpora results**

BENISSIMO!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	4	39.95
LIP (1990-1992)	70	143.09
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	13	41.72
CLIPS (1999-2004)	23	42.41

Table 163: Benissimo – Spoken corpora results

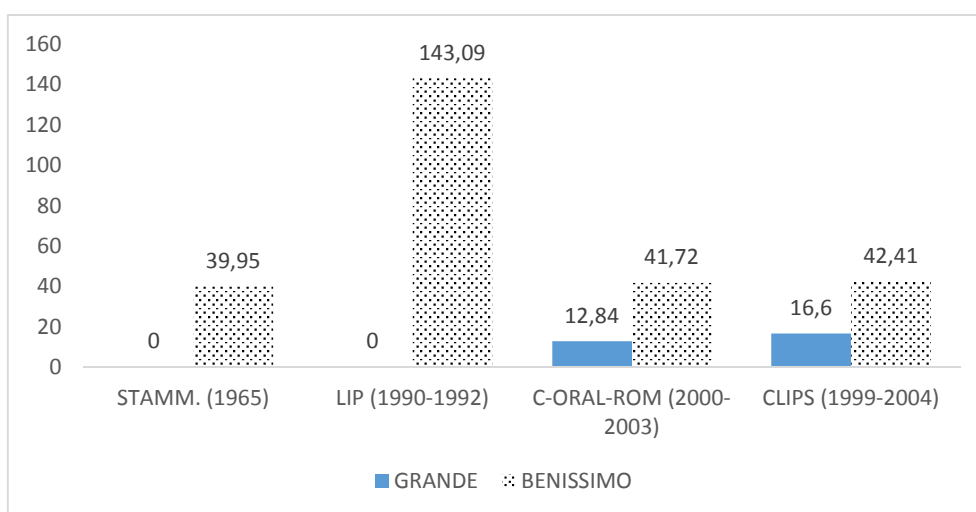


Figure 6: Grande vs benissimo – Spoken corpora results

The results confirm the findings obtained so far and indicate that *grande!* used as a response/reaction marker has entered spoken Italian in modern times. Also, similarly to the occurrences found in the CORIS, the contexts in which *grande!* has been retrieved do not exclusively refer to a person, but the expression is also used as a positive comment to what has been previously said. Although this function as a general agreement device has not been found in contemporary dictionaries, it is indeed in use in both written and spoken Italian.

On the whole, the method has established that *grande!* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

## 9. Stai scherzando?

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.5 point 13 across data of real use Italian highlighted that the use of the progressive form has remarkably increased over the past 30 years. The tendency of using the progressive form over the simple present construction is

so diffused that the structure of expressions traditionally used in the simple form, such as *scherzi?*, has generated a variant in the progressive form, i.e. *stai scherzando?*.

Table 164 shows the frequency of use of progressive constructions in spoken Italian over time.

<b>STARE + GERUND</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	33	329.56
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	657	1343.07
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	252	808.77
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	527	971.93

**Table 164: Frequency of use of the progressive form – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and show a considerable increase in the use of the progressive form in spoken Italian since 1965. Tables 165 and 166 and figure 7 show the results of queries launched for *scherzi?*, the expression traditionally used in the simple present form, in contrast with *stai scherzando?* across four corpora of spoken Italian.

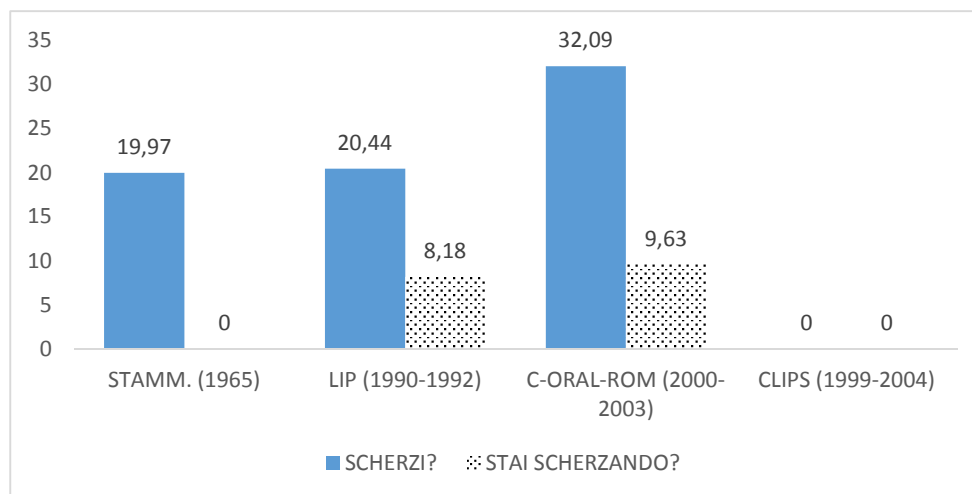
<b>SCHERZI?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	2	19.97
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	10	20.44
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	10	32.09
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 165: Scherzi? – Spoken corpora results**

<b>STAI SCHERZANDO?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	4	8.18

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	3	9.63
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 166: Stai scherzando? – Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 7: Scherzi? vs stai scherzando? – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far: *stai scherzando?* is in use in spoken Italian alongside the traditional *scherzi?*. Thus, the method overall has established that *stai scherzando?* is a likely instance of DI which has entered the spoken level of the Italian language.

## 10. Dannazione!

The lexicographic search carried out in § 5.1.1.5 point 14 has shown that in the past the meaning/use brought by the imprecation *damn!* in Italian was performed by the word *maledizione!*. The word *dannazione*, on the contrary, historically meant “infernal punishment” or “torment, pain” (DELI: 430). No use as an interjection/imprecation has been retrieved prior to 1965 when, in Garzanti 1965 (491: 990) it is defined as a synonym of *maledizione* in its meaning and use. In present-day Italian, the two words are described as synonyms by contemporary dictionaries.

These findings have been confirmed by the diachronic quantitative investigations conducted across data of real use Italian where no occurrences for *dannazione!* used as an imprecation have been found before the introduction of dubbing. Tables 167 and 168 and figure 8 show the results of the queries launched

across four corpora of spoken Italian to verify whether *dannazione!* as an imprecation is in use in spoken Italian as well.

MALEDIZIONE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 167: Maledizione! – Spoken corpora results

DANNAZIONE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	3	5.53

Table 168: Dannazione! - Spoken corpora results

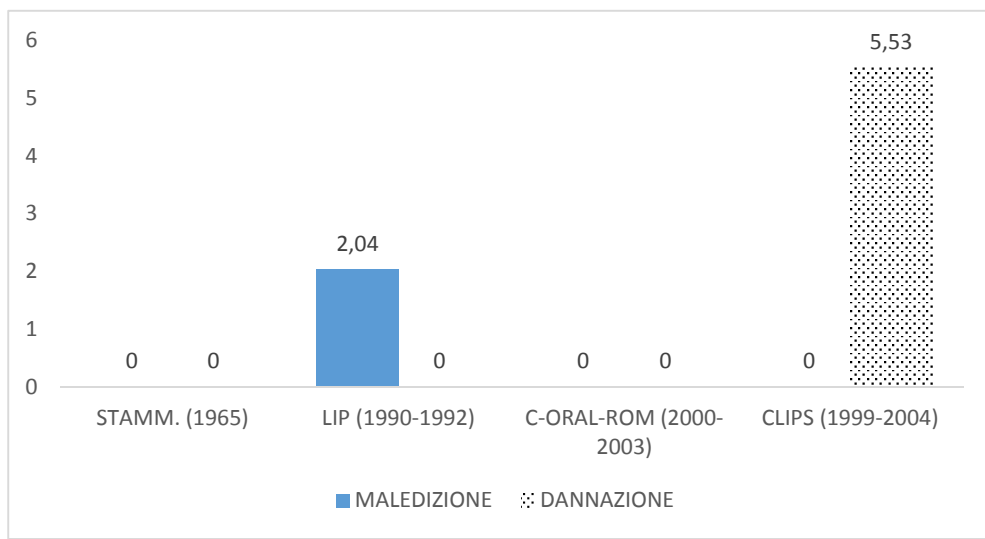


Figure 8: Maledizione! vs dannazione! – Spoken corpora results

The table and the graph show that *dannazione!* is used as an imprecation also in spoken Italian. The results in the spoken Italian corpora are consistent with the ones

obtained in previous stages of the analysis. The method overall indicates that *dannazione!* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

## 11. Fottuto/fottiti

The lexicographic analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.5 point 15 showed that, although the word *fottere* has always belonged to the vulgar level of the language, only the use of the expression *va' a farti fottere* as an insult is documented prior to the coming of dubbing. At the same time, while the analysis indicates that *fottiti* and *fottuto* are plausible instances of DI in use in present-day Italian, the increase in the frequency of occurrence of *va' a farti fottere* may be due to dubbing.

Tables 169, 170, 171 and 172 and figure 9 show the results in four corpora of spoken Italian of the queries launched to verify whether the expressions under study are in use in spoken Italian as well (in contrast with *vaffanculo*<sup>230</sup>).

<b>FOTTITI!</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 169: Fottiti! – Spoken corpora results**

<b>FOTTUTO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 170: Fottuto – Spoken corpora results**

<sup>230</sup> Synonym of *fottiti* and *va' a farti fottere* (Devoto-Oli 2009).

VA' A FARTI FOTTERE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 171: Va' a farti fottere – Spoken corpora results

VAFFANCULO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	5	10.22
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	3	9.63
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 172: Vaffanculo – Spoken corpora results

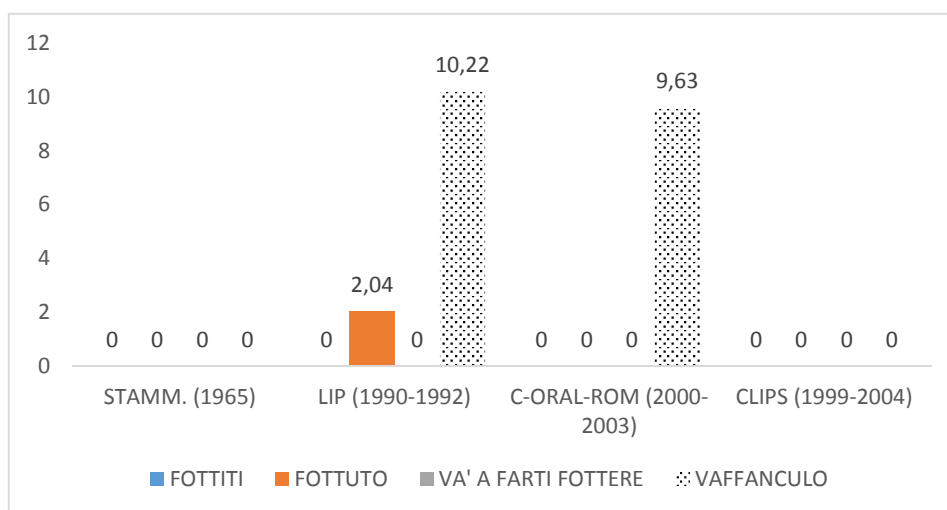


Figure 9: Fottiti/fottuto/va' a farti fottere/vaffanculo – Spoken corpora results

The tables and the graph show that *fottuto* is used in spoken Italian while no occurrences have been found for the other two analysed expressions. At the same time, occurrences have been found for *vaffanculo* which indicates that when the situation in which the linguistic expression is expected to be used (e.g., insult) occurs,

*vaffanculo* is preferred over *fottiti* and *va' a farti fottere*. Thus, the method overall indicates that *fottuto* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

## 12. Bastardo

The results of the lexicographic search carried out in § 5.2.1.5 point 16 showed that the meaning/use of the word *bastardo* as an insult in Italian over time has passed from being a reference to someone whose parents were not married to a general derogatory term. The analysis has also shown that this change happened before 1965, when Garzanti 1965 (203) specifically mentions the use of *bastardo* as a general form of insult. Finally, contemporary dictionaries report the investigated use of *bastardo* in present-day Italian.

The analysis indicates that *bastardo* is a likely instance of DI; data of real use spoken Italian are used in the final stage of the method to verify its entrenchment at the oral level. Table 173 and figure 10 show the results.

BASTARDO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	2	4.09
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	1	3.21

Table 173: Bastardo! – Spoken corpora results

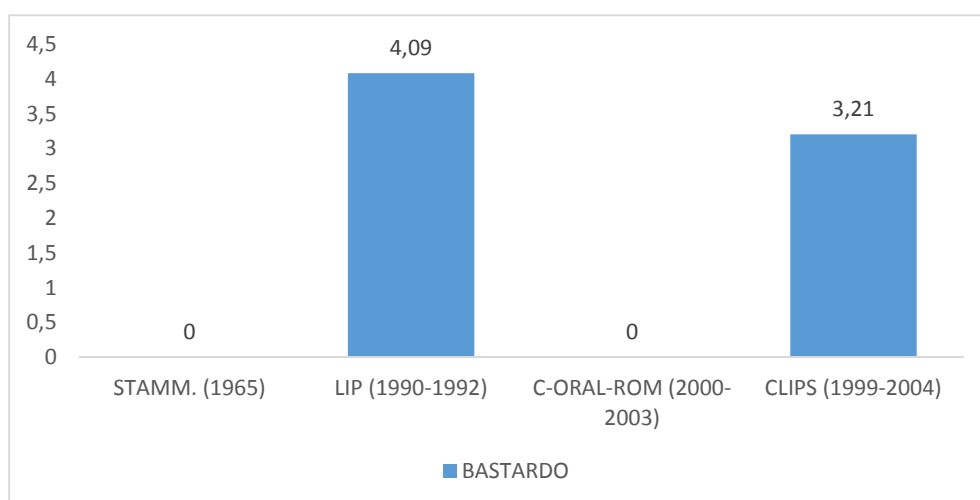


Figure 10: Bastardo! – Spoken corpora results



The results are consistent with the ones obtained in previous stages of the analysis and also show that the use of *bastardo* as a general insult is entrenched in spontaneous Italian. The method overall indicates that *bastardo!* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

### 13. Questa è spazzatura!

The analysis conducted in chapter 5 (§ 5.2.1.5 point 17) qualified *questa è spazzatura!* as a response/reaction marker as a likely instance of DI which is in use in written Italian. The frequency of occurrence of this expression is investigated in four corpora of spoken Italian to verify its entrenchment at the oral level of the language. Tables 174, 175 and 176 and figure 11 show the results of the queries also for the traditional Italian expression (*queste sono*) *stupidaggini/sciocchezze* expected to be used in similar communicative situations.

(QUESTA È) SPAZZATURA!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 174: (Questa è) spazzatura! – Spoken corpora results

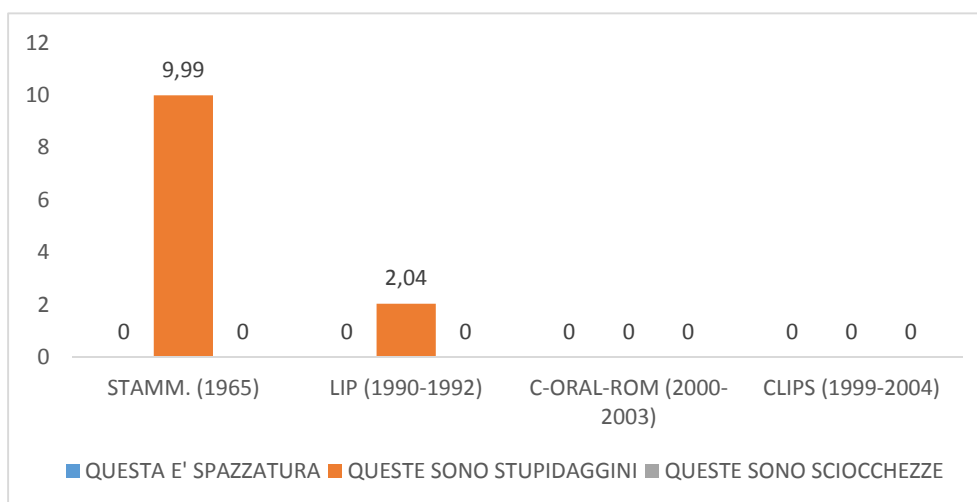
(QUESTE SONO) STUPIDDAGINI!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	1	9.99
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 175: (Queste sono) stupidaggini! - Spoken corpora results

(QUESTE È) SCIOCCHENZE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0

<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 176: (Queste) sono sciocchezze! - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 11: (Questa) è spazzatura vs (queste) sono stupidaggini vs (queste) sono sciocchezze - Spoken corpora results**

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian while the traditional Italian expression (*queste sono*) *stupidaggini* has been found in two corpora. Thus, overall the method indicates that (*questa*) *è spazzatura* is a likely instance of DI; however, it is not in use in spoken Italian (or the expression may be entrenched in spoken Italian but the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it).

#### 14. Devo andare

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.6 point 20 established that *devo andare* as a terminal exchange device was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, while the expression is entrenched in present-day Italian and occurrences were found a few years after dubbing was in use. These findings indicate that *devo andare* is a likely instance of DI; queries are launched across four corpora of spoken Italian to verify the presence of the expression at the oral level. The results are reported in tables 177 and 178 and in figure 12 below.

DEVO ANDARE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	2	4.08
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	2	6.42
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 177: Devo andare – Spoken corpora results

TI/VI SALUTO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	2	19.97
LIP (1990-1992)	27	55.19
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	3	9.63
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 178: Ti/vi saluto – Spoken corpora results

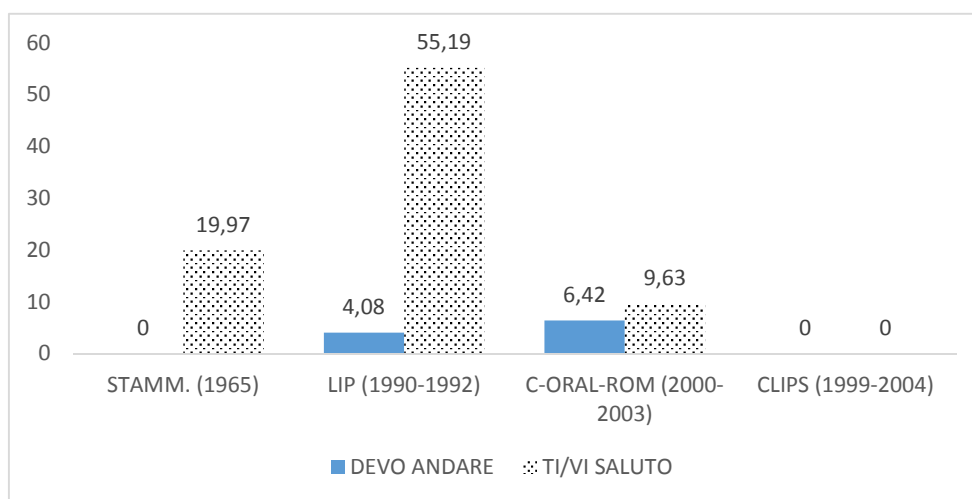


Figure 12: Devo andare vs ti/vi saluto – Spoken corpora results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *devo andare* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

## 15. Scordatelo!

The analysis conducted in § 5.2.1.6 point 21 indicated that *scordatelo* is a likely instance of DI and, at the same time, a likely result of a translation mistake. Four corpora of spoken Italian are at this stage investigated to verify if the expression is entrenched in spoken Italian. Queries are also launched for *lascia stare* as a contrastive investigation (*cf.* 5.2.1.6); tables 179 and 180 and figure 13 show the results.

SCORDATELO!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 179: Scordatelo! – Spoken corpora results

LASCIA STARE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	3	29.96
LIP (1990-1992)	9	18.40
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	3	9.63
CLIPS (1999-2004)	5	9.22

Table 180: Lascia stare! – Spoken results

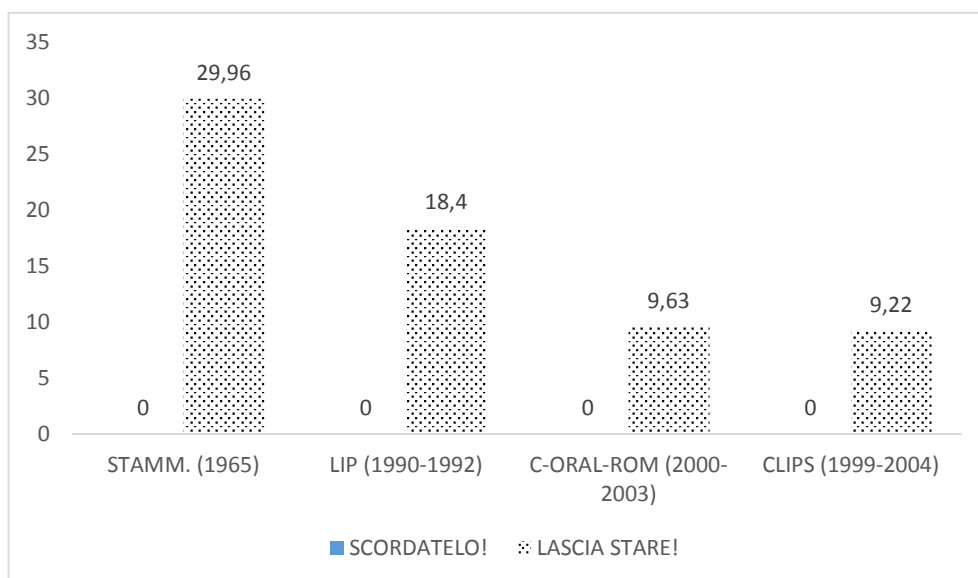


Figure 13: *Scordatelo!* vs *lascia stare!* – Spoken corpora results

Although the GDLI attests *scordatelo!* as an Italian colloquialism, the expression has not been found in the spoken corpora. Overall the analysis indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which, however, may not be in use in spoken Italian.

## 16. Fine della storia

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.6 point 23 showed that *fine della storia* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing and, although the formula has not been retrieved in contemporary dictionaries, data of real use Italian showed that, in present-day Italian, the expression is in use as a closing device. *Fine della storia* appears therefore to be a likely instance of DI; its presence and use are at this stage further investigated in four spoken Italian corpora to assess whether such an expression has entered spoken Italian as well. Queries have also been launched for *punto e basta*, the linguistic device traditionally used in Italian to perform the same function. Tables 181, 182 and 183 and figure 14 show the results.

FINE DELLA STORIA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

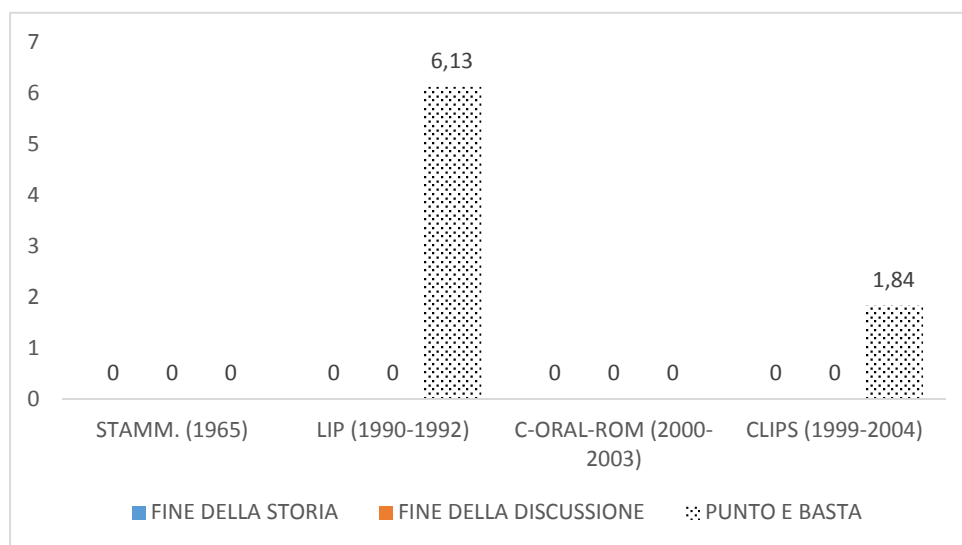
**Table 181: Fine della storia – Spoken corpora results**

<b>FINE DELLA DISCUSSIONE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 182: Fine della discussione - Spoken corpora results**

<b>PUNTO E BASTA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	3	6.13
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	1	1.84

**Table 183: Punto e basta - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 14: Fine della storia/discussion vs punto e basta - Spoken corpora results**

No occurrences have been found for the instance of DI in the spoken corpora. Overall the analysis indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which, however, may not be in use in spoken Italian.

### 17. Dacci un taglio

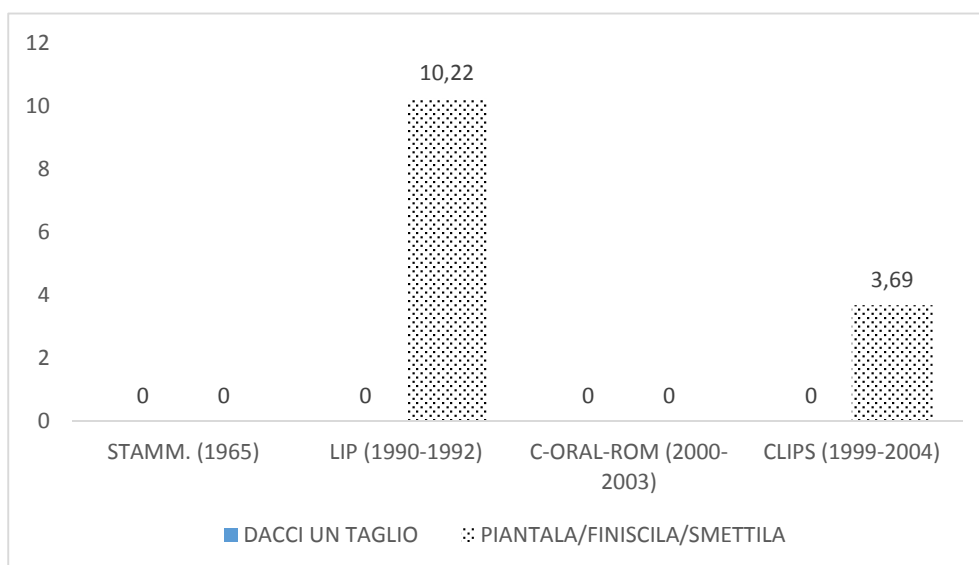
In 5.2.1.6 point 24 it was shown that *dacci un taglio* is not an instance of DI as the lexicographic search documents its use in Italian as a closing device prior to 1879. However, although the expression is not an instance of DI, an increase in its use over time has been recorded. Due to its high frequency of use observed in AVT products, such an increase may be the result of an influence from dubbing. Thus, the presence and frequency of use of *dacci un taglio* is diachronically investigated over four spoken Italian corpora; the results are shown in tables 184 and 185 and figure 15.

<b>DACCI UN TAGLIO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

Table 184: Dacci un taglio! – Spoken corpora results

<b>SMETTILA/ PIANTALA/ FINISCILA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	5	10.22
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	2	3.69

Table 185: Smettila/piantala/finiscila - Spoken corpora results



**Figure 15: Dacci un taglio vs smettila/piantala/finiscila - Spoken corpora results**

Although the expression *dacci un taglio* was found in old and contemporary Italian dictionaries, no occurrences have been found in the spoken Italian corpora. At the same time, similar expressions have been investigated; their presence in the corpora indicates that in this particular communicative situation, these other expressions are more likely to occur than *dacci un taglio*. On the whole, the method provided evidence that *dacci un taglio* is not an instance of DI and that, although its use in written Italian has increased over time, the expression may not be in use in spoken Italian.

## 18. Stanne fuori

The analysis carried out in § 5.2.1.6 point 25 has shown that *stanne fuori* used as a terminal exchange device did not use to belong to the range of set phrases of the Italian language. The traditional Italian expression used in such a communicative situation would be *non ti intromettere*, which was in fact found in historical dictionaries; however, occurrences of *stanne fuori* have been found in the corpus of modern Italian. This would indicate a post-dubbing appearance of the expression in Italian; considering its recurrence observed in AVT products, the locution is a likely instance of DI.

The presence and frequency of use of *stanne fuori* in contrast with *non ti intromettere* is now investigated in four spoken Italian corpora. Tables 186 and 187 show the results.



STANNE FUORI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 186: Stanne fuori – Spoken corpora results

NON TI INTROMETTERE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 187: Non ti intromettere - Spoken corpora results

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian neither for *stanne fuori* nor for *non ti intromettere*. As the communicative situation in which the expression is expected to be used does not seem to be represented in the corpora, the results are not conclusive. In other words, the expression may be entrenched in spoken Italian even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *stanne fuori* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 19. Chiudi il becco!

The analysis carried out in 5.2.1.6 point 26 indicated that *chiudi il becco* is a likely instance of DI; no entries have found in stages of Italian before the introduction of dubbing while data of contemporary Italian (both dictionaries and the corpus) have confirmed the entrenchment of *chiudi il becco* as a terminal exchange device in Italian.

The occurrence and frequency of use of the expression is now searched in four spoken Italian corpora to investigate its entrenchment in spoken Italian. Tables 188 and 189 and figure 16 show the results also of queries launched for the traditional Italian expression *stai zitto/zitta*.

CHIUDI IL BECCO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 188: Chiudi il becco – Spoken corpora results

STAI ZITTO/ZITTA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	5	49.93
LIP (1990-1992)	27	55.19
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	9	28.88
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 189: Stai zitto/a – Spoken corpora results

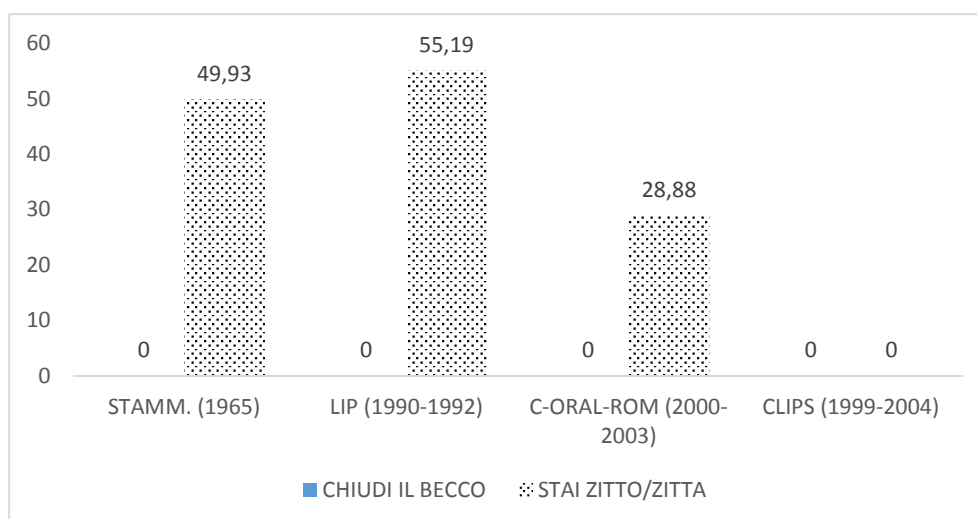


Figure 16: *Chiudi il becco* vs *stai zitto/a* – Spoken corpora results

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary Italian dictionaries, no occurrences of *chiudi il becco* have been found in the corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expression *stai zitto/zitta* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *stai*

*zitto/zitta* is preferred. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *chiudi il becco* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 20. Spara!

The investigations carried out in 5.2.1.6 point 27 showed that *spara!* as a shifting exchange device was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, while occurrences were found in the CORIS Corpus. The expression qualifies as a likely instance of DI; its presence and frequency of use are now analysed at the spoken level.

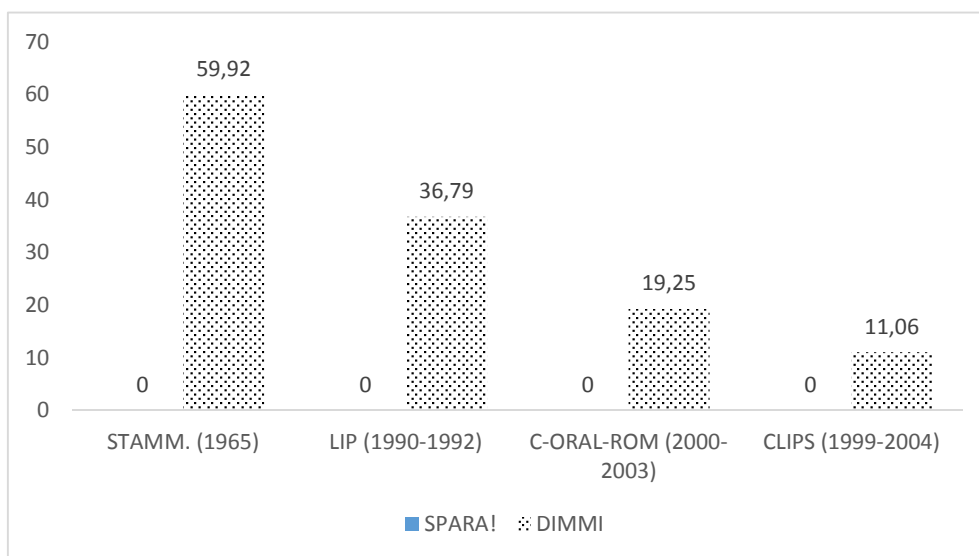
Tables 190 and 191 and figure 17 show the results of the queries launched for *spara!* in contrast with the traditional Italian device *dimmi*.

SPARA!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 190: Spara! – Spoken corpora results

DIMMI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	6	59.92
LIP (1990-1992)	18	36.79
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	6	19.25
CLIPS (1999-2004)	6	11.06

Table 191: Dimmi - Spoken corpora results



**Figure 17: *Spara!* vs *dimmi* - Spoken corpora results**

Although *spara!* is in use in contemporary written Italian, no occurrences have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expression *dimmi* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, the traditional Italian formula *dimmi* is still preferred. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *spara!* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 21. **Frena!**

In 5.2.1.6 point 29, the use of *frena!* as a turn-taking device has not been found in stages of the Italian language prior to the introduction of dubbing in Italy, while entries have been found in the corpus of contemporary written Italian and in contemporary dictionaries. Finally, considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in AVT products, *frena!* is likely to be an instance of DI.

The expression is now investigated across four spoken Italian corpora to assess whether it is entrenched in spoken Italian as well. Tables 192 and 193 and figure 18 report the results of the queries launched for *spara!* in contrast with the traditional Italian expression *aspetta*.

FRENA!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0

LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 192: Spara! – Spoken corpora results

ASPETTA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	13	129.82
LIP (1990-1992)	162	331.17
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	98	314.52
CLIPS (1999-2004)	390	719.27

Table 193: Aspetta - Spoken corpora results

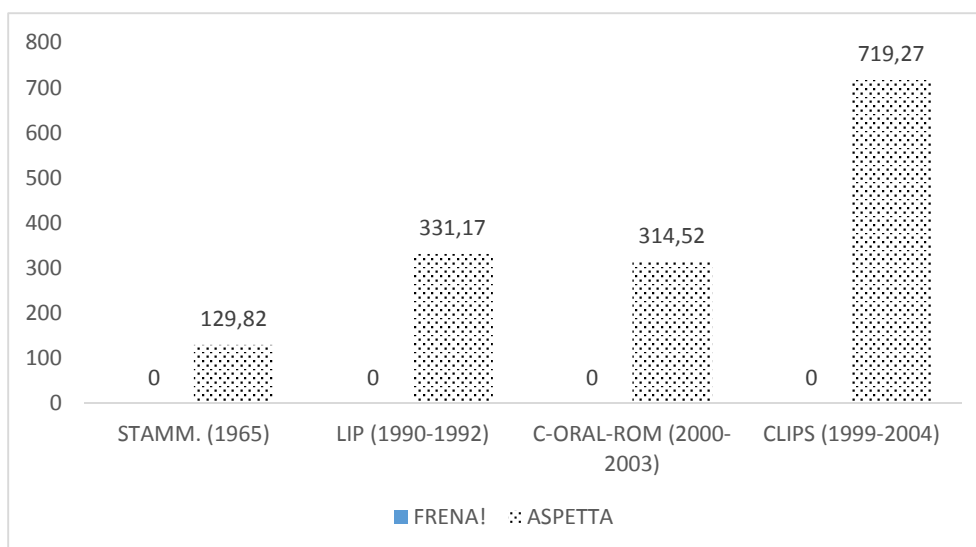


Figure 18: Spara! vs aspetta - Spoken corpora results

Although *frena!* has been found in contemporary Italian dictionaries and written corpora, no occurrences have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expression *aspetta* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, the traditional device is preferred in spoken Italian. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *frena!* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 22. Aspetta un minuto/secondo

The analysis carried out in 5.2.1.6 point 30 showed that *aspetta un minuto* and *aspetta un secondo* may be instances of DI; these expressions were not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing but they are now entrenched in the language. Moreover, a high frequency rate of these expressions has been observed in Italian AVT products; tables 194 and 195 and figure 19 show the results of the investigations across four corpora of spoken Italian.

RAW FREQUENCY	ASPETTA UN MINUTO	ASPETTA UN ISTANTE	ASPETTA UN SECONDO	ASPETTA UN MOMENTO	ASPETTA UN ATTIMO
STAMM. (1965)	0	0	1	2	1
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0	2	6	4
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0	1	0	3
CLIPS (1999- 2004)	0	0	2	1	19

Table 194: *Aspetta un minuto/istante/secondo/momento/attimo* – Spoken corpora results (raw)

P.P.M.	ASPETTA UN MINUTO	ASPETTA UN ISTANTE	ASPETTA UN SECONDO	ASPETTA UN MOMENTO	ASPETTA UN ATTIMO
STAMM. (1965)	0	0	9.99	19.97	9.99
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0	4.09	12.26	8.18
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0	6.42	0	9.63
CLIPS (1999- 2004)	0	0	3.69	1.84	35.04

Table 195: *Aspetta un minuto/istante/secondo/momento/attimo* – Spoken corpora results (p.p.m.)

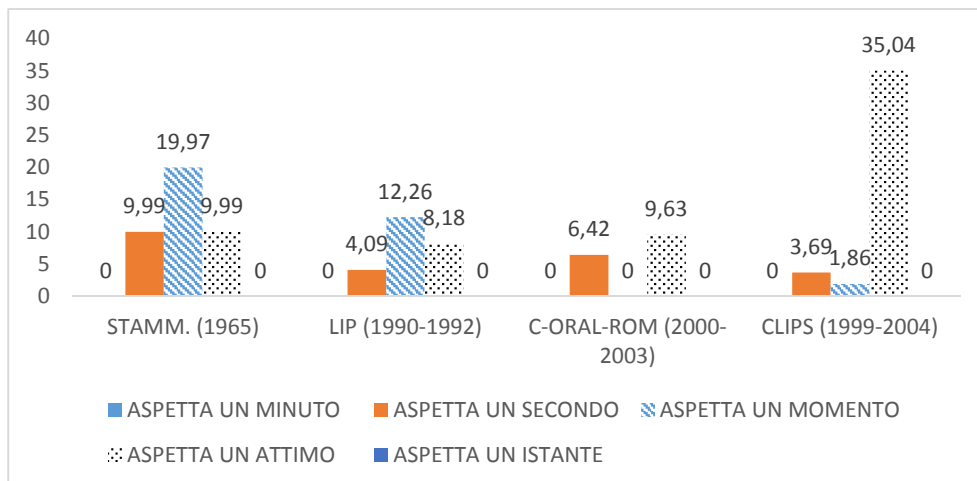


Figure 19: *Aspetta un minuto/istante/secondo/moemnto/attimo* – Spoken corpora results

The results show that *aspetta un secondo* is entrenched in spoken Italian as a turn-taking device while *aspetta un minuto* was not retrieved in the corpora. The method on the whole has established that *aspetta un secondo* and *aspetta un minuto* may be instances of DI in use in written Italian and that *aspetta un secondo* is also used at the spoken level.

### 23. Ehi

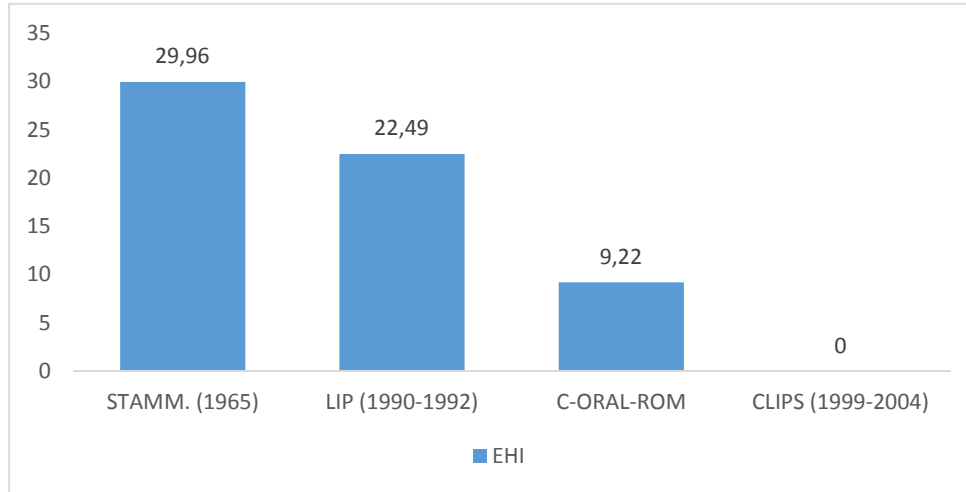
The lexicographic analysis carried out in 5.2.1.6 point 30 established that this interjection is not an instance of DI because records of its use in Italian as a call to attract attention of someone have been found since 1584. However, the quantitative analysis completed over corpora of written Italian showed that the use of *ehi* has more than doubled over time. A link between its high frequency of occurrence in Italian AVT products and in real use Italian cannot be excluded.

Tables 196 and figure 20 display the results of the investigations in four corpora of spoken Italian to assess the presence, use and frequency of occurrence of *ehi* over time.

EHI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	3	29.96
LIP (1990-1992)	11	22.49
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	5	9.22

<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0
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**Table 196: Ehi – Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 20: Ehi – Spoken corpora results**

The results show that the frequency of use of *ehi* in spoken Italian has decreased over time. Overall, the method has established that *ehi* is not an instance of DI and that an influence from dubbing on real use spoken Italian cannot be claimed.

#### 24. Uau/wow

The etymological and lexicographic searches carried out in chapter 5 (§ 5.2.1.6 point 32) established that *uau/wow* is the graphic phonetic adaptation of the English *wow*. Moreover, considering that its use in Italian is recorded since 1959, i.e., after dubbing was introduced in Italy, *uau/wow* may be more specifically an instance of DI.

Tables 197 and 198 and figure 21 report the results of the investigations across four corpora of spoken Italian to assess the use frequency of *uau/wow* in spoken Italian in contrast with other traditional Italian expressions used in similar communicative situations: *caspira/cavoli*.

<b>UAU/WOW</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0

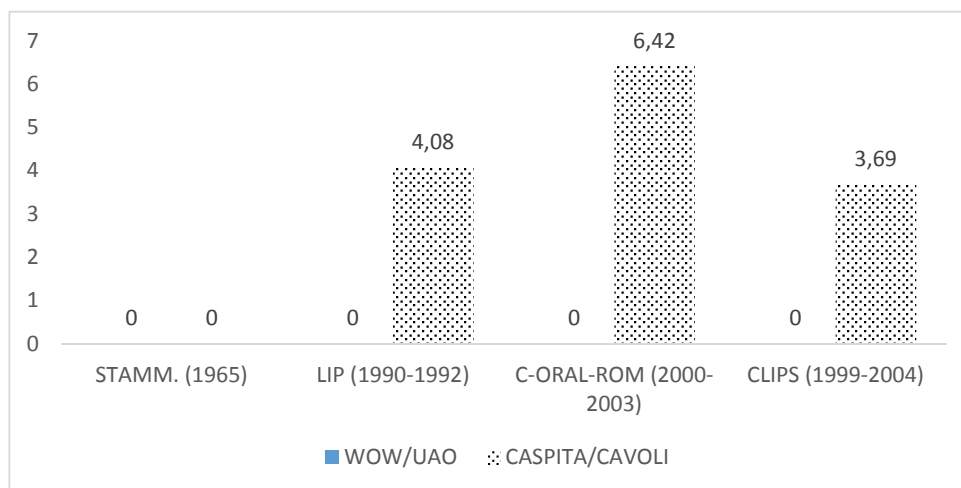


<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0
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**Table 197: Wow/uau – Spoken corpora results**

<b>CASPITA/ CAVOLI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	2	4.08
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	2	6.42
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	2	3.69

**Table 198: Caspita/cavoli - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 21: Wow vs caspita/cavoli - Spoken corpora results**

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary Italian dictionaries, no occurrences of *wow* have been found in the corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *caspita/cavoli* have been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *caspita/cavoli* are preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *wow* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 25. Ops/ups/oops

The etymological and lexicographic searches carried out in 5.2.1.6 point 33 established that the Italian language has acquired this interjection because of the

influence of English. Moreover, because its use in Italian is recorded after the introduction of dubbing, it is suggested that *ops* may be more specifically an instance of DI.

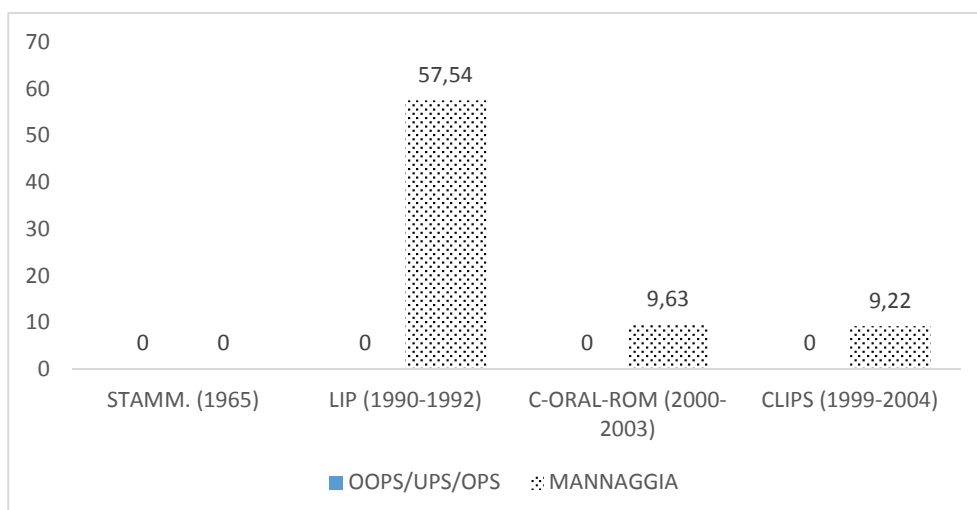
Diachronic quantitative investigations are carried out in four corpora of spoken Italian to assess the presence and use of *ops* in contrast with *mannaggia*, the traditional expression used in similar communicative situations. Tables 199 and 200 and figure 22 show the results.

<b>OPS/UPS/OOPS</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 199: Ops- Spoken corpora results**

<b>MANNAGGIA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	28	57.54
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	3	9.63
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	5	9.22

**Table 200: Mannaggia - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 22: *Ops* vs *mannaggia* - Spoken corpora results**

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary Italian dictionaries, no occurrences of *ops* have been found in the corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expression *mannaggia* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *mannaggia* is preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *ops* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

### 6.2.2 Formulaic Language (FL)

The etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative investigations carried out in chapter 5 provided evidence of DI for 9 linguistic expressions previously categorised as FL. More specifically, they include:

- Forms of address: *fratello*, *Vostro Onore*;
- Rituals: *obiezione accolta/respinta*;
- Greetings and farewells: *è bello vederti*, *buona giornata*, *abbi cura di te*;
- Politeness formulae: *per favore*, *posso aiutarla?*, *grazie per*.

## 26. Fratello

The analysis conducted in § 5.3.1 point 39 indicated that the use of *fratello* as a general form of address is a likely instance of DI; while *bro* can simply refer to another man, according to contemporary dictionaries (DM 2000; Treccani; DISC 2008; Devoto-Oli 2009; Hoepli 2011; GDI 2013), *fratello* as a form of address can only refer to family or religious communities members. The accurate analysis of the

contexts of occurrence, however crucial, could not be carried out as the contexts provided by the DiaCORIS and the CORIS Corpus are not comprehensive enough for such an investigation. For this reason, only the results of the lexicographic search have been taken into account

To verify whether *fratello* is used in spoken Italian as a neutral form of address, four spoken Italian corpora are queried; the results are reported in table 201.

<b>FRATELLO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	2	4.09
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	1	3.21
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 201: Fratello – Spoken corpora results**

The results show that, although as a general form of address *fratello* is not reported by contemporary dictionaries, such a use has been found in spoken Italian. The method overall has established that *fratello* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

## **27. Vostro Onore**

The analysis carried out in 5.3.1 point 40 showed that the first occurrence of *Vostro Onore* dates to 1937, i.e., after dubbing was introduced in Italy (*cfr.* § 2.2), thus suggesting that the expression is a likely instance of DI. To investigate if *Vostro Onore* is in use in spoken Italian, queries are launched across four corpora of spoken Italian in contrast with the traditional Italian expression *Signor Giudice*. Tables 202 and 203 and figure 23 report the results.

<b>VOSTRO ONORE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0

CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0
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Table 202: Vostro Onore – Spoken corpora results

SIGNOR GIUDICE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	10	20.44
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 203: Signor Giudice – Spoken corpora results

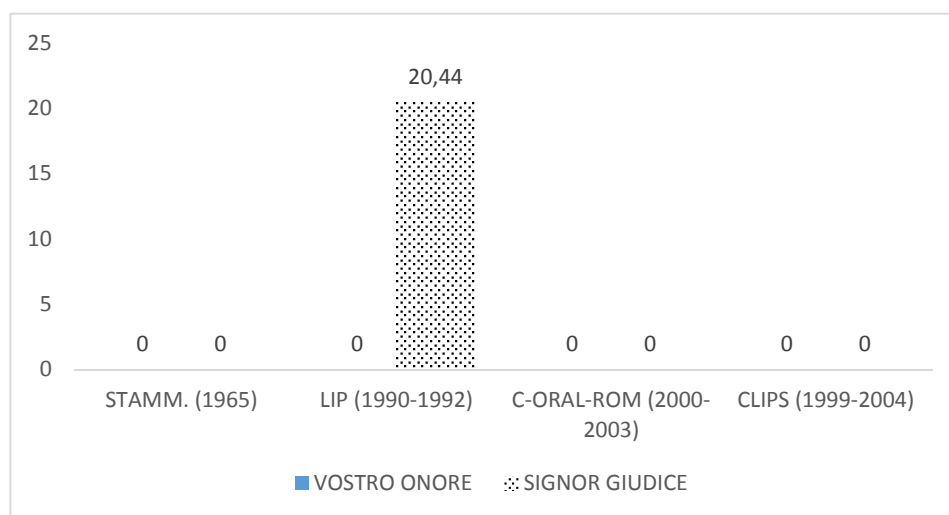


Figure 23: Vostro Onore vs Signor Giudice - Spoken corpora results

Although *Vostro Onore* was found in data of contemporary Italian (dictionaries and corpora), no occurrences have been found in the spoken Italian corpora. At the same time, the traditional expression *Signor Giudice* has been retrieved; this indicates that in this particular communicative situation, it is more likely to occur than *Vostro Onore*. On the whole, the method provided evidence that *Vostro Onore* is an instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 28. Obiezione accolta/respinta

In 5.3.2 point 42, the findings obtained from the lexicographic and quantitative investigations showed that *obiezione accolta* and *obiezione respinta* may be instances of DI that are in use in Italian. The presence of these expressions is now investigated

at the spoken level in contrast with the traditional Italian legal formulae *opposizione accolta/respinta*; tables 204, 205 and 206 below show the results.

<b>OBIEZIONE ACCOLTA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 1204: Obiezione accolta – Spoken corpora results**

<b>OBIEZIONE RESPINTA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 205: Obiezione respinta - Spoken corpora results**

<b>OPPOSIZIONE ACCOLTA/ RESPINTA/ MI OPPONGO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 206: Opposizione accolta/respinta - Spoken corpora results**

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian for the investigated expressions. As the communicative situation in which the expressions are expected to be used does not seem to be represented in the corpora, the results are not

conclusive. In other words, the expressions may be entrenched in spoken Italian even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *obiezione accolta/respinta* are likely instances of DI which are in use at least in written Italian.

## 29. È bello vederti

The analysis carried out in 5.3.3 point 45 showed that the formula *è bello vederti* - used when meeting someone known or just before leaving - was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing. The results from real use Italian data show that this formula has not only entered the language after dubbing, but also that its frequency of occurrence is higher than the traditional Italian formula *è (stato) un piacere vederti* used in the communicative situation analysed. The presence and frequency of occurrence of this expression is now investigated at the spoken level to assess whether this formula is in use in spoken Italian. Tables 207 and 208 show the results.

È BELLO VEDERTI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 207: È bello vederti – Spoken corpora results

È UN PIACERE VEDERTI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 208: È un piacere vederti - Spoken corpora results

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian for the investigated expressions. As the communicative situation in which the expressions are expected to be used does not seem to be represented in the corpora, the results are not conclusive. In other words, the expressions may be entrenched in spoken Italian even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *è bello vederti* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

### 30. Buona giornata

In 5.3.3 point 46, it was shown that *buona giornata* was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, while data of contemporary Italian (dictionaries and corpora) have provided evidence that this formula has officially entered the Italian language.

To assess its usage at the spoken level, four spoken Italian corpora are queried; the results are reported in table 209 below.

BUONA GIORNATA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	23	47.02
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	5	9.22

Table 209: Buona giornata – Spoken corpora results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *buona giornata* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

### 31. Abbi cura di te

The analysis carried out in 5.3.3 point 47 has shown that *abbi cura di te* as a form of greeting used at the moment of leaving was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing. Nonetheless, it was found in corpora of contemporary



written Italian showing that such a formula has entered the Italian language after dubbing.

To assess whether it has entered spoken Italian, four corpora of spoken Italian are now queried for *abbi cura di te* in contrast with the two traditional Italian expressions used in similar communicative situations *riguardati* and *stammi bene*. Tables 210 and 211 and figure 24 below report the results.

<b>ABBI CURA DI TE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 210: Abbi cura di te – Spoken corpora results**

<b>RIGUARDATI/ STAMMI BENE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	1	9.99
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	8	16.35
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	1	3.21
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 211: Riguardati/stammi bene - Spoken corpora results**

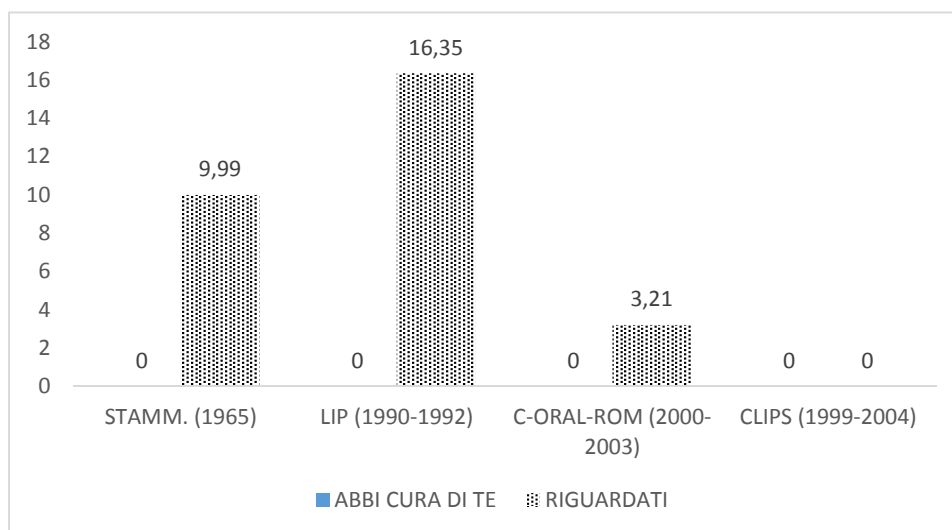


Figure 24: *Abbi cura di te* vs *riguardati/stammi bene* - Spoken corpora results

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary Italian written corpora, no occurrences of *abbi cura di te* have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *riguardati/stammi bene* have been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *riguardati/stammi bene* are preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *abbi cura di te* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

### 32. Per favore

In the previous chapter (§ 5.3.4 point 49), it was shown that *per favore*, which normally translated *please*, in Italian is the pragmatic politeness formula used when requesting something, as opposed to *please* in English which is also used to accept offers. Although the lexicographic search did not give any results for such a use, occurrences were found in the corpora of modern written Italian, i.e. after dubbing was introduced in Italy.

To assess whether such a use has entered spoken Italian as well, four corpora of spoken Italian are at this stage queried; the results are shown in table 212 below.

PER FAVORE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 212: Per favore – Spoken corpora results**

The results show that, although the use of answering *per favore* to offers is not reported by contemporary Italian dictionaries, such a use has been found in spoken Italian corpora. The method overall has established that this specific use of *per favore* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

### 33. (come) Posso aiutarla?

The analysis carried out in § 5.3.4 point 50 showed that *(come) posso aiutarla?* was not in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing; the results from real use Italian data show that this formula has, however, entered the language after dubbing.

The presence of this formula is now searched within four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the two more common formula used in similar contexts, *desidera?* and *che posso fare per te/lei/voi?*. The results are presented in tables 213, 214 and 215 and in figure 25 below.

<b>(COME) POSSO AIUTARLA?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 213: (come) posso aiutarla? – Spoken corpora results**

<b>DESIDERA?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	1	9.99
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	1	3.21
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 214: Desidera? - Spoken corpora results**

CHE POSSO FARE PER LEI?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 215: Che posso fare per lei? - Spoken corpora results

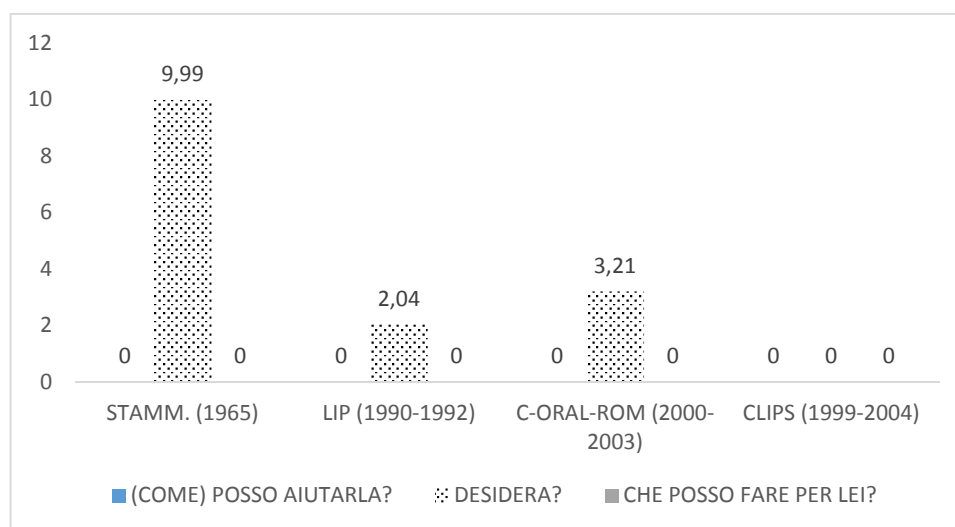


Figure 25: (come) posso aiutarla? vs desidera? vs che posso fare per lei? - Spoken corpora results

Although *(come) posso aiutarla?* was found in data of contemporary Italian, no occurrences have been found in the spoken Italian corpora. At the same time, the traditional expressions *desidera?* and *che posso fare per lei?* have been retrieved; this indicates that in this particular communicative situation, they are more likely to occur than *(come) posso aiutarla?*. On the whole, the method provided evidence that *(come) posso aiutarla?* is an instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 34. Grazie per/ringraziare per

The analysis carried out in § 5.3.4 point 51 showed that in stages of Italian before dubbing, the most used construction was *grazie/ringraziare + di*, while data of real use Italian after dubbing show a substantial increase in the use *grazie/ringraziare per*.

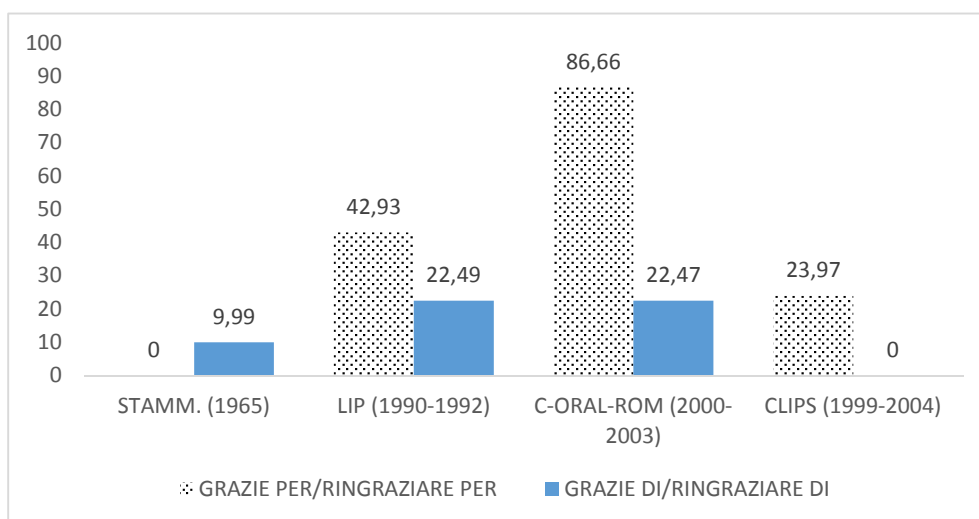
To assess whether this change has occurred at the spoken level as well, four spoken Italian corpora are queried; the results are displayed in tables 216 and 217 and in figure 26.

TOTAL TOKENS	GRAZIE PER	GRAZIE DI	RINGRAZIARE PER	RINGRAZIARE DI
STAMM. (1965)	0	1	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	3	4	18	7
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	24	1	3	6
CLIPS (1999- 2004)	10	0	3	0

Table 216: *Grazie per/ringraziare per vs grazie di/ringraziare di* – Spoken corpora results (raw)

P.P.M.	GRAZIE PER	GRAZIE DI	RINGRAZIARE PER	RINGRAZIARE DI
STAMM. (1965)	0	9.99	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	6.13	8.18	36.80	14.31
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	77.03	3.21	9.63	19.26
CLIPS (1999- 2004)	18.44	0	5.53	0

Table 217: *Grazie per/ringraziare per vs grazie di/ringraziare di* – Spoken corpora results (p.p.m.)



**Figure 26: *Grazie per/ringraziare per* vs *grazie di/ringraziare di* – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained so far and show that in spoken Italian the construction *grazie per/ringraziare per* is more used than in the past, thus mirroring the situation at the written level. The method overall shows that such changes in real use Italian may be the result of DI.

### 6.2.3 Fixed Expressions (FEs)

The etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative investigations carried out in chapter 5 provided evidence of DI for 17 linguistic expressions previously categorised as FEs. More specifically, they include:

- Simple formulae: *non c'è problema, niente di personale, qual è il problema?, avere una possibilità, posso chiamarla + nome proprio?, fare la differenza, fare secco qualcuno, essere forte, bersi il cervello, mettere a rischio, si rilassi, come ti suona?, fare la cosa giusta;*
- Sayings: *incrociare le dita, un soldino per i tuoi pensieri, essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto, la domanda da un milione di dollari.*

### 35. Non c'è problema

The lexicographic search completed in 5.4.1 point 52 indicated that *non c'è problema* was not in use before the introduction of dubbing. In combination with the etymological and lexicographic results, and considering its high frequency of

occurrence observed in AVT products, the analysis overall qualifies the expression as an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian.

The presence and frequency of occurrence of *non c'è problema* is now investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in comparison with the traditional Italian formula *con piacere* to verify its use at the spoken level; the results are reported in table 218 and 219 and in figure 27 below.

NON C'È PROBLEMA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	18	36.80
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	5	16.05
CLIPS (1999-2004)	99	182.58

Table 218: Non c'è problema – Spoken corpora results

CON PIACERE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	2	4.08
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 219: Con piacere - Spoken corpora results

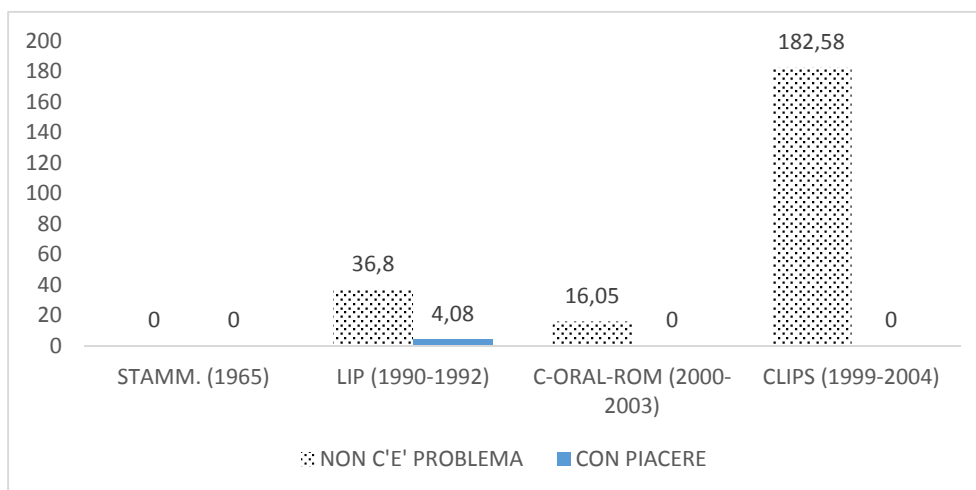


Figure 27: Non c'è problema vs con piacere - Spoken corpora results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *non c'è problema* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

### 36. Niente di personale

In 5.4.1 point 53, the findings showed that *niente di personale* was not in use in the Italian language before dubbing. In combination with the reported high frequency of occurrence in AVT products, the locution qualified as a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The presence and frequency of use of this locution is now investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the traditional formula used in similar communicative situations *non ce l'ho con te*. The results are reported in tables 220 and 221 and figure 28 below.

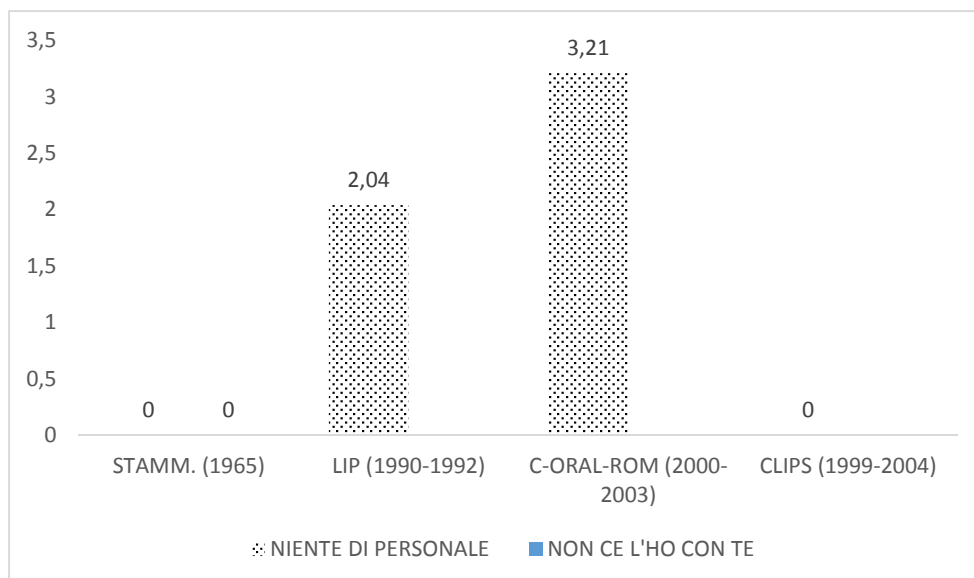
<b>NIENTE DI PERSONALE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	1	3.21
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 220: Niente di personale - Spoken corpora results**

<b>NON CE L'HO CON TE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 221: Non ce l'ho con te – Spoken corpora results**





**Figure 28: Niente di personale vs non ce l'ho con te – Spoken corpora results**

The results in the spoken Italian corpora are consistent with the ones obtained in previous stages of the analysis. The method overall indicates that *niente di personale* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in spoken Italian.

### 37. Qual è il problema?

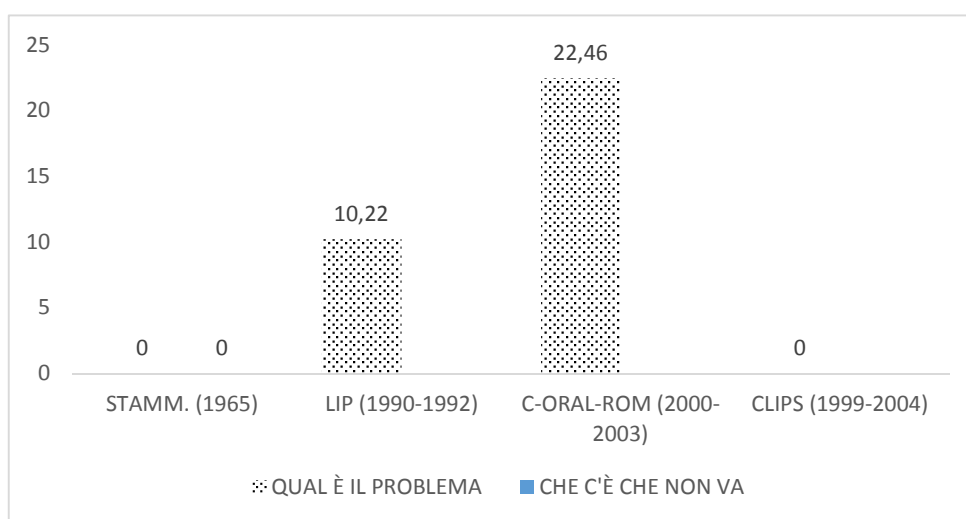
The investigations carried out in 5.4.1 point 55 indicated that *qual è il problema?* was not in use before the introduction of dubbing. Considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in AVT products, the analysis overall qualifies the expression as an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian. The presence and frequency of occurrence of *qual è il problema?* is here investigated in four spoken Italian corpora to verify if and to what extent the expression is in use in spoken Italian. Queries are launched also for the traditional Italian expression *che c'è che non va?*; the results are reported in tables 222 and 223 and figure 29.

QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	5	10.22
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	7	22.46
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

**Table 222: Queal è il problema? – Spoken corpora results**

CHE C' È CHE NON VA?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

**Table 223: Che c'è che non va? – Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 29: Qual è il problema? vs che c'è che non va? – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *qual è il problema?* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

### 38. Avere una possibilità

The analysis carried out in 5.4.1 point 56 showed that a semantic change has affected the word *possibilità* in Italian such that, nowadays, it mirrors the English meaning. Moreover, what emerged from the corpora queries is that *avere una speranza* was in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing, while *avere una possibilità* has entered the Italian language after dubbing. Considering its high frequency of occurrence

observed in AVT products and that the semantic change occurred in the second half of the XX century, the expression is a likely instance of DI.

To verify whether it has entered spoken Italian as well, queries are launched in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *avere una speranza*; tables 224 and 225 and figure 30 below show the results.

AVERE UNA POSSIBILITÀ	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	1	3.21
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 224: *Avere una possibilità* – Spoken corpora results

AVERE UNA SPERANZA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	1	1.84

Table 225: *Avere una speranza* – Spoken corpora results

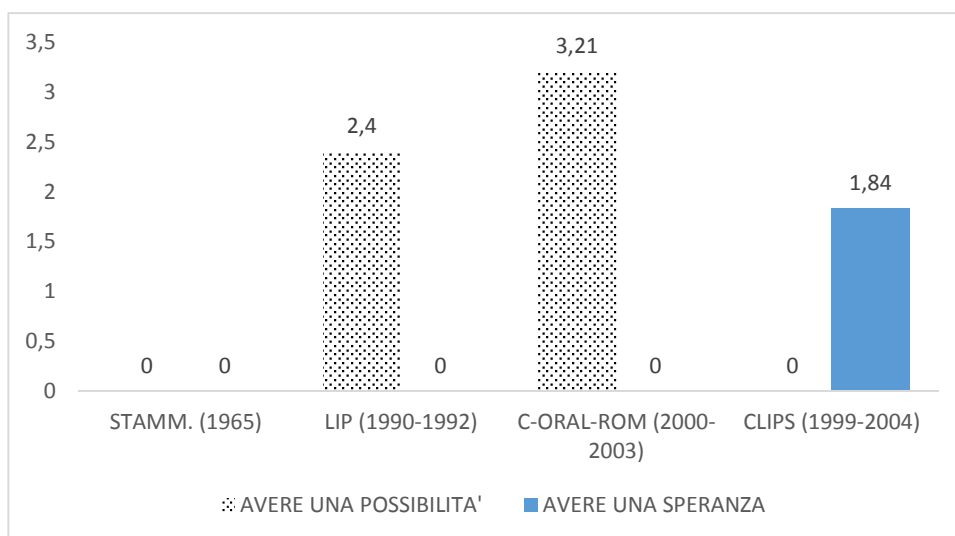


Figure 30: *Avere una possibilità* vs *avere una speranza* – Spoken corpora results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *avere una possibilità* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

### 39. Posso chiamarla + nome proprio?

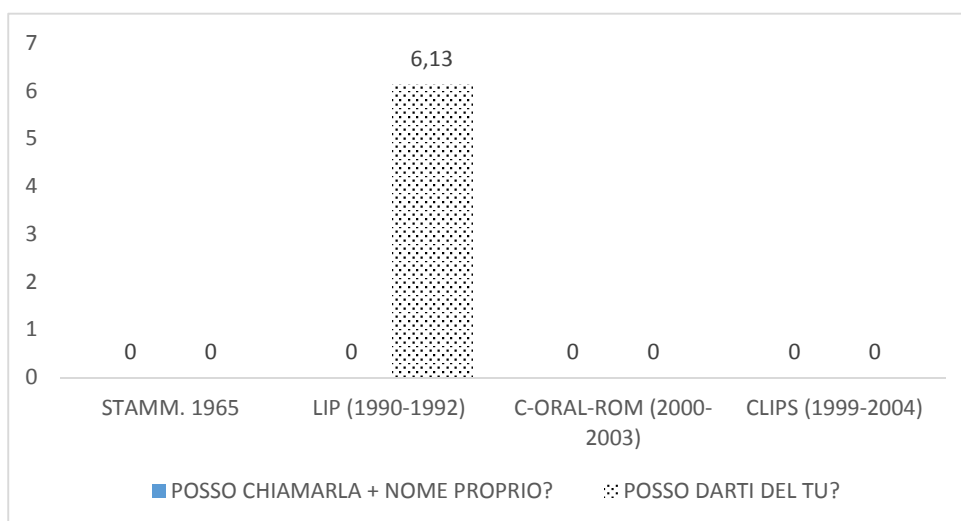
In 5.4.1 point 57, the analysis indicated that the *posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* is a likely instance of DI which is in use in contemporary Italian. The presence and occurrence of the formula is here searched in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the traditional Italian formula *posso darti del tu?*; the results are reported in tables 226 and 227 and figure 31 below.

<b>POSSO CHIAMARLA + NOME PROPRIO?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

Table 226: Posso chiamarla + nome proprio? – Spoken corpora results

<b>POSSO DARTI DEL TU?</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	3	6.13
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

Table 227: Posso darti del tu?- Spoken corpora results



**Figure 31: Posso chiamarla + nome proprio? Vs posso darti del tu? - Spoken corpora results**

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary Italian written corpora, no occurrences of *posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *posso darti del tu?* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such an expression is expected to be used, *posso darti del tu?* is preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *posso chiamarla + nome proprio?* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 40. Fare la differenza

The analysis carried out in § 5.4.1 point 59 evidenced that, although *fare la differenza* was not in use in old Italian, it is entrenched in the present-day language. The expression may be an instance of DI which has entered real use Italian after dubbing by acquiring the meaning once carried by *fare differenza*.

Diachronic quantitative investigations are here conducted across four spoken Italian corpora to verify the findings obtained so far at the spoken level. The results are reported in tables 228 and 229 and figure 32 below.

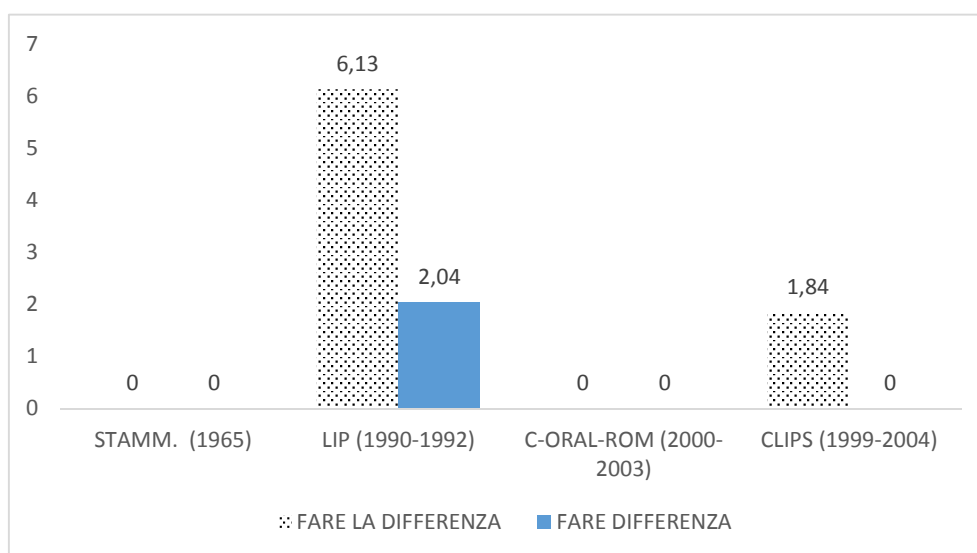
FARE LA DIFFERENZA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	3	6.13

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	1	1.84

**Table 228: Fare la differenza: Spoken corpora results**

<b>FARE DIFFERENZA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 229: Fare differenza - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 32: Fare la differenza vs fare differenza - Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *fare la differenza* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

#### **41. Fare secco qualcuno**

The etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative investigations conducted in § 5.4.1 point 61 indicated that the expression *fare secco qualcuno* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. The analysis overall suggested that

*fare secco qualcuno* may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day Italian.

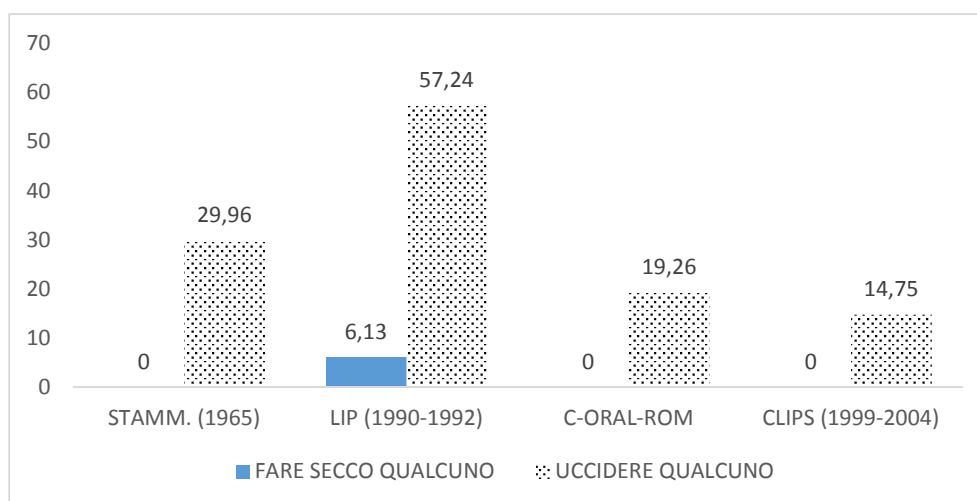
The presence and frequency of use of this locution is now investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the traditional formula used in similar communicative situations *uccidere qualcuno*. The results are reported in tables 230 and 231 and figure 33.

FARE SECCO QUALCUNO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	3	6.13
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

**Table 230: Fare secco qualcuno – Spoken corpora results**

UCCIDERE QUALCUNO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	3	29.96
LIP (1990-1992)	28	57.24
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	6	19.26
CLIPS (1999-2004)	8	14.75

**Table 231: Uccidere qualcuno: Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 33: Fare secco qualcuno vs uccidere qualcuno – Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *fare secco qualcuno* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

#### 42. (Essere) forte!

In § 5.4.1 point 62, it was shown that *forte/essere forte* were not in use in Italian before dubbing was introduced in Italy. Overall the analysis suggested that these expressions are likely instances of DI which have entered the Italian language after dubbing.

In this stage, the method aims to verify the use of these expressions at the spoken level so as to validate the findings obtained in the previous stages. Queries are therefore launched in four spoken Italian corpora; tables 232 and 233 and figure 34 below show the results.

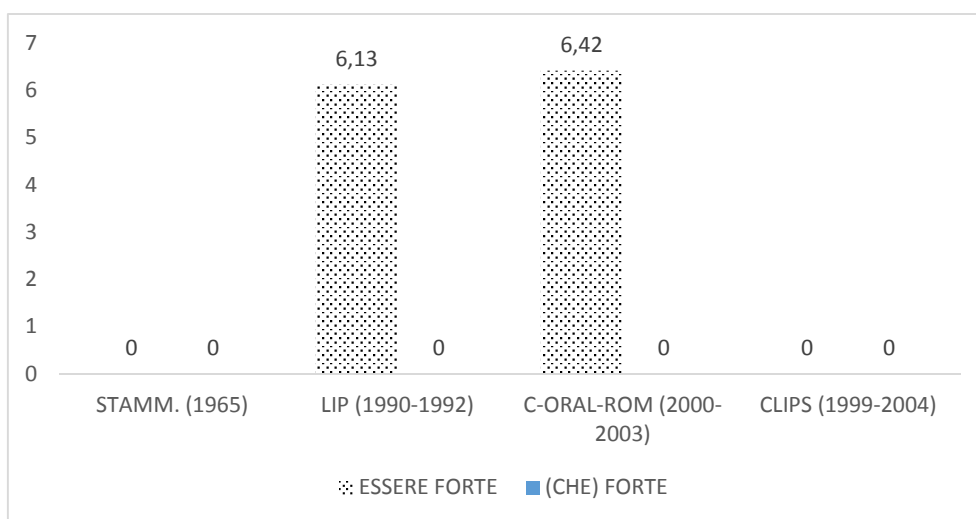
ESSERE FORTE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	2	6.13
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	2	6.42
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 232: Essere forte – Spoken corpora results

(CHE) FORTE!	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 233: (che) Forte! – Spoken corpora results





**Figure 34: Essere forte/che forte – Spoken corpora results**

The results show that the expression *essere forte* with the meaning of ‘being admirable’, ‘skilful’, ‘clever’ is in use in spoken Italian. Although the expression *(che) forte!* is a well ascertained colloquialism listed by contemporary dictionaries, no occurrences have been found. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *essere forte* and *forte!* are likely instances of DI, and that *forte!* is in use at least in written Italian.

### 43. Bersi il cervello

In 5.4.1 point 63, the analysis showed that *bersi il cervello* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. Considering that occurrences of *bersi il cervello* have been found only in the corpus of modern Italian and that a frequent occurrence of the expression has been observed in Italian AVT products, the expression may be an instance of DI which is now entrenched in real use Italian.

The presence and frequency of use of the locution is at this stage analysed in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the two expressions *impazzire* and *rincretinire* which would be traditionally used in similar communicative contexts. Tables 234, 235 and 236 and figure 35 show the results.

BERSI IL CERVELLO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 234: Bersi il cervello – Spoken corpora results**

<b>RINCRETINIRE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 235: Rincretinire – Spoken corpora results**

<b>IMPAZZIRE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	1	3.21
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 236: Impazzire - Spoken corpora results**

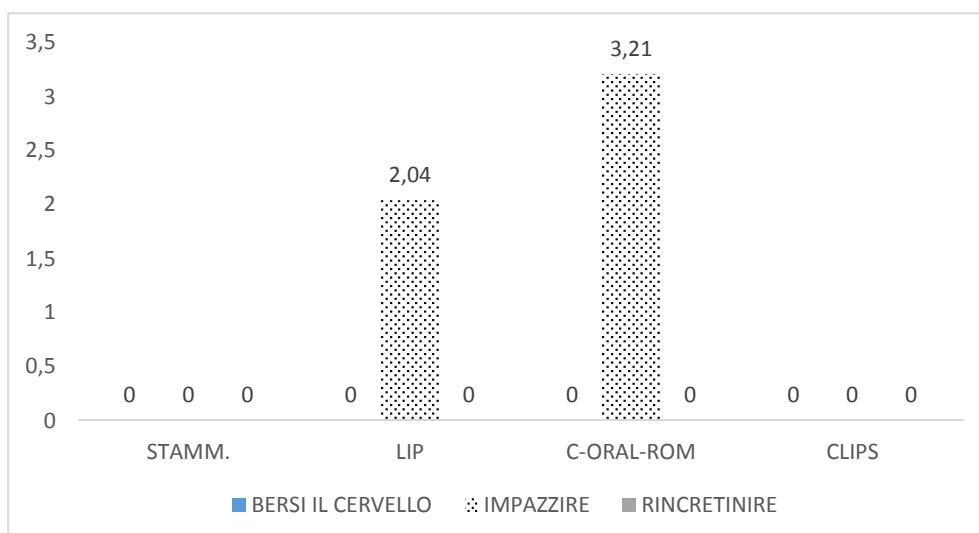


Figure 35: *Bersi il cervello* vs *rincretinire/impazzire* - Spoken corpora results

Although *bersi il cervello* has been retrieved in data of contemporary Italian (written corpora and dictionaries), no occurrences have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *impazzire/rincretinire* have been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *impazzire/rincretinire* are preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *bersi il cervello* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 44. Mettere a rischio

The investigations carried out in 5.4.1 point 64 showed that, although *mettere a rischio* was in use before the introduction of dubbing in Italy, over time its frequency of use has significantly increased. In consideration of the high frequency of occurrence which has been observed in Italian AVT products, the role of dubbing as a diffusing agent cannot be excluded.

In this next stage of the method, the diachronic frequency rate of the locution is analysed in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the similar expression *mettere a repentaglio*; the results are reported in tables 237 and 238 and figure 36 below.

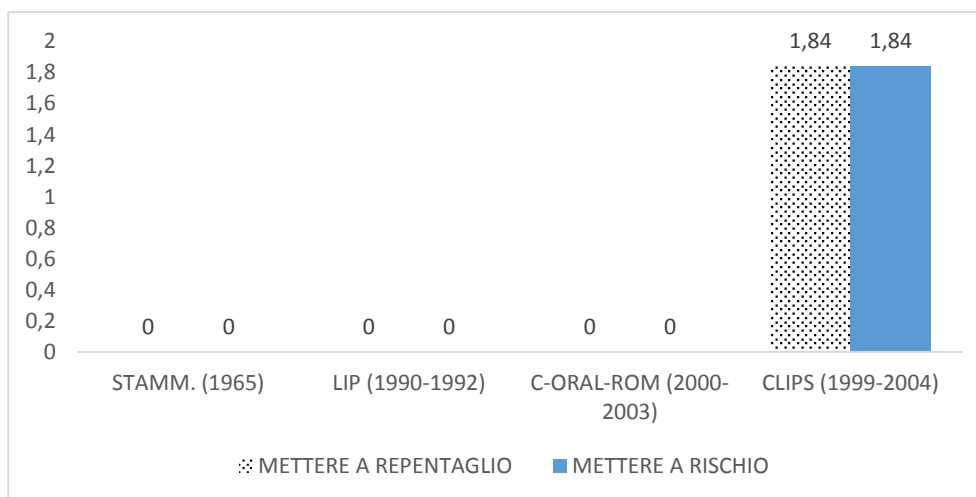
METTERE A RISCHIO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0

<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	1	1.84

**Table 237: Mettere a rischio – Spoken corpora results**

<b>METTERE A REPENTAGLIO</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	1	1.84

**Table 238: Mettere a repentaglio - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 36: Mettere a rischio vs mettere a repentaglio - Spoken corpora results**

The results show that the frequency of occurrence of *mettere a rischio* has not increased over time. The method overall has established that *mettere a rischio* is not an instance of DI and that an influence from dubbing on real use spoken Italian cannot be claimed in this case.

#### **45. Si rilassi**

In 5.4.1 point 65, it was shown that the use of *rilassarsi* as ‘to calm someone down’ in the imperative form was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing. The data of contemporary Italian, on the contrary, show that such a use is entrenched in the

language and that its frequency is higher than its traditional Italian counterpart, *si calmi*.

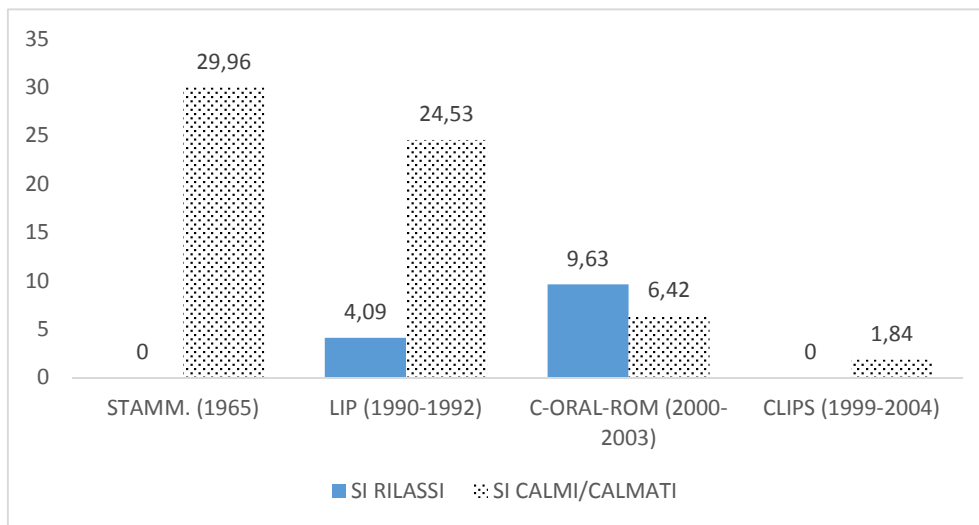
The imperative use of *rilassarsi* when meaning *to calm someone down* is here investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with the traditional Italian expression used in analogous communicative contexts *si calmi*; tables 239 and 240 and figure 37 below show the results.

<b>SI RILASSI/ RILASSATI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	2	4.09
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	3	9.63
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 239: Si rilassi/Rilassati – Spoken corpora results**

<b>SI CALMI/ CALMATI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	3	29.96
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	12	24.53
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	2	6.42
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	1	1.84

**Table 240: Si calmi/Calmati - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 37: *Si rilassi vs si calmi* - Spoken corpora results**

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *si rilassi/rilassati* is in use in spoken Italian. Interestingly, no occurrences for *rilassarsi* have been retrieved in the Stammerjohann whereas in the C-ORAL-ROM its frequency is slightly higher than the traditional *si calmi/calmati*.

The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

#### 46. Come ti suona?

The analysis conducted in § 5.4.1 point 68 showed that, although the verb *suonare* historically conveys a meaning which is similar to the English one, the expression *come ti suona?* was not in use before dubbing. However, one occurrence was found in the corpus of contemporary Italian which suggests that the expression entered the language after dubbing. Finally, considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in Italian AVT products and its structure, which resembles the English *how does that sound?*, *come ti suona* may be an instance of DI which has entered real use Italian.

The expression is here further investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *come ti sembra?/che te ne pare?* (what do you think?) the Italian expression traditionally expected to be used in analogous communicative situations. Tables 241 and 242 and figure 38 show the results.

COME TI SUONA?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 241: Come ti suona? – Spoken corpora results

CHE TE NE PARE/COME TI SEMBRA?	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	1	9.99
LIP (1990-1992)	2	4.09
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	2	3.69

Table 242: Che te ne pare?/come ti sembra? – Spoken corpora results

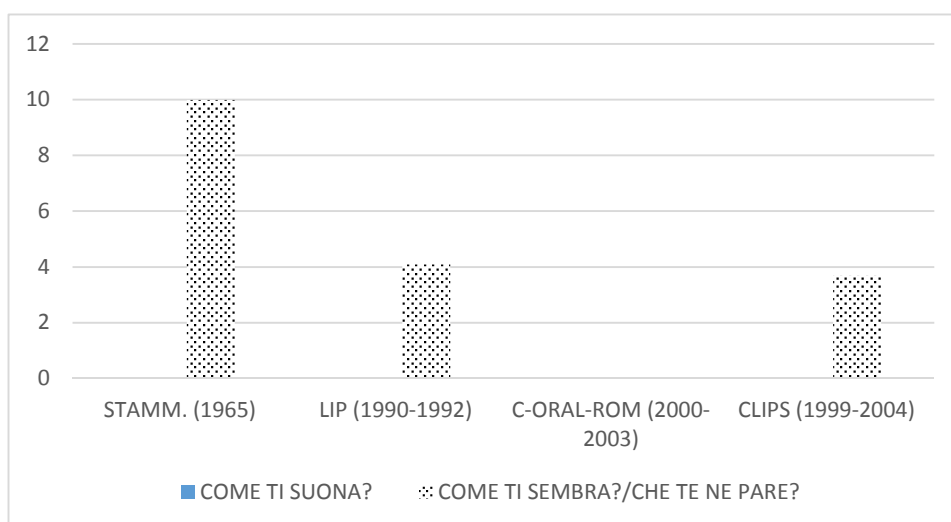


Figure 38: Come ti suona? vs come ti sembra/che te ne pare? – Spoken corpora results

No occurrences of *come ti suona?* have been found in the spoken corpora; at the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *come ti sembra?/che te ne pare?* have been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, at the spoken level *come ti sembra?/che te ne pare?* are

preferred. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *come ti suona?* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 47. Fare la cosa giusta

The investigations carried out in 5.4.1 point 68 indicated that *fare la cosa giusta* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing; the expression, however, is in use in present-day Italian. Considering the repeated occurrence of this expression which has been observed in Italian AVT products, the analysis overall suggests that *fare la cosa giusta* is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in contemporary Italian.

Its presence and frequency of use is here investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *comportarsi bene* and *fare quello che si deve* which are the two traditional Italian expressions used in similar communicative contexts. Tables 243 and 244 and figure 39 below show the results.

FARE LA COSA GIUSTA	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 243: *Fare la cosa giusta* – Spoken corpora results

COMPORTARSI BENE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	2	6.42
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

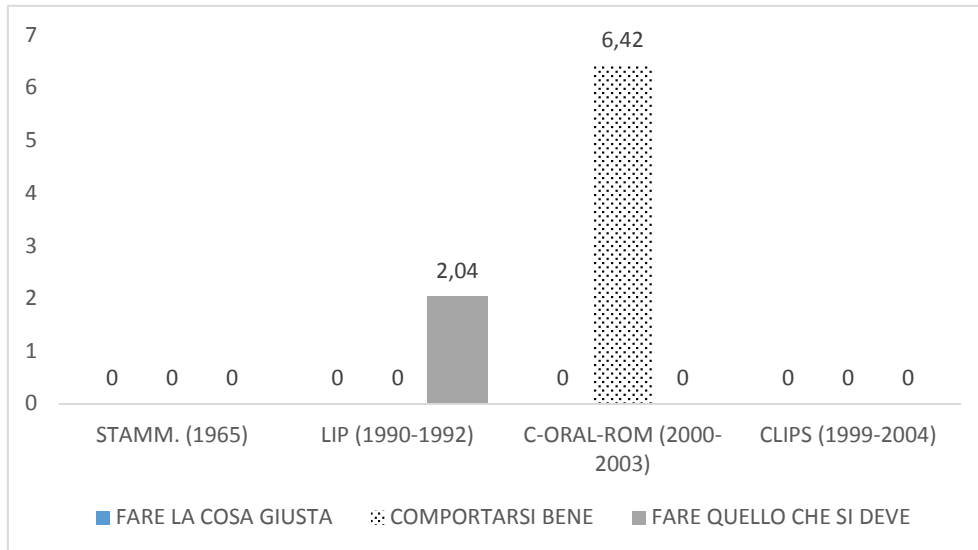
Table 242: *Comportarsi bene* – Spoken corpora results

FARE QUELLO CHE SI DEVE	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0



<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	1	2.04
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 244: *Fare quello che si deve* - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 39: *Fare la cosa giusta vs comportarsi bene/fare quello che si deve* – Spoken corpora results**

Although the expression has been retrieved in contemporary written Italian corpora, no occurrences of *fare la cosa giusta* have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expressions *comportarsi bene/fare quello che si deve* have been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, *comportarsi bene/fare quello che si deve* are preferred at the spoken level. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *fare la cosa giusta* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 48. Incrociamo le dita

The analysis carried out in § 5.4.2 point 69 showed that *incrociamo le dita* has started to be used only after dubbing. Furthermore, the data showed that in present-day Italian, *incrociamo le dita* is more used than its traditional counterpart, *speriamo bene*. Because it is an expression which describes a gesture, it seems reasonable to conclude that *incrociamo le dita* may be an instance of DI (cfr. § 5.2.1.3 point 8, the case of *dammi/batti il cinque*).

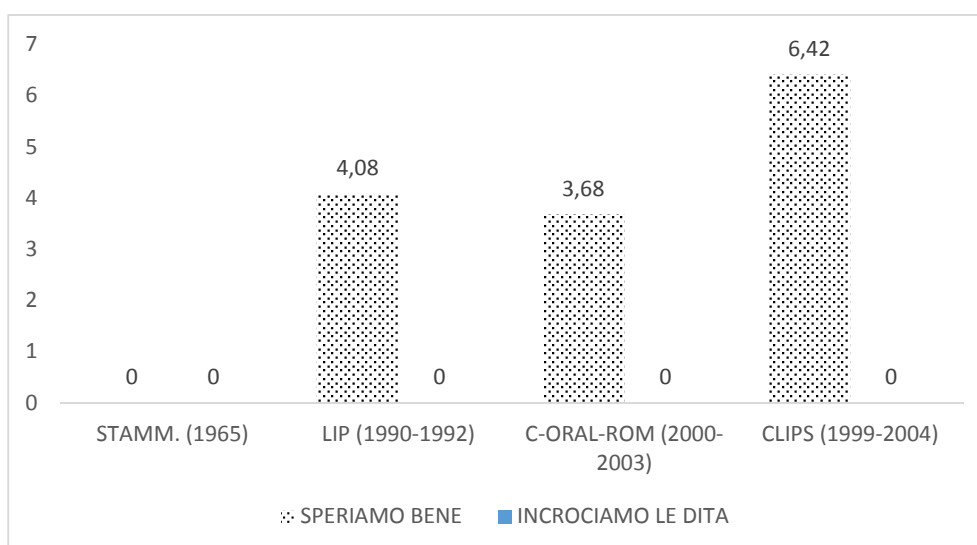
The presence and frequency of occurrence of this expression is now investigated in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *speriamo bene*, the traditional Italian expression used in similar communicative situations; tables 245 and 256 and figure 40 below show the results.

<b>INCROCIAMO LE DITA</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

**Table 245: Incrociamo le dita – Spoken corpora results**

<b>SPERIAMO BENE!</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	2	4.08
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	2	3.68
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	2	6.42

**Table 246: Speriamo bene - Spoken corpora results**



**Figure 40: Incrociamo le dita vs speriamo bene - Spoken corpora results**

Although *incrociamo le dita* has been found in contemporary Italian dictionaries and written corpora, no occurrences have been found in the spoken corpora. At the same time, the traditional Italian expression *speriamo bene* has been found suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, in spoken Italian the traditional device is preferred. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *incrociamo le dita* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

#### 49. Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri

The investigations conducted in 5.4.2 point 70 showed that the expression was not in use before dubbing; however, occurrences have been found in the corpus of contemporary Italian, thus evidencing that the expression has entered real use Italian after dubbing. Considering its high frequency of occurrence which has been observed in Italian AVT products, *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* is a likely instance of DI which has entered the language.

The frequency of this expression is here analysed in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *dimmi che pensi*, the expression used in analogous communicative situations; the results are shown in tables 247 and 248 and figure 41.

UN SOLDINO PER I TUOI PENSIERI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 247: Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri – Spoken Italian corpora

DIMMI CHE PENSI	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	1	9.99
LIP (1990-1992)	5	10.22
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	3	9.63

CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0
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Table 248: Dimmi che pensi – Spoken corpora results

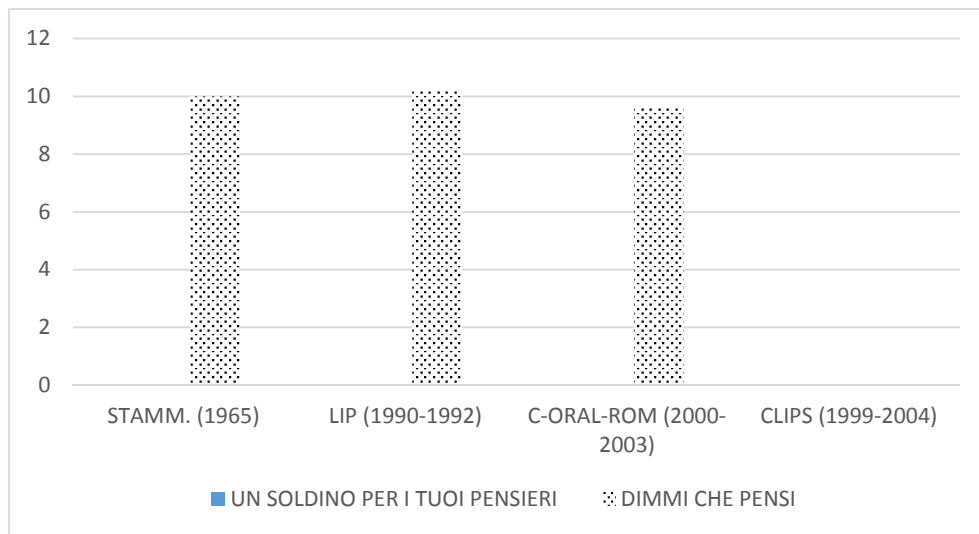


Figure 41: *Un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* vs *dimmi che pensi* – Spoken corpora results

No occurrences have been found in the spoken corpora for *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* while the analogous Italian expression *dimmi che pensi* has been retrieved suggesting that, in those communicative situations where such expressions are expected to be used, in spoken Italian the traditional locution is preferred. Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *un soldino per i tuoi pensieri* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

## 50. Essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto

The analysis carried out in 5.4.2 point 71 showed that, although *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* was not in use before dubbing, the expression is in use in present-day Italian. The repeated frequency of the expression observed in Italian AVT products may have triggered its diffusion in real use Italian.

The expression is here searched in four spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *cadere a fagiolo*, the expression which would be expected to be used in similar communicative situations. Tables 249 and 250 and figure 42 show the results.

ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
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AL MOMENTO GIUSTO		
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	1	2.04
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	1	3.21
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 249: *Essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* – Spoken corpora results

CADERE A FAGIOLO	TOTAL TOKENS	P.P.M.
STAMM. (1965)	0	0
LIP (1990-1992)	0	0
C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)	0	0
CLIPS (1999-2004)	0	0

Table 250: *Cadere a fagiolo* – Spoken corpora results

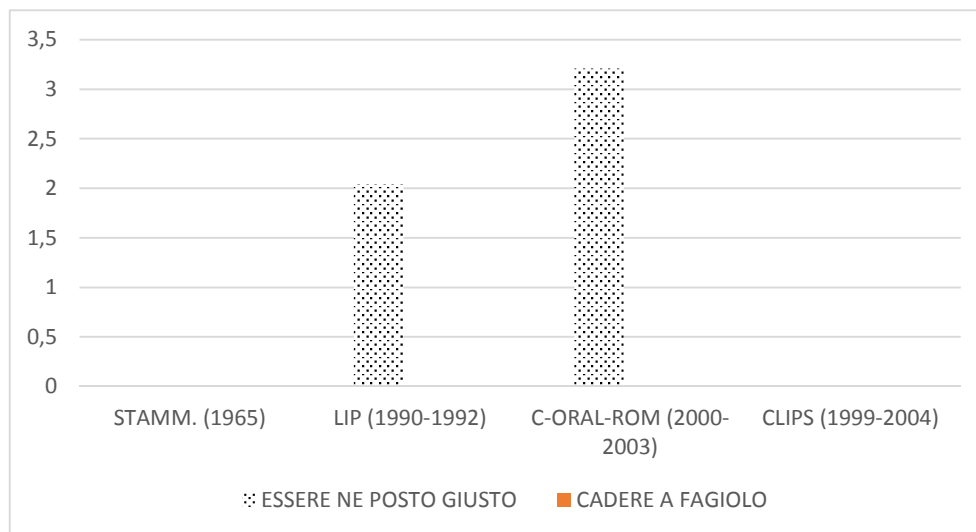


Figure 42: *Essere nel posto giusto vs cadere a fagiolo* – Spoken corpora results

The results are consistent with the findings obtained in the previous stages of the analysis and indicate that *essere nel posto giusto al momento giusto* is in use in spoken Italian. The method overall indicates that this expression is a likely instance of DI which is entrenched in present-day spoken Italian.

## 51. La domanda da un milione di dollari

The analysis carried out in 5.4.2 point 72 showed that the locution *la domanda da un milione di dollari* was not in use in stages of Italian prior to dubbing and that it is in use in contemporary Italian. Considering its high frequency of occurrence observed in Italian AVT products, the analysis overall indicated that this expression may be an instance of DI which is entrenched in real use Italian.

The presence and frequency of occurrence of this formula is now investigated in spoken Italian corpora in contrast with *la domanda cruciale/fondamentale*, i.e., the traditional Italian expressions which would be expected to be used in analogous communicative situations. The results are reported in tables 251 and 252.

<b>LA DOMANDA DA UN MILIONE DI DOLLARI</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

Table 251: *La domanda da un milione di dollari* – Spoken corpora results

<b>LA DOMANDA CRUCIALE / FONDAMENTALE</b>	<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>P.P.M.</b>
<b>STAMM. (1965)</b>	0	0
<b>LIP (1990-1992)</b>	0	0
<b>C-ORAL-ROM (2000-2003)</b>	0	0
<b>CLIPS (1999-2004)</b>	0	0

Table 252: *La domanda cruciale/fondamentale* - Spoken corpora results

No occurrences have been found in the corpora of spoken Italian for any of the expressions under analysis. This means that the situation in which the linguistic expressions are expected to be used is not represented in the corpora; therefore, the final results are not conclusive (i.e., the instance of DI may be entrenched in spoken

Italian even if the spoken data used in this thesis do not evidence it). Thus, at this stage, the method provides evidence that *la domanda da un milione di dollari* is a likely instance of DI which is in use at least in written Italian.

### 6.3 Discussion of the results

Following the rigorous investigations carried out in the previous stages of the method, in this chapter, the presence and frequency of occurrence of the selected 51 instances of DI have been diachronically analysed in four corpora of spoken Italian. Such investigations aimed to empirically establish a direct link between TV and cinema and spoken language change in Italian.

The analysis has provided evidence that, out of 51 instances of DI, 25 are entrenched in present-day spoken Italian. As for the other 26 linguistic expressions, in six cases the results were not conclusive because the relevant communicative situation was not represented in the corpora, i.e., contrastive analyses with the traditional Italian expressions which were expected to be used did not yield any occurrences. The remaining 20 instances of DI, on the contrary, were not found in the corpora of spoken Italian, even if the communicative situation was represented. This evidenced that the instances of DI in question, though entrenched in real use written Italian, may not be in use at the spoken level or they may be less common than the traditional Italian expressions. At this stage, however, they have been excluded from the list of instances of DI which are entrenched in spoken Italian.

Crucially, the quantitative analysis has also shown that a higher frequency of occurrence of the instances of DI, when observable, tended to occur in the most recent corpora, thus corroborating the hypothesis of the role played by AVT products also in diffusing the expressions in the language over time. The most relevant results, however, are achieved from expressions such as *non c'è problema* and *buona giornata*, which were not found in stages of Italian prior to dubbing but which, regardless of their presence in contemporary Italian dictionaries, were found in the spoken corpora. Such findings provide evidence that dubbing may account for their presence and/or diffusion in real use spoken Italian.

Table 253 recapitulates the instances of DI which are entrenched in present-day spoken Italian according to the categorisation of PMs, FL, and FEs.

PMs	FL	FES
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Si? (CONATIVE)	FRATELLO	NON C'È PROBLEMA
ESATTO	BUONA GIORNATA	NIENTE DI PERSONALE
Si? (PHATIC)	PER FAVORE	QUAL È IL PROBLEMA?
GIUSTO?	GRAZIE PER	AVERE UNA POSSIBILITÀ
GRANDE!		FARE LA DIFFERENZA
STAI SCHERZANDO?		FARE SECCO QUALCUNO
DANNAZIONE!		FORTE
FOTTUTO		METTERE A RISCHIO
BASTARDO		SI RILASSI
DEVO ANDARE		ESSERE NEL POSTO GIUSTO...
ASPETTA UN SECONDO		

**Table 253: List of instances of DI entrenched in spoken Italian**

#### 6.4 Summary

In this chapter, by analysing the 51 instances of DI selected in previous investigations across four corpora of spoken Italian, the final stage of the method has been completed. Thanks to these resources, a more rigorous approach has been applied to the study of translation interference and language change through dubbing and it was shown that dubbing may have been not only the source for 51 new linguistic expressions, but also the main channel through which 25 of them have been diffused in spoken Italian.

The following chapter draws together the main conclusions afforded by the investigations of the innovative method developed in this thesis, and articulates a more systematic picture of AVT interference and language change in Italian. In addition, I examine the wider implications of adopting the proposed evidence-based methodology in relation not only to previous studies on dubbing-induced language change in Italian, but also to existing research on media-induced language change.



# CONCLUSIONS

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# 7

## 7.1 Introduction

The main objective of this thesis has been to identify the nature and form of the limitations of studies which have investigated the impact of Italian dubbing on the viewer's language in order to develop an empirical approach to research on translation interference and language change via dubbing. The argument strategy pursued to address this issue combines two complementary procedures. I first explored the contributions and limitations of recent approaches that have investigated dubbing-induced language change in Italian and media-induced language change by discussing the extent to which any of them might provide an appropriate framework for the development of methodologies for research on translation interference and language change through dubbing. This critical review showed that whilst research suggests that exposure to television and AV content has a considerable potential impact on viewers, there is a pressing need for a theoretical and objective evidence-based approach to validate the influence of dubbing in spoken Italian and to provide evidence of the effective role played by media in language change. In response, I have argued for the adoption of a more analytical, evidence-based perspective to the subject. Therefore, the second component of the argument strategy developed in the thesis relies essentially on the construction of a more adequate method that could arguably provide an alternative approach to testing media influence and which is applied in this thesis.

In this chapter, I first provide a synthesis of the principal arguments which have been used for the development of the innovative method and I summarise the methodological approach itself (§ 7.2); then, in § 7.3, the results from the application of the method to 73 present-day Italian linguistic expressions are summarised. While the contributions and implications of these results and how they impinge on existing literature are outlined in § 7.4, § 7.5 discusses the limitations that have been encountered in the study and opens the discussion for future research practice. Finally, § 7.6 draws together the main conclusions afforded by the thesis.

## 7.2 Principal arguments and methodological approach

The research hypothesis of the influence of dubbing on (Italian) language in use is traditionally based on the assumption that the AVT process generates interference in the dubbed text. The instances of interference so generated and repeatedly used over the years would then be expected to have crystallised in features which are typical of dubbing. As viewers have been regularly exposed to these features, it is also thought that their language may have been affected by such exposure and that these interference phenomena have now become entrenched in spoken Italian. The principal arguments upon which the innovative method is built rely on the need in the existing research to overcome a number of limitations shared by recent studies on the impact of Italian dubbing on spoken Italian. In particular, the attentive exploration of works on the subject conducted in chapter 2 has revealed that a structured evidence-driven methodology was missing, as were clear definitions of terms and qualitative and quantitative analyses of the data.

Arising from such an outcome, in chapter 2, I first introduced the notion of dubbing interference (DI) which has specified more formally the concept of AV translation interference and of ‘non Italian’, which had been previously adopted by researchers. Instead, by specifying more clearly translation interference in dubbing, the DI definition has allowed for a more targeted and consistent analysis. Secondly, I insisted that a detailed qualitative analysis and categorisation of the items under investigation was necessary in order to identify more accurately their range and type. By analysing the instances of interference in their context of use (i.e., pragmatic perspective), the qualitative analysis carried out in chapter 4 has offered a clear, rich and detailed picture of the available data, thus facilitating the following stages of the method. Finally, I advocate the application of a more rigorous approach which uses observable data over “intuition” and introspective language competence/perception to investigate AV translation interference and language change through dubbing. Thus, the new method crucially aims to determine which linguistic elements recurrently found in AVT products are plausible instances of DI that are also used in real use data of spoken Italian. The direct link between AVT language and real use language can be in this way established and dubbing can be envisaged as playing a decisive role in language change in terms of introducing and/or spreading innovative linguistic features in the language. This is accomplished in chapters 5 and 6 where I carried out lexicographic and etymological analyses within historical dictionaries and quantitative diachronic investigations within corpora of written and spoken Italian to

investigate the origin, presence, and real frequency of use of the relevant expressions before and after dubbing was introduced in Italy.

The method partially overcomes one of the weaknesses of previous research, i.e. the fact that the role played by media in language change, even when it is demonstrable, cannot be separated from other factors (e.g., other media, language change already in progress, etc.). Restricting such factors to dubbing, that is by establishing that the linguistic expressions are likely to have originated in dubbing, dubbing can finally be held accountable for the introduction and/or diffusion of such items. The new method meets in this way the need for an objective approach which empirically tests and substantiates claims on the direct influence of dubbing on spoken Italian and on the decisive role played by TV and cinema in language change.

### **7.3 The results**

During the review process of previous studies on dubbing interference and Italian language change, a total of 73 present-day Italian expressions that were claimed to be inherited through interference were gathered and used as case studies for testing the new analytical methodology. After conducting the qualitative analysis in chapter 4, etymological, lexicographic and diachronic quantitative searches have been conducted in chapters 5 and 6. In chapter 5 in particular, the linguistic expressions, which previous authors have singled out as instances of AVT interference, have been examined across a range of verifiable data (one grammar, two etymological dictionaries, six historical dictionaries, ten contemporary dictionaries, and two corpora of written Italian) to seek proof that could support or discard them as the result of dubbing influence. The investigations showed that 25 expressions did not originate in dubbing, as claimed in previous studies, but that they had actually already existed in earlier stages of Italian. It was also shown that the frequency of use of 22 expressions, which according to previous studies had increased because of dubbing had, in fact, not substantially changed overtime, or sometimes, had even decreased. In this way, the analysis provided evidence that out of 73 expressions only 48 are potential instances of DI which are entrenched in present-day written Italian. As for the remaining 25 expressions which were found in use in Italian before the introduction of dubbing, only three showed an increase in their use in written Italian after dubbing. Hence, overall, the results indicated that dubbing may have been responsible for the introduction and/or diffusion in the language of 51 present-day Italian linguistic expressions.

These 51 expressions were further searched in corpora of spoken Italian to investigate their presence at the spoken level of the language and, thereby, establish the likelihood of a direct link between dubbing language and spoken language. The results of these searches are presented in Chapter 6. The analysis has provided evidence that, out of 51 instances of DI, 25 are entrenched in present-day spoken Italian. As for the other 26 linguistic expressions, in six cases the results were not conclusive because the relevant communicative situation was not represented in the corpora (i.e., contrastive analyses did not yield any occurrences). The remaining 20 instances of DI, on the contrary, were not found in the corpora of spoken Italian, even if the communicative situation was represented. This evidenced that the instances of DI in question, though entrenched in real use written Italian, may not be in use at the spoken level or they may be less common than the traditional Italian expressions. At this stage, however, they all have been excluded from the list of instances of DI which are entrenched in spoken Italian.

Furthermore, a higher frequency of occurrence rate of the instances of DI, when observable, was found in the most recent corpora, thus corroborating the hypothesis of a role played by AVT products also in diffusing the expressions in the language over time. The most relevant results, however, were achieved in those cases when expressions not found in stages of Italian prior to dubbing were found in the spoken corpora (i.e., after dubbing). Such findings provide evidence that dubbing may account for their presence and/or diffusion in real use spoken Italian.

#### **7.4 Implications of the findings and significance of the study**

From the application of the method to 73 present-day Italian linguistic expressions, existing positions on the impact of dubbing on spoken Italian have been contradicted with respect to 41 linguistic expressions. In this thesis, it was provided evidence that the extent to which dubbing may have anglicised the Italian language is less significant than it has been claimed in descriptive studies. The results obtained in this thesis yield an important insight: statements based on intuitive or subjective impressions cannot be accepted as objective proofs. The conclusions drawn in this study are supported by empirical data which are based on rigorous evidence of language use. On the other hand, the results have shown that 25 linguistic expressions are indeed plausible instances of DI that have entered spoken Italian. Language competence and intuition thus have a heuristic role to play: they may be utilised initially to set up the hypothesis that certain features might be the result of

interference. However, once a linguistic item is intuitively identified as the result of translation interference, then an in-depth investigation must be conducted to empirically support the linguist's perception. The method suggested in this study innovatively tries to provide a scientific methodology to perform such a task.

The methodological approach used in this thesis differs from traditional studies on both dubbing-induced language change and media-induced language change for a number of reasons. As I have discussed in chapter 2, in dubbing-induced language change studies, the focus on determining whether the linguistic items were instances of DI was entirely overlooked. The significance of this new method lies precisely in the fact that, for the first time, the role of dubbing as a potential factor in language change can be directly established and validated by empirical investigations. The new methodology also differs from traditional studies on media-induced language change as in these works, the features under investigation were not the result of translation interference, but varieties of the same language (e.g., the influence of German German on Austrian German or of British English on Scottish English). This entailed that it was not possible to specifically isolate the role of media for the features in question from other processes already in progress; the part played by media could occasionally be proven, but only as a concurrent factor. Moreover, the linguistic features chosen for the analysis were associated to specific TV programmes, thus prioritising discussions on the viewer's positive cognitive engagement with media. On the contrary, in this study, such discussions have a negligible importance for substantiating the role of dubbing in language change. By proving that recurrent features of dubbing are plausible instances of DI which are entrenched in the spoken language, dubbing can be envisaged as playing a decisive role in language change, even without acknowledging media engagement. Although it is still hard to determine whether a certain linguistic expression is without any doubt an instance of interference from dubbing, positive correlations between certain linguistic expressions and dubbing have nonetheless been found. This is especially true for those items which were not found in stages of Italian prior to dubbing but which, regardless of their presence in contemporary Italian dictionaries, were found in both dubbed products and spoken corpora.

As the study does not try to claim that language change can occur without live social interaction - that is without language accommodation, the research hypothesis is not in contrast with Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Powesland 1975; Giles 1984; Giles et al 1991) which clearly still plays a concurrent fundamental role in diffusing certain language features. Instead, in accordance with

the 'identity projection model' (Auer 1998, *cf.* § 2.5) which claims that humans can accommodate their language to fictional interlocutors, the results obtained in this thesis show that such features can indeed be transferred from the AV content into the viewer's language.

Although it is still not entirely evident how speakers process speech and language from AV media (Reeves & Nass 1996; Staum et al 2010), the viewer's assimilation and subsequent replication of features derived from TV and cinema, when observed, are ascribed to the high recurrence (i.e., repetition) of such features over time in AVT products. In line with classic L2 acquisition studies (i.e., Keenan 1977; Weir 1962; Kuczaj 1983), repetition (understood as repeated exposure) rather than media engagement, would be the determining factor in elaborating and reproducing linguistic media content. Such a view is also consistent with results of studies on the effect of repetition on imitation from television during infancy (i.e., Barr *et al* 2007; Galluccio & Rovee-Collier 2000).

Although evidence from several studies points to the fact that repetition is the key factor in acquiring new linguistic features and in replicating televised material, this aspect does not seem to have received any consideration in current research on media-induced language change. The results obtained in this work are relevant to the debate in the field and could affect future practices in this area of study. It is true that this thesis does not directly provide (and does not aim to provide) any evidence as to whether media influence, even when ascertained, occurs through repeated exposure to specific features of AVT products as opposed to engagement with such products. However, repetition seems to have been the crucial factor in spoken Italian language change with respect to 25 linguistic expressions. Such results could therefore innovatively contribute material to media-induced language change investigations, as they reflect on the wider important theoretical approaches to the subject and provide an alternative, or a complementary view to the solo cognitive engagement approach.

This thesis also significantly contributes to the field of Translation Studies by providing a definition of dubbing interference (DI). The need for such a definition stems from previous accounts in the field which revealed the definition of interference itself to be problematic and somewhat vague. First, a common definition of AVT interference has not been agreed upon yet. Interference is ascertained as unavoidable and would be concerned with instances of deviation from the target language norm towards the source language norm (Toury 1995). The way such a deviation is detected however relies on the scholar's sensitiveness of what is

perceived as ‘not traditional’ and is based on either resemblances between the translated expression and its source counterpart or on mere intuition. Furthermore, once the alleged interference is observed, no further action is taken nor a procedure is suggested to establish whether the deviation in question has indeed taken place. In other words, Translation Studies was missing an approach which would not be exclusively descriptive. The two points are strictly related to each other: by relying on the introspective knowledge of the language, an accurate and rigorous definition seems far to be achievable. Conversely, as a clear definition of translation interference is still missing, intuition is used as a heuristic approach to detect alleged interference instances. The innovative methodology proposed in this thesis is on the contrary based upon a solid analysis of the instances of interference themselves, which ultimately leads to an objective and verifiable definition of dubbing interference.

Because films and TV series simulate spontaneous dialogues, I maintained (see § 2.7) that, although interference can potentially involve any aspect of a language, dubbing interference can be predicted to especially affect features of face-to-face interaction and oral talk such as discourse markers, formulaic language, and conversational routines. The qualitative analysis conducted in chapter 4 confirmed such a prediction and the investigations carried out in chapters 5 and 6 established that indeed 25 DI instances are in use in spoken Italian. DI has been understood as instances which were not found in original texts of the target language prior to dubbing and which can be predicted to be interactive features of oral talk.

Finally, in the thesis (§ 4.4.1) a working definition of pragmatic markers (PMs) has also been proposed. The definition was once again derived from the analysis of the nature and functions of the DI instances which are here considered as devices that establish, anchor and maintain interaction between interlocutors during communication. Within the wider definition of DI, such a definition may contribute to related linguistics fields such as cross-cultural pragmatics, SLA, and contact-induced language change in that it provides a definition of the features that are likely to be transferred during spoken interaction between speakers of different languages.

## **7.5 Limitations of the study and future research**

The study was subject to a number of limitations which have to be taken into account also for prospective research. The direct link between the role of dubbing and language change could only be ascertained by collecting information on the

frequency of occurrence of the relevant linguistic features in dubbed products. However, the linguistic features in question have been obtained from previous studies on Italian dubbing which did not necessarily consider frequency of use. Practically, this has meant that, from those studies which had used AVT corpora (Approaches 2 and 3), only partial data on the frequency of the investigated expressions could be obtained (e.g., the dubbing corpora were not available, lack of detailed information in the studies themselves). However, the limitation has been overcome by considering that, because the linguistic expressions had indeed been found in AVT products, the lack of frequency information did not ultimately affect the validity of the findings. For those studies derived from Approach 1 in which the linguistic expressions had been isolated according to the scholar's observation of dubbed products, i.e., no frequency information, the results cannot be considered as definitive. In any case, the lack of such analyses does not ultimately invalidate the results obtained in this research, as once again, they have been observed in dubbed products. At the same time, however, their high frequency in AVT products is yet to be proven and should be investigated in future works.

The second limitation in this research concerns the reliability of the method to establish whether the linguistic expressions in question are the result of the interference due to the dubbing process. Although the procedure taken in the study is quite effective at determining whether a certain linguistic expression is *not* an instance of interference from dubbing, it is still hard to determine the opposite. In other words, the analysis does not establish conclusively whether an instance of interference originated during the AVT process. However, the weakness of the method is also its strength. This crucially differs from perspectives taken to date, which are strongly prescriptive on the anglicising role of dubbing. Rather, it establishes that dubbing, as a translation process, may be the source for new expressions and that, by operating via media, it may play a demonstrable crucial role in spreading such expressions. Future works could investigate the first appearance of the said expressions in dubbed products and compare it with this study's results, so that the direct and decisive role played by dubbing could be conclusively established.

Finally, a number of tools were used to corroborate the hypothesis that the present-day Italian expressions under analysis have become entrenched in contemporary Italian because of dubbing. The resources have been selected in virtue of their completeness, authoritativeness, and representativeness of diaphasic, diastratic, diamesic, diatopic, and diachronic variation (§ 3.3). The suggested list of dictionaries and corpora employed in this study does not have any presumption of



being complete or exhaustive by any means and is to be considered an example of the sort of valid tools that can be used to apply the innovative method proposed in this thesis, with no intention of excluding some in favour of others. In future works, different resources may be used, either as complementary or substitute tools for those employed here.

## **7.6 Conclusions**

In this study, a new approach to researching translation interference and language change through dubbing was developed and the Italian language was taken as a case study. The main objective was to identify the nature and form of the limitations of studies which have investigated the impact of Italian dubbing on the viewer's language. The argument strategy pursued to address this issue combined two complementary procedures. I first explored the contributions and flaws of recent approaches that have investigated dubbing-induced language change in Italian. This critical review showed that there is a pressing need for a theoretical and objective evidence-based approach to validate the influence of dubbing in spoken Italian and which would not be based exclusively on personal accounts. In response, I have argued for the adoption of a more analytical, evidence-based perspective to the subject. Therefore, the second component of the argument strategy developed in the article relied essentially on the construction of a more adequate method that could arguably provide an alternative approach to testing dubbing influence. Finally, I have applied such a method to 73 present-day Italian linguistic expressions thus demonstrating the method's effectiveness and applicability. By employing an empirical methodology, this research has overcome some of the limitations of previous approaches to the subject and has identified the object of study with much more clarity.

The analysis also makes a valid contribution to cognitive research on media-induced language change, indicating that repetition over time, rather than, or as well as, media engagement, is a decisive factor in assimilating and subsequently diffusing innovative linguistic features into the language. The methodology formulated here is far from being complete or perfect; nonetheless, it constitutes a valid contribution to the fields of dubbing-induced and media-induced language change and it is the first systematic attempt to use verifiable and objective data to study translation interference and language change through dubbing. Indeed, for the first time, it was provided evidence that: 1) the extent to which dubbing may have anglicised the

Italian language is less significant than it has been claimed in descriptive studies, and  
2) positive correlations between certain linguistic expressions and dubbing have been  
found.

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