DIRECT ANGLICISMS IN DUBBED ITALIAN
A preliminary study on animated films

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Abstract – The aim of this article is to investigate the presence of direct English borrowings in dubbed Italian, focusing in particular on a genre that has received little scholarly attention so far, i.e., animated films. The article takes as a sample eight American animated films released between 2010 and 2015 and produced by Disney, Disney Pixar, Dreamworks, Sony Pictures and 20th Century Fox. By examining the English and Italian transcriptions of the dialogues and analysing each film several times, the article attempts to understand whether there exist any recurring patterns or norms regarding the presence of English words in dubbed dialogues. A list of direct Anglicisms occurring in the dubbed dialogues is provided and preliminary observations on the quantity and quality of the Anglicisms are made, taking into account the corpus as a whole but also each film individually. The preliminary results seem to suggest that no regulations or rules exist and that the number and type of Anglicisms in dubbed animated films depend on setting, plot and character. Moreover, most of the Anglicisms found in the sample are attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries, with very few exceptions. In terms of quantity and distribution, the only words which occur in most of the films and whose frequency is quite high are the interjections *okay* and *wow*, that is, two pragmatic Anglicisms.

Keywords: dubbing; animated films; Anglicisms; direct borrowings; dubbing professionals.

1. Introduction

This article explores the presence of direct English borrowings in the Italian language of dubbing, focusing in particular on animated films dubbed from American English. The aim of this study is to make preliminary investigations into the impact of the English language on the Italian dubbed versions of animated films by exploring the quantity and quality of the Anglicisms used in such products.

Animated films have been chosen as a case study since they have received little scholarly attention so far in research on Anglicisms in dubbing, despite their popularity and the fact that they gather quite a vast and varied audience. In fact they are primarily aimed at children but they also appeal to young people and to adults and they often contain multiple layers of meaning, intertextuality and humour. Moreover, animated films are usually big-budget audiovisual products translated and adapted by highly skilled and experienced professionals and this should guarantee the good quality of the dubbed versions.

The presence of the English language in dubbed animated films and TV cartoons deserves more attention, also and especially due to the audience such products address and the potential linguistic impact they may have on their young audience. Children are most likely to be affected in their linguistic production by dubbed dialogues as they often watch the same film or programme several times, they tend to repeat what they hear and they may thus learn new words and expressions from dubbed language. Ferro and Sardo point out that television is a provider of linguistic verbal input for children: "la TV fornisce un

input pragmalinguistico ampio e differenziato in grado di veicolare modelli alternativi rispetto a quelli delle letture scolastiche e non proposte ai bambini"[1] (2008, p. 441). Adapters belonging to AIDAC (Associazione Italiana Dialoghisti e Adattatori Cinetelevisivi) are aware of the educational role of dubbed language and have "an acute sense of responsibility towards the standards of language that viewers, especially young children, are exposed to" (Pavesi, Perego 2006, p. 106; on this issue see also Di Fortunato, Paolinelli 1996; Paolinelli, Di Fortunato 2005). An analysis of the English influence on dubbed animated films could therefore provide interesting data on the language that children are exposed to.

The study is a small-scale investigation which is part of a larger research project on the influence of the English language on dubbed animated films. Direct Anglicisms, i.e. English loanwords in the form of non-adapted, adapted, hybrid and false Anglicisms will be detected and analysed since they constitute a direct and evident presence of the English language in dubbing. Definitions of the notion of Anglicism and of types of Anglicisms will be provided in section 2.2.

By examining the transcriptions of a sample of eight animated films and analysing each film several times, the article will provide information on the quantity and quality of direct English borrowings in the language children are exposed to. The study will attempt to answer the following questions: is it possible to identify any regularities or norms in the use and presence of direct Anglicisms in dubbed animated films? What is the degree of Anglicisation of the dialogues children hear, i.e. how many English loans are contained in dubbed animated films? Which semantic fields do these Anglicisms belong to? Are these English loans new borrowings or established ones that are attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries? What are the most frequent English words in the Italian dialogues of dubbed animated films?

Before presenting the data and methodology and the linguistic analysis, a few remarks on the language of dubbing, a definition of the notion of Anglicism and an overview of research on Anglicisms in Italian dubbing will be provided.

2. The language of dubbing and Anglicisms

2.1. The language of dubbing

Film dialogue is a text "written to be spoken as if not written" which resembles spontaneous conversation, but which nevertheless constitutes a "prefabricated orality" (Chaume 2004, 2012). The language of dubbing is a translated language which also aims at reproducing orality but which is subjected to various constraints. Translation strategies are affected by the images on the screen and various types of synchronisation (Chaume 2004, 2012). As for the translation of written texts, translation for dubbing is also affected by socio-cultural factors that determine specific translation strategies. When translating for dubbing, the choice of whether to use an English word or rather adopt an Italian equivalent (if it exists) or an Italian cultural substitute (if the concept or object does not exist) thus constitutes a deliberate choice by the translator/adapter/dubbing professional and can provide interesting information on the attitude of dubbing professionals towards the

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[1] "Television provides a wide and differentiated pragmalinguistic input that can deliver alternative models to those of school and other texts addressed to children" (translation by Fiona MacWilliam).

English language. Moreover, the presence, absence or scarcity of English loanwords in dubbed language can reveal the amount and type of English influence that Italian viewers are in contact with and can be a symptom of the dubbing practitioners' approach to Anglo-American language and culture.

The language of Italian dubbing has traditionally been conservative and protectionist because of the influence of Fascism. With the advent of sound films, Mussolini prohibited the screening of films with audio in a different language and imposed dubbing by law, in order to prevent the Italian language from being invaded and contaminated by the English language and Anglo-American culture. Moreover, specific laws imposed that dubbing had to be done in Italy rather than in the United States. Protectionist regulations were issued in order to ban the use of foreign words in film dialogues but also in advertising and in Italian society in general (Raffaelli 1996, p. 26). Linguistic purism and conservatism thus initially characterised the language of Italian dubbing, which could contain no dialectal forms and no foreign words (for a history of Italian dubbing see Paolinelli, Di Fortunato 2005; Pavesi 2005; Raffaelli 1996, p. 26; Rossi 2006a among others). Dubbed Italian was for many years quite formal and had a literary, theatrical style. Moreover, the pronunciation of dubbing actors had to be devoid of any regional inflections and no foreign words could be uttered. As Raffaelli points out, dubbed Italian was conservative and 'pure' and did not correspond to the language spoken by people in different regions or in Italian films. It was an undifferentiated language, "un italiano per tutte le stagioni" (Raffaelli 1996), that is, "an Italian for all seasons".

In more recent times, however, though perfect 'diction' and the use of standard Italian pronunciation is still the norm in Italian dubbing (with only a few exceptions), the approach towards sociolinguistic variation and foreign languages has changed. For instance, sociolinguistic variation is taken into consideration and partly reproduced in Italian dubbing (Pavesi 1994, 2005), and dubbing professionals try to convey features of orality (Pavesi 2005, 2008, 2009, 2014 among others). However, the language of dubbing has been found to have a series of characteristic features such as register and style undifferentiation, "lexical permeability to the source language" and a higher register compared to original dialogues (Pavesi 2008, p. 81). As far as television programmes for children are concerned, a linguistic-driven analysis conducted by Di Giovanni (2010) has emphasised an interlingual register shift between the original and the dubbed versions, that is, the dubbed Italian dialogues analysed are more formal than the original English dialogues. As regards the influence of the English language, while in the past English words could not be used in dubbing, in contemporary times there seem to be no regulations that impose the use or avoidance of English borrowings.

With the advent of globalisation and the spread of English as an international language, as a lingua franca and as the language of technology, the fascination with 'all things British or American', the overt and covert prestige of English, many Anglicisms have entered the Italian language over the years and in various domains (Fanfani 2002; Giovanardi *et al.* 2008; Pulcini 2010; Pulcini *et al.* 2012 among others). As observed by Pulcini (2010, p. 320), "the input of new English loans has been steady and substantial in the Italian language, which is highly receptive and open to English words."

Language contact through audiovisual translation may enhance the presence of English borrowings and be one of the vehicles through which English words enter the Italian language. Studies conducted on Danish, Italian and Spanish in particular have highlighted a widespread and increasing Anglification in screen translation through the presence of both direct and indirect borrowings (Gottlieb 2005, 2012; see also Chaume, García De Toro 2004; Duro 2001; Minutella 2015; Motta 2010, 2015 among others).

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        With reference to the Italian language of dubbing, previous studies have observed a limited presence of English loanwords in dubbed audiovisual products, mainly films and TV series, with some exceptions (see Brincat 2000; Ferro, Sardo 2008; Minutella 2011, 2015, 2017; Motta 2015; Pavesi 2005; Rossi 2006a; Viezzi 2004). For instance, Brincat has noticed that most of the loanwords used in two episodes of the dubbed TV series *Beverly Hills 90210* (1992) are words commonly used in Italian that give 'local flavour' and contribute to creating characters, and that less common, technical terms are adopted when a specialised topic is dealt with in a scene (Brincat 2000, p. 248). In her analysis of film dubbing, Pavesi has pointed out that dubbed language presents a low frequency of loanwords (Pavesi 2005, p. 43). She has also noted that the only linguistic items that are quite frequent in Italian dubbing and thus constitute an exception are film titles (which have increased in dubbing in recent years) and interjections (which have a peripheral position in the language system and are thus more easily transferable). As a result, words such as *okay* and also *uau/wow* are frequently used in dubbing as well as in spoken interactions, especially among young people. On the other hand, most of the loanwords found in dubbing consist of lexical items that are already part of the Italian language (Pavesi 2005, p. 43). Minutella (2017, p. 100) has suggested that "the pragmatic Anglicism *wow* is quite common in dubbed language and might thus be considered a marker of dubbese", although this hypothesis needs to be corroborated by a thorough analysis of a larger dubbed corpus. Some scholars have highlighted an increase in the number of film titles in English (Minutella 2017; Motta 2015; Rossi 2006b; Viezzi 2004). Minutella (2011, 2015, 2017) has pointed out that English direct borrowings seem to be quite frequent in dubbed dialogues of products aimed at a young audience and that there seems to be an increased Anglification in dubbed TV series over time in terms of direct borrowings. This also confirms studies on other languages (Gottlieb 2012). However, examining five episodes of *Powerpuff girls* (*Le superchicche*) − a 2004 American animated TV series for children − Ferro and Sardo have observed that the Italian dubbed dialogues contain a reduced number of foreign words (Ferro, Sardo 2008, p. 419). Minutella (2017, p. 101) has pointed out that direct "Anglicisms appear to be used to attribute distinctive linguistic traits to specific characters […] or to depict a specific setting […]". This is in line with previous studies by Pavesi (2005) and Brincat (2000) and needs to be corroborated by analysing a large number of dubbed audiovisual texts.

2.2. Anglicisms

Before discussing the case study, we should clarify what is meant by Anglicism. In this article we adopt Görlach's definition of Anglicism as "a word or an idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (Görlach 2003, p. 1). Anglicisms or direct English borrowings are thus linguistic units whose English origin is evident and whose form is recognisably English (Pulcini *et al.* 2012, p. 6).

        Pulcini *et al.* (2012, pp. 6-7) divide direct English borrowings or direct Anglicisms into the following categories (examples mine): non-adapted Anglicisms (for instance *chat*), adapted Anglicisms (for instance *flirtare*), false Anglicisms (for instance *smoking*), hybrid Anglicisms (for instance *musica pop*). A false Anglicism is defined by Furiassi as "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the receptor language even though it does not exist or is used with a conspicuously different meaning

in English" (2010, p. 34). An example of false Anglicism which is quite common in Italian is *smoking* (from *smoking jacket*, rather than *smoking jacket* or *tuxedo*). Hybrid Anglicisms are usually multi-word units made up of an English element and an element from the recipient language (e.g., *vice manager*). There can also be cases of hybrid Anglicisms where the two elements are both from other languages and not from the recipient language. These are called cross-linguistic hybrids or "hybrid compounds" (Furiassi 2010, p. 40). An example is *camion wrestling* (Minutella 2015) which combines a French and an English noun.

3. Materials, procedures and resources

As far as the materials and procedures are concerned, for the purposes of this study a small sample of eight animated films was transcribed and analysed. The films were chosen adopting the following sampling criteria: they had to be very recent popular animated films released between 2010 and 2015 by different production companies. In order for the study to be representative of contemporary dubbing practices, it was deemed important not to focus on Disney alone but to examine the work of a variety of production companies, adapters and dubbing directors. As a result, although Walt Disney Animation and Disney Pixar represent the majority of the films selected, other production companies such as Dreamworks, 20th Century Fox, Blue Sky and Sony Pictures were chosen too. The films selected for this investigation were adapted and directed by various dubbing professionals who have a long experience working on animated films and on full length feature films for the cinema: Marco Guadagno, Fiamma and Simona Izzo, Alessandro Rossi, Francesco Vairano and Carlo Valli. This variety of dubbing practitioners is important for our study as it should help us to provide a fuller picture of contemporary practices in Italy and to avoid making generalisations based on the analysis of adaptations made by only one professional.

The list below contains the films, in chronological order by year of production. The title of the film is followed by the year of release, the production company, the director(s), the names of the Italian adapter and of the dubbing director and the length of the film.

1. *Toy story 3 – La grande fuga* (2010, Disney Pixar, director Lee Unkrich, adapter and dubbing director Carlo Valli), 99 min.
2. *Rapunzel – L'intreccio della torre* (2010, Disney, directors Nathan Greno, Byron Howard, adapter and dubbing director Alessandro Rossi), 100 min.
3. *Kung Fu Panda 2* (2011, Dreamworks, director Jennifer Yuh Nelson, adapter and dubbing director Francesco Vairano), 88 min.
4. *Cars 2* (2011, Disney Pixar, directors John Lasseter, Brad Lewis, adapter and dubbing director Carlo Valli), 120 min.
5. *Ralph Spaccatutto* (2012, Disney, director Rich Moore, adapters Simona and Fiamma Izzo, dialogue advisor Matteo Bondioli, dubbing director Fiamma Izzo), 108 min.
6. *Frozen – il regno di ghiaccio* (2013, Disney, directors Chris Buck and Jennifer Lee, adapter and dubbing director Fiamma Izzo), 108 min.
7. *Rio 2* (2014, Blue Sky/20th Century Fox, director Carlos Saldanha, adapter and dubbing director Marco Guadagno), 101 min.
8. *Hotel Transylvania 2* (2015, Sony Pictures/Warner Bros, director Genndy Tartakovsky, adapter Cecilia Gonnelli, dubbing director Alessandro Rossi), 89 min.

A total of about 813 minutes, that is 13 hours and 33 minutes, was examined. In terms of running words, the corpus of Italian dialogues consists of approximately 73,066 words.

Analysis is based on repeated viewing of the films and in-depth examination of the English and Italian transcriptions of the dialogues, with manual sorting of the data, i.e., the Anglicisms were manually extracted from the transcribed dialogues.

The study adopts a descriptive, quantitative and qualitative approach. It provides information on the quantity of Anglicisms in the films, the types of Anglicisms and the domains they belong to. The data are compared with information retrieved from monolingual dictionaries and corpora. The lexicographic resources used for the analysis are the online *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth OED) and the online *Collins English Dictionary* (henceforth CED) for English, the *Grande Dizionario dell'Uso* (henceforth GDU), the *Zingarelli 2016*, the online *Treccani* dictionary and the *Devoto Oli 2017* (henceforth DO) for the Italian language. Furiassi's "Dictionary of False Anglicisms in Italian", contained in Furiassi (2010) was also consulted. The *Perugia Corpus* (*PEC*) was also used as a reference corpus of Italian.[2]

4. Results and analysis

A total of 136 direct Anglicisms were found in the eight films analysed. The tables below display them according to typology, by frequency and in alphabetical order. Table 1 contains Non-adapted Anglicisms, table 2 Adapted Anglicisms, table 3 Hybrid Anglicisms, table 4 False Anglicisms respectively. Each Anglicism is followed by the number of occurrences in the whole corpus within round brackets.

1. okay (108)	42. pit stop (2)	84. mister college (1)
2. wow (31)	43. popular (2)	85. Nesquik (1)
3. glitch (25)	44. ranger (2)	86. no problem (1)
4. college (17)	45. selfie (2)	87. optional (1)
5. Sir (12)	46. shopping (2)	88. Pacer (1)
6. cowboy (11)	47. trendy (2)	89. pay per play (1)
7. kart (10)	48. videogame (2)	90. ping-pong (1)
8. show (9)	49. vintage (2)	91. porridge (1)
9. video (8)	50. app (1)	92. power up (1)
10. Lord (7)	51. badminton (1)	93. record (1)
11. baby (6)	52. bed and breakfast (1)	94. red velvet cake (1)
12. computer (5)	53. bermuda (1)	95. robot (1)
13. cracker (5)	54. best seller (1)	96. rock (1)
14. game over (5)	55. bingo (1)	97. rock-and-roll (1)
15. GPS (5)	56. birdwatching (1)	98. roll-bar (1)
16. vamp (5)	57. Blu-ray (1)	99. round (1)
17. yeah (5)	58. break dance (1)	100. rum (1)
18. boss (4)	59. check-in (1)	101. scooter (1)
19. drink (4)	60. CIA (1)	102. Scotland Yard (1)
20. go-kart (4)	61. club (1)	103. sex appeal (1)
21. land (4)	62. cruiser (1)	104. show business (1)
22. milady (4)	63. cult (1)	105. skateboard (1)
23. pop (4)	64. cupcake (1)	106. smog (1)
24. star (4)	65. design (1)	107. social media (1)
25. team (4)	66. dragster (1)	108. space ranger (1)

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26. cowgirl (3)	67. dune-buggy (1)	109. splash (1)
27. Diet Cola (3)	68. E-bay (1)	110. sport (1)
28. frisbee (3)	69. E-mail (1)	111. start (1)
29. pancake (3)	70. Facebook (1)	112. stress (1)
30. sexy (3)	71. FBI (1)	113. sugar free (1)
31. shock (3)	72. feedback (1)	114. task force (1)
32. babysitter (2)	73. gang (1)	115. teenager (1)
33. barbecue (2)	74. gong (1)	116. tennis (1)
34. Bluetooth (2)	75. hallo (1)	117. top secret (1)
35. business (2)	76. hot-dog (1)	118. top spin (1)
36. campus (2)	77. import-export (1)	119. trailer (1)
37. film (2)	78. iPhone (1)	120. transporter (1)
38. joystick (2)	79. iPod (1,	121. VIP (1)
39. milord (2)	80. jolly (1)	122. wafer (1)
40. mini-market (2)	81. K.O. (1)	123. West (1)
41. online (2)	82. leader (1)	
	83. location (1)	

Table 1
Non-adapted Anglicisms.

1. sceriffo (11)
2. glitchare (2)
3. badmintare (1)
4. dollari (1)
5. glitchavo (1)
6. pixlessica (1)
7. resettare (1)
8. videochatta (1)

Table 2
Adapted Anglicisms.

1. World Grand Prix (9)
2. motore boxer (1)

Table 3
Hybrid Anglicisms.

1. box (9)
2. tilt (2)
3. smoking (1)

Table 4
False Anglicisms.

As can be observed from the above tables, in terms of typology non-adapted Anglicisms are the most frequent ones in the dubbed dialogues (123), followed by adapted Anglicisms (8), false Anglicisms (3) and hybrid Anglicisms (2).

In analysing the Anglicisms occurring in the eight films one issue clearly emerges: most of these English loans are attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries and many of them are quite common in the Italian language. This confirms previous studies on other genres, i.e. that new borrowings are seldom used in dubbed Italian. Uncommon Anglicisms which are not attested in the Italian monolingual dictionaries consulted are some creative neologisms such as the verbs *glitchare* (to glitch) and *badmintare* (to play badminton), the noun *land* (a technical term for the setting of a videogame), the adjective *pixlessica* (a blend of *pixel* and *dyslexic*), *Pacer* (a type of car) and *popular*.

The semantic fields in which most of the Anglicisms occur are those of technology, especially social networks and the internet (e.g. *computer, e-mail, app, social media, videochatta, selfie, online, game over, video, videogame, joystick, glitch, bluetooth*), food

(e.g. *pancake, cheeseburger, cracker, cupcake, red velvet cake, rum, wafer, hot dog, porridge*) and entertainment/sports (e.g. *star, show, superstar, trailer, supermodel, kart, go-kart, badminton, breakdance, tennis, top spin, skateboard*). This is in line with the usage domains of Anglicisms in contemporary Italian. In fact, as observed by Pulcini (2017, p. 32), in the new millennium "the three most influential fields are IT, economy and sport, confirming the trend in the previous century".

Trademarks, brand names, abbreviations belonging to Anglo-American culture and foreignisms, i.e. "words which denote aspects of society exclusively British or American" (Pulcini 2010, p. 331) are also present. They have a denotative and connotative function since they refer to the Anglo-American world they belong to and thus have a foregrounding function within discourse. They are clear "fingerprints of English" (Gellerstam 2005) since they show that the adapter/dubbing director decided to keep them in English rather than resorting to an Italian 'equivalent' or a more general Italian word. In some cases they are exploited to trigger humour. Some examples are *CIA, FBI, Scotland Yard, World Grand Prix, Pacer* in *Cars 2*, *Sabbie mobili Nesquik* (Nesquik sand: an instance of wordplay on 'Nesquik' and 'quick sand') in *Ralph Spaccatutto*, *Facebook, iPod, iPhone, Blue-ray, Bluetooth, E-bay* and titles used as vocatives such as *Lord*, *Milady*, *Milord*, *Mister* and *Sir*.

With regard to overall frequency, the most frequent Anglicism in the whole corpus is *okay* (108 occurrences)*, followed by *wow* (31)*, glitch* (25), *college* (17), *Sir* (12), *cowboy* (11), *sceriffo* (11), *kart* (10) − to which we should add 4 occurrences of *go-kart* − *show* (9), *box* (9), video (8), the title Lord (7) and the familiarizer *baby* (6).

An important observation that emerges by looking at these quantitative data is that only eight lexical items have more than 10 occurrences in about 73,066 words, whereas most of the Anglicisms have a low frequency (some occur only once or twice). This confirms previous studies on Anglicisms, that is, that they have a low frequency (Brincat 2000; Pavesi 2005). As argued by Pulcini *et al.* (2012, p. 21), "since Anglicisms are low-frequency items, featuring especially in the peripheral areas of vocabulary, large representative corpora are needed to obtain reliable data and carry out statistically sound analyses".

A further issue that emerges is that the high overall frequency of some Anglicisms is determined by their repeated use in one film only. For instance, *glitch* only occurs in *Ralph Spaccatutto*, a specific audiovisual text set in the world of videogames whose female protagonist, Vanellope, is a glitch (that is, a programme error or malfunctioning). *College, cowboy* and *sceriffo* only occur in *Toy story 3* since Andy is going to *college* and his favourite toy is the cowboy sheriff Woody. The title *Sir* only occurs in *Cars 2* where one of the characters is the British Sir Miles Axlerod. *Kart* and *go kart* only occur in *Ralph Spaccatutto* where the protagonists take part in a kart race. The false Anglicism *box* (whose English equivalent is *pit/pits*) only occurs in *Cars 2*, where racing cars stop at the pits. The title *Lord* only occurs in *Kung Fu Panda 2* since the evil character is the peacock Lord Shen. The familiarizer vocative *baby* is used only in *Rio 2* by two male birds when they sing or when they address a female bird they are flirting with. The repeated occurrence of a particular Anglicism is thus due to the specific plot, setting and characters of each film. Quantitative, frequency data must therefore be interpreted taking into account dispersion before making generalisations on dubbed language. In fact, as argued by Norling-Christensen, "the occurrence of a linguistic phenomenon in one single random sample is no indication of the distribution of this phenomenon in the language at large" (Norling-Christensen 1995, p. 35, quoted in Furiassi 2010, p. 113).

4.1. Analysis of Anglicisms linked to setting, plot and character

Analysing the occurrences of Anglicisms film by film, in terms of quantity the films containing the highest number of English loans (over 30 Anglicisms each) are *Cars 2* (34), *Ralph Spaccatutto* (34) and *Hotel Transylvania 2* (33), followed by *Rio 2* (26) and *Toy Story 3* (24), whereas *Frozen* (9), *Kung Fu Panda* (5) and *Rapunzel* (4) have a very low number of Anglicisms. These data seem to suggest that the quantity of Anglicisms used in dubbing varies a lot and is related to and affected by the plot, the setting and the type of characters portrayed.

The films containing more than 20 Anglicisms are set in contemporary times. Moreover, unsurprisingly, the films with the highest number of English loanwords are *Cars 2* and *Ralph Spaccatutto*, which deal with car racing and videogames respectively and therefore also contain English loans belonging to the specialised terminology of mechanics, cars, races, computers, videogames and technology. Some examples of English technical terms found in the dubbed dialogues are *motore boxer*, *roll-bar*, *box*, *pit stop*, *dragster*, *Pacer*, *Transporter* in *Cars 2* and *videogame*, *computer*, *glitch*, *glitchare*, *land*, *joystick*, *cruiser*, *power up*, *pay-per-play* in *Ralph Spaccatutto*. In this film most of the specialised terminology of videogames is retained in the Italian dialogues, even if some of these terms (like *glitch*, for instance) may be unknown to the average Italian viewer. However, the images and the explanations within the film dialogues enable the audience to understand the meaning of some words.

In *Hotel Transylvania 2* Dracula and his monster friends use an informal register and contemporary slang to communicate since they try to keep up with changes in society and in language. Contemporary technology is often mentioned and shown on screen. As a result, direct Anglicisms belonging to various semantic fields but especially to technology and media are often resorted to in the Italian dialogues to provide a contemporary, modern atmosphere, to show cultural and generational conflict (especially between old-fashioned Dracula, his daughter Mavis and his American son-in-law Johnny) and to convey humour. Some examples of Anglicisms found in this film are *video*, *videochattare*, *social media*, *selfie*, *app*, *Facebook*, *Bluetooth*, *Blu-ray*, *online, trendy*.

Analysis of the dubbed dialogues of the films also suggests that the frequent use of Anglicisms in the Italian dialogues contributes to providing characterisation and an informal, colloquial register or idiolect, and at times also to creating youth speech. For instance, Anglicisms are clear markers of linguistic characterisation in the film *Rio 2*. English loans, and in particular the pragmatic Anglicism *okay*, are frequently adopted by the blue macaw Blu to connote his speech and to mark him as 'humanised', 'Americanised' and thus different from the birds living in the Amazon rainforest. The birds Pedro (a red-crested cardinal voiced in the original version by will.i.am, black rapper and leader of the band Black Eyed Peas) and Nico (a yellow canary voiced by black actor and musician Jamie Foxx) also have a specific linguistic identity in the English version, with a rap style and the use of colloquial, slang words and expressions, as well as some non-standard grammar features typical of African American Vernacular English. These linguistic characteristics are difficult to transfer to the Italian language. In the dubbed version, while non-standard morphosyntactic features are neutralised, a more colloquial style is conveyed through lexical choices (see Bruti 2014, pp. 95-97). Anglicisms also contribute to creating this linguistic characterisation: Pedro and Nico's utterances are interspersed with English words such as *bingo*, *pop*, *popular*, *show*, *sound, star*, and the vocative *baby* (especially in songs).

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On the other hand, the films with the lowest number of Anglicisms are *Rapunzel* (4), *Kung Fu Panda* 2 (5) and *Frozen* (9). This may be due to the origin and setting of the stories and the status of their protagonists. *Rapunzel* is a traditional fairy tale set in an undefined kingdom in the past, *Kung Fu Panda* is set in an imaginary China in an undefined ancient time and *Frozen* shows the adventures of two princesses in an out-of-time, Nordic kingdom. The fact that *Rapunzel* and *Frozen* are adaptations of classic fairy tales set in an undefined but distant past and that their protagonists are princesses makes the presence of direct Anglicisms or references to contemporary Anglo-American culture unnecessary since English loans are unlikely to be uttered by the characters in such films. In *Frozen* the honorific vocatives *milady* (3 occurrences) and *milord* (2 occurrences) are used since the protagonists are princesses and aristocrats, while most of the other Anglicisms – *drink* (1), *sex appeal* (1), *rock-and-roll* (1), *show* (1) – are uttered by the snowman Olaf – the comic character – or can be found in songs. *Okay* and *wow* are rarely used (*okay* twice, *wow* only once). *Kung Fu Panda* only contains the loans *Lord* (7) – to address or refer to the evil character Lord Shen – *record* (1), *shock* (1), *splash* (1) and *wow* (1), whereas in *Rapunzel* the only Anglicisms are *wow* (3), *sport* (1), *K.O.* (1) and *design* (1).

A further element that emerges considering the frequency and distribution of the English loanwords is that the most frequent and widespread Anglicisms are *okay* and *wow*, which will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.2. and 4.3. below.

4.2. Analysis of 'okay'

Okay is the most frequent Anglicism in the dubbed dialogues (108 occurrences). It is used in six films out of eight and has a high frequency (it is usually repeated in dialogues). It occurs 33 times in *Hotel Transylvania 2*, 29 in *Ralph Spaccatutto*, 24 in *Rio 2*, 18 in *Toy Story 3*, twice in *Cars 2* and in *Frozen*, never in *Kung Fu Panda 2* and *Rapunzel*. It is thus more frequent in the films containing more English loans, while it is almost absent from the films that use very few Anglicisms. The fact that *okay* is found in most of the films shows its widespread use in dubbed animated films. This is not surprising since *okay* is the most common English word in the Italian language (see the data from the LIP corpus, in De Mauro *et al.* 1993, p. 151). A search in the PEC corpus also confirms that *okay* is very frequent and widespread in contemporary spoken Italian (1,037 occurrences). *Okay* is an instance of pragmatic Anglicism (Andersen 2014) which has a range of pragmatic functions. In fact, when it is not used as an adverb or adjective, *okay* can act as a discourse marker, a response elicitor (*okay?*) and a response form in English (Biber *et al.* 1999, pp. 1083, 1096; Pulcini, Damascelli 2005). In the dubbed dialogues analysed *okay* maintains the same pragmatic functions.

However, it is worth noting that although the discourse marker *okay* is uttered in the original English dialogues of all the animated films in the corpus, its frequency in the dubbed versions is not always high. This suggests that the use of the Anglicism constitutes a deliberate translational choice by the adapter(s), who can and do indeed select among a series of alternative pragmatic equivalents. Instances of *okay* in the English dialogues are also translated with Italian expressions such as *d'accordo, bravo, bene, va bene, ho capito, sentite, ecco, certo, ma certo, ehi, ah bene, d'accordo, d'accordo?, è chiaro?, hai capito?, va bene?* or omission. This confirms previous observations on the adapters' attempt to avoid repetitive dialogues and to look for different Italian solutions (Minutella 2015, p. 252, 2017, p. 99; Pavesi, Perego 2006). Some examples from various films will illustrate the above comments and show the pervasive presence of *okay* in the dubbed versions of

the films as well as the use of Italian pragmatic translational equivalents.

English version	Italian dubbed version
WRECK-IT RALPH **Okay**, good. Let's try that again.	RALPH SPACCATUTTO **Okay**, bene. Riproviamo.

Table 5
Example 1 (*Ralph Spaccatutto*).

English version	Italian dubbed version
WOODY Look, I don't want you left alone in the attic, **okay?** Now, stay.	WOODY Senti, non voglio che tu finisca da solo in soffitta, **okay?** Quindi, resta.

Table 6
Example 2 (*Toy Story 3*).

English version	Italian dubbed version
PO Yeah, **okay...** anyway, where was I?	PO Sì, **bene**. Allora, dov'ero rimasto?

Table 7
Example 3 (*Kung Fu Panda 2*).

English version	Italian dubbed version
JEWEL	GIOIEL
You go have fun with Daddy and I'll explore around here with the kids.	Tu ti diverti con papà e io esplorerò la zona con i ragazzi.
BLU	BLU
Huh, oh, yeah, **okay**, sure.	Oh oh, sì, va bene, **okay** certo.
JEWEL	GIOIEL
You'll love it.	Ti piacerà.
BLU	BLU
Yeah, great. Hum I just gotta … **Okay**, ready!	Sì, certo, devo solo … **okay**, pronto.
EDUARDO	EDUARDO
Okay. Lu, come closer. … Hum, not so close.	**Va bene.** Lu! Avvicinati … Eh, non così vicino!
BLU	BLU
No? **Okay.**	Oh, **okay.**
EDUARDO	EDUARDO
Listen, hum, barely look at it. You gotta lose that human pocket, **okay**?	Senti, ehm...non riesco a guardarlo, disfati di questa tasca da umano, **d'accordo**?

Table 8
Example 4 (*Rio 2*).

Example 4 above is an extract from *Rio 2*, a film set in in Brazil and whose protagonists are the blue macaw Blu, who was raised in Minnesota by Linda and behaves like a human being, his wife Jewel, their family and friends. In the exchange above *okay* occurs five times in the original English dialogue and it is uttered by both Blu and Eduardo (his father in law, who lives in the Amazon rainforest). In dubbing *okay* is used only by Blu since Eduardo utters the Italian expressions *va bene* and *d'accordo*. The five occurrences of *okay* in English are reduced to three. This might be due to the adapter's attempt to avoid excessive repetitiveness in the Italian dialogues but it might also be a means to provide a linguistic differentiation between the two blue macaws. The pragmatic Anglicism thus functions as a linguistic marker of identity. Quantitative data on *okay* in *Rio 2* support the hypothesis that this Anglicism is adopted to provide characterisation. In fact *okay* occurs 24 times in the Italian dialogues and Blu is the character who uses this English discourse marker the most (15 out of 24 occurrences in the whole film).

On the other hand, in a film like *Frozen*, while *okay* is quite frequent in the English dialogues (38 occurrences), it is retained only twice in the Italian dubbed version – once in a song by the 'rebel' princess Anna and once uttered by the funny snowman Olaf. The

Italian adapter and dubbing director (Fiamma Izzo) thus clearly preferred to avoid the Anglicism and used Italian equivalents, as can be seen in the following exchanges between Kristoff and Anna (example 5) and Kristoff and Olaf (example 6):

English version	Italian dubbed version
KRISTOFF **Okay**, Anna. On three.	KRISTOFF **Vai**, Anna, al tre.
ANNA **Okay!**	ANNA **Certo!**

Table 9
Example 5 (*Frozen*).

English version	Italian dubbed version
KRISTOFF Anna, you need help. **Okay?** Come on.	KRISTOFF Anna, hai bisogno d'aiuto. **D'accordo?** Andiamo.
OLAF **Okay!** Where are we going?	OLAF **D'accordo.** Dove andiamo?

Table 10
Example 6 (*Frozen*).

It is worth noting that occurrences of *okay?* as a response form in *Frozen*, *Rapunzel* and *Kung Fu Panda* (the films with the lowest number of English loans) are never rendered with the Anglicism, but rather with the Italian *d'accordo?/è chiaro?/hai capito?/va bene?*

A comparison of the translation strategies for *okay* in two films adapted by the same dialogue writer also shows interesting results. Fiamma Izzo adapted two Disney films: *Ralph Spaccatutto* (with co-adapter Simona Izzo) and *Frozen*. In *Ralph Spaccatutto* the Anglicism *okay* is used to a great extent (29 out of 31 occurrences of *okay* in the English dialogues are kept in dubbing), and all the characters utter *okay/okay?* as pragmatic Anglicisms used as response forms and response elicitors. On the other hand, in the Italian dubbed version of *Frozen okay* is never uttered. This may suggest that the absence of *okay* in *Frozen* is a deliberate translational choice probably due to setting, plot and characters rather than a stylistic preference of Izzo. The same can be observed for adapter Carlo Valli, who used *okay* rarely in *Cars 2* (only 2 occurrences) and often in *Toy story 3* (18 occurrences). Moreover, in a personal communication Valli admits that he never says *okay*. Nevertheless, he explains that since *okay* is commonly used in Italian and he hears it uttered by people in the street, he sometimes uses *okay* in his adaptations for dubbing (personal communication, 2017). The analysis of the dubbed dialogues and the adapter/dubbing director's comments suggest that the choice of an English word rather than an Italian one is not only dependent on the style and taste of the adapter or dubbing director, but is probably also linked to plot and setting and might be a means to provide characterisation. This hypothesis needs to be corroborated by comparing several films adapted by the same professionals.

4.3. Analysis of 'wow'

The emotive interjection *wow* is the second most frequent Anglicism in the dubbed dialogues of the animated films analysed (31 occurrences). In terms of frequency and widespread use, it is the only Anglicism which can be found in all the films and has quite a high frequency. It occurs 8 times in *Hotel Transylvania 2* and *Ralph Spaccatutto*, 6 times in *Rio 2,* thrice in *Toy Story 3* and *Rapunzel,* once in *Cars 2, Frozen* and *Kung Fu Panda 2*. It is used by various types of characters and expresses an informal register and emotion. These quantitative data appear to confirm that *wow* has gained ground in contemporary dubbed Italian (Pavesi 2005, p. 43; Minutella 2017, p. 100). Examples 7 and 8 below show how this English interjection is uttered in different films to express awe.

English version	Italian dubbed version
FLYNN	FLYNN
Wow! I could get used to a view like this.	**Wow!** Potrei abituarmi a un panorama come questo.

Table 11
Example 7 (*Rapunzel*).

English version	Italian dubbed version
LUIZ	LUIZ
The Amazon? **Wow**, that's wild!	In Amazzonia? **Wow!** Da paura!

Table 12
Example 8 (*Rio 2*).

A further element that emerges from the linguistic analysis of the original and dubbed dialogues is that in all the films making up the corpus *wow* is variously rendered with *wow* or with alternative Italian interjections and expressions of surprise or awe (*accidenti*, *cavolo*, *ah*, *oh*, *ehi*, *frena, però, fischia*). This again suggests that dubbing professionals vary the language used in dubbed dialogues, avoid excessive repetitiveness and opt for lexical creativity. For instance, *wow* is found only twice in the dubbed version of *Cars 2*, while other 7 occurrences of this interjection in the original dialogues are rendered with *ah! Oh! Accidenti! Fischia!* In particular, instances of *wow* by Tow Mater are translated with the Italian humorous interjection *fischia*, which becomes an idiolectal feature typical of this character.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to make preliminary quantitative and qualitative considerations about the impact of the English language on the Italian dubbed versions of animated films, illustrating the results of a small scale investigation on direct Anglicisms in a sample of eight films.

The linguistic analysis of the dialogues has revealed that no real patterns or regularities emerge and that the presence of Anglicisms seems quite limited in dubbed animated films. This is in line with previous studies on other audiovisual genres (Brincat 2000; Ferro, Sardo 2008; Minutella 2017; Pavesi 2005). Moreover, most of the Anglicisms found in the sample seem to be familiar to the average Italian speaker (except for the ones used in *Ralph Spaccatutto*) and are attested in Italian monolingual dictionaries, with very few exceptions. This again confirms previous studies on the presence of English loans in dubbed language (Brincat 2000; Pavesi 2005; Rossi 2005, 2006b).

An important finding of this investigation is that the quantity and quality of Anglicisms depends on the setting, plot and characters of each film. Moreover, English loans may be used as conveyors of linguistic characterisation. This again corroborates previous studies on other audiovidual genres, providing quantitative data on a larger sample (Brincat 2000; Minutella 2017).

In terms of quantity and distribution, the only words whose impact on dubbed Italian is relevant since they occur in most of the films and they have a high frequency are the discourse marker *okay/okay?* and the interjection *wow*, that is, two pragmatic Anglicisms. This again confirms Pavesi's (2005, p. 43) observations about dubbed films and may be seen as a regularity in the language of dubbing in general (Minutella 2017, pp. 100-101) that applies to animated films too. Another important finding of the quantitative investigation carried out in this study is that dubbing professionals seem to aim at variation. A pattern that has emerged is the tendency to render the Italian dialogues less

repetitive than the English ones, for instance by adopting a range of pragmatic equivalents and alternatives to the use of the Anglicism *okay*. This again confirms previous studies on other audiovisual genres (Minutella 2015; Minutella 2017, p. 101; Minutella, Pulcini 2014).

The variety and quantity of Anglicisms in the films analysed also leads to another observation: it can be argued that the Italian language of contemporary dubbed animated films is not conservative and formal as it used to be and is not completely 'English-proof', but rather attempts to reproduce the informality of the original dialogues and is receptive to English words. Anglicisms seem to be chosen by adapters in order to provide a modern setting, a colloquial style and to convey humour. Moreover, some unusual, less common Anglicisms are inserted in the dubbed dialogues when the story or a specific character require it. The adapter's linguistic and translational choices, including the use of direct Anglicisms, appear to be dictated by a careful study of characters and an attempt to provide linguistic characterisation (Pavesi, Perego 2006, p. 109).

To conclude, this preliminary analysis of English borrowings in animated films suggests that the discourse markers *okay* and *wow* are instances of pragmatic Anglicisms that affect Italian dubbing of animated films to a great extent. Also *whoa* and *yeah* seem to be gaining ground. The emotive interjection *whoa*, which is often used in informal speech in English (Strange 2016, pp. 68-69), is usually translated as *Oh/ah/wow/no*, and very rarely retained as an Anglicism. However, the examination of the English and Italian dialogues suggests that this interjection is becoming more frequent in dubbed dialogues. This deserves further research on a larger corpus.

Analysis of the film dialogues suggests that there is a high number of interjections and discourse markers in animated films, which may lead to stock translations or the use of Anglicisms. Further quantitative and qualitative research, both on animated films and on animated TV series is needed, since the English dialogues of such products make extensive use of emotive interjections and colloquial expressions such as *yeah, wow, whoa, yep, nope, cool, awesome* – to name but a few – and a tendency to translate them using stock translations or Anglicisms may be observed.

Future research includes a larger-scale investigation on a corpus of at least 20 animated films and a more accurate quantitative analysis. A diachronic approach might also be useful to throw light on changing attitudes, patterns and tendencies in Italian dubbing. A comparison of various films adapted by the same dialogue writer might also provide interesting data regarding stylistic preferences and tendencies and the link between Anglicisms and character portrayal. Is the quantity of Aglicisms found in dubbed animated films affected by the translator/adapter of the dialogues? In other words, does a specific adapter use more Anglicisms than another one? Interviews with translators and dubbing professionals could also provide important information.

Moreover, in order to provide a full picture of the Anglicisation of the Italian language of dubbed animated films, the presence of indirect borrowings requires investigation. Do dubbed animated films contain stock translations or lexical, semantic and syntactic calques typical of dubbese such as *amico, realizzare, dacci un taglio, voglio dire, assolutamente, già*, etc. (Minutella 2015; Motta 2010, 2015; Pavesi 2005, p. 49; Rossi 2006a, pp. 309-311)? Analysis of a large corpus of dubbed animated films could provide interesting results on this issue.

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