Vocatives in Subtitles: a Survey across Genres

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0. Overview

The purpose of this contribution is to investigate the function of vocatives and their translation in interlinguistic subtitles over different film genres. Our previous investigation (Bruti, Perego 2005) was based on a small corpus that included 2 British and 2 American films, belonging approximately to the same genre, i.e. COMEDY (with the exception of *The Talented Mr Ripley*, which begins as a COMEDY but turns into a DRAMATIC MYSTERY STORY). This project aims to investigate the various roles vocatives play in the construction of the narrative according to the different needs that different film genres aim to fulfil. The corpus has therefore been extended to include: a full-length animated feature from Walt Disney Pictures (*Bambi*, D. Hand, 1942), an action film (*Lethal Weapon 4*, R. Donner, 1998), an adaptation from a literary masterpiece (*Sense and Sensibility*, A. Lee, 1996), a popular comedy series (two episodes of *Sex and the City*, Season 4, "The Agony and the Extasy", M.P. King, 2001 and "I heart NY", M.P. King, 2002) and an animated series (two episodes of *The Simpsons*, "Homer in the night", R. Moore, 1989-90; "Homer the Moe", J. Kamerman, 2001-02).

1. Vocatives: functions and positions in discourse

Vocatives[2] can be distinguished on the basis of the different functions they perform in verbal exchanges. Zwicky (1974) assigns them two roles and names them

calls and *addresses*. The former are used to catch the addressee's attention, the latter to maintain or reinforce the contact between the speaker and the addressee. Quite interestingly, Zwicky recognises the "extraordinary idiomaticity" (1974: 788) of vocatives, given the very many combinations in which they can appear.

The distinction between the two functions is however fuzzy, as Zwicky notes that some vocatives used as calls cannot be used as addresses (e.g. *cabby*, used to refer to a taxi driver), including the item *you*. Davies (1986) disagrees and claims that *you* can instead be employed to refer to somebody who is already paying attention to what the speaker is saying. She therefore proposes a different categorisation of the functions of vocatives: an "identifying" function, that either selects an addressee, or – especially if the vocative is repeated – works as a reminder within a conversation, lending it a personal tone; and an "expressive" function, when it is not necessary to select an addressee but the speaker's attitude towards the addressee is specified. She then discusses the power of different vocatives, i.e. proper names alone or accompanied by titles vs. definite NPs with some modification, as identifying labels. As she shows, if a vocative is used to identify somebody, the information it contains needs to unambiguously specify who this person is; if, on the contrary, it is used mainly to express the speaker's attitude towards the addressee there are fewer constraints. A rather large group of nouns that can be used as vocatives (e.g. *boy*, *girl*, *man*, *lady*, *child*, *brother*, *sister*, but also terms of endearment like *honey*, *treasure*, *pet*, and derogatory items like *rascal*, *idiot*, *nigger*, *Communist*, *Nazi*) are reminiscent of nicknames and sometimes in fact do turn into real nicknames (Davies 1986: 97 mentions the case of *baby >Babe*).

Biber *et al.* (1999 and previously Leech 1986), on the basis of extensive corpus investigation, identify three different uses and relate them to discourse position: getting someone's attention, identifying the addressee, creating, maintaining or reinforcing the social bond between collocutors. The identifying function – a way of recognising or sanctioning the addressee – is the most typical feature of an act of address and can occur along with the other two. The attention-getting function is usually linked to an act that aims to address the interlocutor who has not been referred to before the use of the vocative. This aim is often intertwined with the pragmatic functions that are linked to perlocutionary aims (e.g. convince someone). In addition, pragmatic functions alone may be implied by the use of the vocative: one might for instance think of the stereotyped answering formulae in which vocatives are directly linked to politeness requirements but are not at all essential to identify speech participants. Vocatives that appear at the beginning of an utterance usually fulfil an attention-getting function, possibly combined with that of identifying the addressee; those that are placed at the end most often contribute to expressing socio-pragmatic meanings which can also accommodate an identification of the addressee.

Huddleston and Pullum (2000: 523, their italic) also remark that "vocative terms generally convey a considerable amount about the speaker's social relations or emotive attitude towards the addressee, and their primary or sole purpose is often to give expression to this kind of meaning, as in *Yes, sir!* or *I agree, my dear, that it's quite a bargain*". This is especially true for those languages that like English no longer have the distinction between T and V forms and have to resort

to the "parafeatures that congregate around the address pronouns" (Hickey 2003: 402), among which notably nominal address, in order to express more subtle sociolinguistic nuances of meaning.

On the basis of these distinctions some working hypotheses may be put forward. When vocatives serve the purposes of either selecting an addressee or catching someone's attention, they can more easily be omitted in interlinguistic subtitles for two main reasons. Firstly, since subtitling is not a substitutive form of translation like dubbing but provides a graphic addition that complements the original soundtrack, many vocatives can be omitted because they are clearly perceptible through the auditive channel. The majority of them are proper nouns, kinship terms or titles, designators that can also be aurally recognised by a foreign audience. Secondly, then, in film texts the selection of the next speaker can be achieved through the visual channel, for example with some movements of the head, the eyes, the hands (i.e. pointing) or with posture. There can be cases in which images do not show the selection of the interlocutor, for example when the characters appear at a distance or are with their back to the camera. In such circumstances, if there are a number of compatible addressees, and it is therefore the verbal code that disambiguates among them, in order to avoid vagueness, the subtitle should include the vocative. This is especially the case when it is a descriptor such as a term of endearment or of abuse. When instead vocatives are embedded in the exchange as supporting elements that build up or reinforce a social relationship between co-speakers (Martiny 1996: 767), they are clearly loaded with a socio-pragmatic meaning. Interlinguistic subtitles should therefore try to convey this meaning potential or at least to compensate its loss by reproducing the illocutive value of the utterance.

2. VOCATIVES AND SUBTITLES

Subtitling is known to be a reduced form of audiovisual translation. As reductions are often inevitable, information that might be relevant is bound to be deleted. Apparently, subtitlers follow precise criteria in order not to let subtitles remain "frustratingly 'incomplete'" (Brondeel 1994: 28). The selection of superfluous information, however, does not necessarily correspond to an unquestionable choice. At times, the total or partial deletion of some elements can spoil the detailed pragmatic picture that the film director has carefully drawn, although it can be argued that the expressive meaning conveyed by vocatives is not always necessarily lost in the subtitled version (Bruti, Perego 2005: 46).When subtitling, whatever pertains to the phatic and expressive function of language is omitted in order to favour the factual, narrative and referential function. As a consequence, markers that linguistically emphasise the interpersonal relationships between the characters (e.g. appellatives, vocatives and phatic expressions) are often expunged (Kovačič 1994: 250, 1996: 108; Becquemont 1996: 152-153; Assis Rosa 2001: 216) with the result that "subtitling may create a substantially different interpersonal dynamics from that intended" (Hatim, Mason 2000: 438)[3]. This has patent repercussions on the pragmatic dimension. The conciseness of subtitles may entail a loss in meaning as well as in the expression of emotion, and

often jeopardises the transmission of connotative and pragmatic meanings (see Hatim, Mason 2000 as far as politeness is concerned).

In our previous study, we observed that the appropriate or inappropriate use and transposition of terms of address could adequately reflect or distort the dynamics of interactions. The analysis of a first sample of English films with Italian subtitles revealed that, whenever possible, the function of vocatives and terms of address tends to be respected with reference to the overall texture of the film at stake, and that subtitles manage to capture some of the pragmatic force of the original version and make the dialogue sound as authentic and effortless as possible (cf. results for English subtitles of Polish soap operas in Szarkowska forthc.). Of course, technical constraints do not always allow the subtitler to be fully faithful to the original, even though a tendency exists not to remove vocatives artlessly. In order for us to see whether this is somehow linked to film genre[4], we started working towards defining the genre of a wider sample of films[5].

3. Film genre and film translation

Genre is a ubiquitous phenomenon common to all instances of discourse (Neale 2000: 2), which justifies the interest in this topic at different levels. Film and genre have recently been analyzed by various authors and from different perspectives, as the recent wide-ranging literature in the field demonstrates (Altman 1999; Kozloff 2000; Neale 2000; Frezza 2001; Aimeri, Frasca 2002; Campari 2002; Eugeni, Farinotti 2002).

In linguistics, genre has been studied in relation to language in order to explore, for both theoretical and applied purposes, the range of predictable patterns and processes used to produce texts that reflect an intended purpose for an intended audience (Bhatia 1993; Swales 1990). Genre analysis, therefore, comprises the searching for the rationale behind specific linguistic choices.

In this paper, we aim to relate the issues of film genre and audiovisual translation, thus merging two distinct research areas and possibly understanding their mutual influences. This approach appears to be a productive means of reflecting upon decision-making in film translation. In particular, we set out to determine to what extent genre diversity has a bearing on the translation or non-translation of vocatives in interlinguistic subtitles. Indeed, the genre of a film appears to determine linguistic choices in the first place, and translational choices in the second place due to its vast influence on rhetorical and pragmatic strategies (Malavasi 2002: 283). However, the impact of film genre specifically on the translation of vocatives is not always easy to pinpoint. This difficulty arises from the more general and serious difficulty of defining film genre.

Tim Dirks (2006, http://www.filmiste.org) opens up his thorough description of film genres by providing the following definition:

> Film genres are various forms or identifiable types, categories, classifications or groups of films that are recurring and have similar, familiar or instantly-recognizable patterns, syntax, filmic techniques or conventions - that include one or more of the following: settings (and props), content and subject matter, themes, period, plot, central narrative events, motifs, styles, structures, situations, recurring icons (e.g. six-guns

and ten-gallon hats in Westerns), stock characters (or characterizations), and stars[6]. Many films straddle several film genres.

He goes on by dividing film genres into three main categories[7], each comprising a range of labels as shown in Table 1.

FILM GENRES		
NON-GENRE FILM CATEGORIES	**MAIN FILM GENRES**	**FILM SUB-GENRES**
Animated films British films Children/kids/family films Classic films Cult films Documentary films Serial films Sexual/erotic films Silent films	Action Adventure Comedy Crime/gangster Drama Epics/historical Horror Musicals Science fiction War Westerns	Biographical films (Biopics) 'Chick' flicks (or Gal films) Detective/mystery films Disaster films Fantasy films Film noire 'Guy' films Melodramas or women's "weepers" Road films Romance films Sports films Supernatural films Thrillers/suspense films

Table 1 Genre classifications (Dirks 2006)

Determining the exact genre to which each film belongs is deceptively simple. As Neale (2000; 2, Eugeni, Farinotti 2002) points out, genre is a multi-dimensional, heterogeneous phenomenon. The problem of defining film genre is most of the times created by the fact that some basic features[8] combine with a range of secondary but still recognizable and important ones which contribute to the nature of the audiovisual product. For this reason we have been induced to use compound labels to refer to the genre of a given film.

The generic diversity of our corpus, made up of an old (Bruti, Perego 2005) and a new sample of films, is represented in Table 2, where films are ordered alphabetically. Films have been divided, where possible, according to the major traits identified by critics, despite the fact that in all of them there are components overlapping with a different genre, sub-genre or non-genre. This lack of a precise internal hierarchy of traits in which dominant features are recognisable is at the basis of any film genre study (Eugeni, Farinotti 2002: 140). This eventually leads to presenting each film as a unique network of traits. In our categorization, we tried to label each film according to its dominant generic and sub-/non- generic traits as for Table 1. As a consequence, when we use several partitions we also in-

clude "mega-genre" (e.g. ANIMATED FILMS, BRITISH FILMS, CHILDREN FILMS) and sub-genre (e.g. ROMANCE, FANTASY, MYSTERY, etc.), as this kind of information seems to be vital in distinguishing each corpus component.

The most problematic genres in terms of definition and identification are COMEDY and DRAMA. COMEDY, in its various guises, appears to be the least rigid and the most pervasive film genre due to the diversity of topics it deals with. Brancato *et al.* (2001: 71-72) maintain that COMEDY cannot be referred to as a "pure" genre (in fact they use the label "transversal 'super-genre'", our translation). COMEDY merges together a series of narrative functions linked to humorous effects (the Italian *film comico*) and it is liable to literally cross the borders towards more articulated expressive registers. Another fuzzy and normally over-used label is that of DRAMA, again a structurally complex genre-type. The formal and historical complexity of this genre escapes any easy classification and leaves room for different interpretations (Amendola, Frezza 2001: 166). In other words, DRAMA crosses the frontier and supports other film genres, imposing itself on other traits (Amendola, Frezza 2001: 166). Hence the need to further specify the sub-genre for each film of our corpus. Being specific on the definition of film genre by using compound labels is here necessary to correlate with precision the original choices to the ones made in the subtitled version. In Table 2, main genres are in bold and may occur in combination; when several labels are present, the first one, even though it does not always correspond to a main genre, is the one that best describes the film.

Old sample	*East is East*	**COMEDY** / **DRAMA** > FAMILY
	Shallow Hal	**COMEDY**
	Sliding Doors	**COMEDY** / **DRAMA**
	The Talented Mr Ripley	**DRAMA** > MYSTERY & THRILLER
New sample	*Bambi*	FULL LENGTH ANIMATION / CHILDREN> **ADVENTURE** > FANTASY
	Lethal Weapon 4	**ACTION** / **ADVENTURE**
	Sense and Sensibility	LITERARY ADAPTATION > **COMEDY** / **DRAMA** > ROMANCE
	Sex and the City	SERIAL > **COMEDY**
	The Simpsons	SERIAL ANIMATION / AMERICAN PRODUCTION > **COMEDY**

Table 2 Genre of the films analysed

3.1. FILM GENRE AND DVD SUBTITLES

The choice to subtitle a film or a TV programme attempts to fulfil different functions, i.e. to make a film product accessible to an international audience, or to make reception easier for an audience with hearing problems (respectively interlingual and intralingual subtitling). In addition, there is a third possible use, that in which various combinations of subtitles and soundtracks can be used in language teaching (cf. Mariotti 2002, Caimi 2008).

The development of recent technologies, e.g. satellite television and DVDs, make subtitles much more pervasive than they were only a decade ago. DVDs feature in fact numerous soundtracks and subtitles in many different languages. As Mary Carroll claims, "the quantity of DVD subtitling has boomed to such an extent in the past few years that quite different work processes have emerged. Unlike the small-scale DVD subtitling of up to approximately six languages that is common for corporate DVDs and European films, a Los Angeles-London axis has evolved to coordinate the localization of subtitles into 40 or more global languages for Hollywood releases on DVD. The price wars are fierce, the time-to-market short, the fears of piracy rampant. The aim of the subtitling companies is to deliver the best multilingual subtitles possible under the given circumstances" (Carroll 2004).

But crucial and critical questions arise: who are the addressees of the subtitles, for which 'ideal' audience have they been prepared and for what purpose? If one can easily understand that a foreign viewer of a famous literary adaptation like *Sense and Sensibility* wants to have access to the original version but needs some linguistic help and therefore draws on subtitles (either in English or in the viewer's own language) to enhance his/her comprehension, the choice to use subtitles when watching a cartoon like *Bambi* (cf. Salaets 2004) or an action movie like *Lethal Weapon* is certainly harder to explain. *Bambi* is essentially destined for an audience of children, who – if already literate – certainly do not read subtitles. Likewise, the viewers of a very fast action film like *Lethal Weapon* are presumably too absorbed by the frantic rhythm of the action to concentrate on reading the subtitles.

DVD subtitling is different in nature, because it has grown to meet the needs of a booming market, where multinational companies compete with multiple language releases (Georgakopoulou 2004). Productivity procedures have therefore been speeded up, and the subtitles in the different languages are not translated from the original but from a "template"[9] (usually in English) with obvious consequences for the quality of the translation. As a result, both the audience of audiovisual productions and their genre have a direct bearing on the quality of the subtitles that are formulated.

4. Analysis of the corpus

In what follows, we propose an account of our findings, based on a comparison of old and new data. For the films in the old sample we present some summarising remarks and refer the reader to Bruti, Perego 2005 for a more detailed account.

4.1 Vocatives in East is East

East is East can be duly labelled as a comedy, given its pervasive "light-hearted plot consistently and deliberately designed to amuse and provoke laughter [...] by exaggerating the situation, the language, action, relationships and characters" (Dirks 2006). Terms of address here appear to perfectly embody the language-exaggeration trait emphasised by Dirks's definition of comedy. Beside using and preserving an overall substantial number of terms of address (324 in the ST and

232 in the TT), exaggeration is clear in the number (60) and the nature of insults chosen in the original version. They are particularly varied and seem to be markers of both the characters' age and social class. Insults epitomise juvenile language targeting a young audience and contribute to amusing the viewer. However, some laughter-provoking descriptors do not easily find a translation in Italian. So, *freak*, *fucking gunnet*, *gob-shite*, *Jimmy little bleeder*, *you big daft get*, *you cheeky little bleeder*, *you daft tute*, *you pucker/puckers*, *you whiffer* do not have any counterpart in the subtitled version (but cf. also Table 12 and 4.6, where the extent of the problem is discussed in detail). The multi-ethnicity of the family (the Pakistani Muslim father George Khan, the British mother and children) is only rarely, but effectively, reflected in vocatives through culture-specific nicknames (cf. *Ghandi*) or titles (cf. *Sahib*, used formerly as a form of respectful address for a European man in colonial India and the Pakistani names of the children or of some of the characters. Names are at times combined with titles, which are dropped when they do not have a correspondent in the target language (*Popah Khalid* > Khalid; *Mrs Khan* > Signora Khan; *Mrs Shah* > Signora Shah; *Mr Shah* > Signor Shah). The ethnic diversity of different characters, with special reference to the "Pakistaniness" of George Khan, is made clear through a few specific expressions clearly referring to a Pakistani habit (see the insult *you cow worshipping bastards* > *bastardi adoratori di vacche*) and through other frequent references to the Muslim culture (e.g. to George Khan's first wife residing in Pakistan, to the mosque, etc.) delivered throughout the film.

These remarks should remind us of the underlying DRAMA-like nature of *East is East*, where political, social and racial issues are dealt with, though light-heartedly, and where the development of the life conditions of both a family and of its individual members are central (Amendola, Fezza 2001: 165). The sense of family is rendered through a specific range of terms of address which highlight the relevance of family ties but also of cultural clashes within the family itself. Among the terms belonging to the semantic area of family, *kid(s)* ('fratellone', 'fratello', 'fratellino', 'ragazzi') is constantly used but not consistently translated (4 instances in the subtitles stand for the 7 in the Source Text[10]), but in general, kinship terms are a large number (50 > 32). The mother's affection for her children, as well as her social status, are delineated by the use of endearment descriptors such as *love/luv* and *cock* (12 overall instances), mainly addressed to the youngest and not always translated (7). The cultural clash and the constant father-and-son arguments are rendered through the use of all possible variants of the English *bastard*, duly maintained in the subtitles as well.

4.2 Vocatives in *Shallow Hal*

Shallow Hal is a prototypical instance of COMEDY, as the plot is light-hearted and carefully contrived to provoke laughter. Hal promises to his dying father to date only women who are physically beautiful. One day, however, he runs into self-help guru Tony Robbins, who hypnotises him into recognising only inner beauty. Hal then meets Rosemary, an obese young woman whom only he can see as beautiful. In the end, although Hal's equally shallow friend attempts to undo the hypnosis, their relationship will survive. The film is on the whole hilarious and, despite a few moments of bitter laughter involving some of the physically

impaired characters, closes off on a happy note. The easy going, off-hand relationships that are depicted in the film are responsible for the high number of descriptors (42 in the ST and 25 in the TT), especially generic names, but also insults and endearments (descriptors: *kid(s)/kiddo, my friend, buddy, man, fellas*, etc.; endearments: *sweetie, darling, beautiful*; insults: *jackass, banana hands, mudwhistle, wise guy, you self righteous little prick*). While generic terms are drastically reduced in the subtitles, both endearments and insults, consequential emotional indices of the relationship between the collocutors, are always transposed (Bruti, Perego 2005: 39). Other types of vocatives featuring in *Shallow Hal* are kinship terms, titles and vocational titles. All of them usually appear in the subtitles, with a major change triggered by the item *sir*, which is appropriately translated only when applied to job-related speech situations (9 occurrences in the ST and 3 in the TT).

4.3 Vocatives in *Sliding Doors*

Sliding doors can best be described as a mixture of COMEDY and DRAMA whose plot strand is devoted to several intersecting love stories. Young Helen is fired from her job at a PR company, and when the sliding doors of the tube close on her, we start to see what would have happened if she had taken the train and if she hadn't. The two realities move forward in tandem.

The heavy reduction in the number of vocatives from the ST to the TT (150 > 66) largely depends on the drop in proper names (122 > 54). Apart from names – the widest category of vocatives in all genres – insulting terms play an important role and are triggered by the several skirmishes of the two couples of lovers, Helen and Jerry on the one hand and Lydia and Jerry on the other. Interestingly, as the story is based on the love triangle between two women – Helen and Lydia – and worthless Jerry, cheating on both, insults are used from women to men and, since they contribute a great deal to depict the ongoing interaction, they are reproduced in the subtitles half of the times.

Generic descriptors have also undergone a drastic cut (from 9 to 0), for two main reasons: firstly they are used in exchanges between friends or intimates and thus do not establish address; secondly there are few effective translations in Italian for *man* (1 occurrence) and *mate* (6) (Bruti, Perego 2005: 32).

4.4 Vocatives in *The Talented Mr Ripley*

Apparently, *The Talented Mr Ripley* is the only film where vocatives are used more neutrally, and where there is no direct connection between the use and the type of vocatives and the film genre. This might be due to the nature of the film itself. Its intricately plotted narrative makes it difficult to classify. We decided to label it as a MISTERY AND THRILLER DRAMA to merge the traits of the major genre this film belongs to, i.e. DRAMA, with those of the two sub-genres, i.e. MYSTERY and THRILLER which float up in the plot at different times. As in a pure THRILLER, the low pace of the plot (vs. the dynamicity typical of chasings as in *Lethal Weapon 4*) generates suspense and involves the viewer emotionally (Menelao 2001: 227). As DRAMAS typically are, *The Talented Mr Ripley* is a serious, plot-driven presentation of reality where "intense character development and interaction" (Dirks 2006) are portrayed. Throughout the film, all characters go through a drastic change which is clear from the way they live, dress, move and talk. In general terms, language

expresses both emotions and social relationships. Here, terms of address are particularly wittingly used for the latter purpose. As a consequence, those vocatives which best determine the level of closeness and affection (e.g. endearments) or, vice versa, remoteness and coldness among characters, i.e. the parameters of distance and proximity in terms of social relations as in Brown and Gilman (1960), are maintained in the subtitled version. Proper last names (1), full names (2), title and last names (9) and terms of endearment (4) are not dropped at all, nor is, to a certain extent, the title *sir*, used 10 times in the original version and transposed in the subtitled version 8 times out of 10, without being translated. Proper names, which are used as an unmarked mode of address and are not relevant in establishing the type of relationship between interactants, are reduced roughly to a half (from 110 to 63) without impairing the communication of pragmatic meaning.

Apart from these few devices, the elaborate duality of Tom Ripley – the protagonist who wants to acquire an unaccounted identity (cf. Derry 1988: 175) – which is at the centre of the plot, is not delineated through the use of specific terms of address. The major traits of both the MYSTERY and the THRILLER sub-genres, i.e. the focus on an unsolved crime (more specifically, on the disappearance of one of the characters) and the mixture of tension, uncertainty and anxiety, cannot be delivered through vocatives but are made available through other predominantly non-linguistic but semiotic devices. The use of vocatives is limited to delineating the social relationships and the roles of the characters. Thus, it is not genre-defining or genre-defined, but social-situation driven.

4.5 VOCATIVES IN *BAMBI*

Bambi[11] is a (FULL LENGTH) ANIMATED (as opposed to LIVE-ACTION films) CHILDREN FILM. ANIMATIONS are not a strictly-defined genre category (Dirks 2006), but rather a film technique in which two-dimensional drawings, pictures and illustrations are combined with movements. Together with fairy tales and stop-motion films animations often appeal to children. The label "CHILDREN FILM" as well is not a genre category, but it certainly applies to *Bambi*, as it is a non-offensive, proper, and entertaining product that excludes violence, foul language and other profanity and is enjoyable without being excessively sentimental. In general, Disney cartoons, although they may be suitable for all age groups, are destined primarily for young children (cf. Zipes's view, according to which they are "meant to captivate the 'child' in all the viewers", 1997: 94), whereas *The Simpsons* (cf. 4.9) are watched by a more heterogeneous public of viewers. Here the dialogues, with the humour, the wisecracks and the many cultural references they contain, can in fact best be appreciated by adult viewers.

In the case of *Bambi* the genre proper is difficult to pin down because it contains some elements that are typical of ADVENTURE but others that fit the type FANTASY better. FANTASY FILMS often have an element of magic, myth, wonder, escapism, and the extraordinary. In *Bambi* there are in fact talking animals, i.e. woodland creatures and a young deer in particular, that behave like human beings and undergo a process of growth at the end of which they have learned the necessary skills to face life.

The storyline is quite simple and much of the narration is entrusted to images, songs and music. The soundtrack (nominated in 1943 for the Oscar award

in the category Best Music, Scoring of a Dramatic or Comedy Picture) is in fact essential in structuring the plot and defining it. In an interview, Walt Disney pointed out that there are only 950 words of dialogue in the entire movie (http://soundtracks.monstersandcritics.com/reviews/article_5809.php). When asked why, he answered that he "wanted the action and the music to carry" the movie. This is exactly the impression one gets when watching *Bambi*: the soundtrack actually tells part of the story.

The dialogues are therefore limited to the essential and are often reduced to very short exchanges between the characters, where cues rarely exceed the length of six/seven words. Yet vocatives, especially names and kinship terms, are extensively used in a not much talked film, not only as identifying labels that strengthen the characters' identification for the benefit of the audience, but as substitutes for complete and articulated utterances whose meaning is conveyed visually much more than verbally. This happens especially in some of the most dramatic scenes, where children can interpret the seriousness of the situation through the images and the paralinguistic signals, such as the tone, the volume, the rhythm of the voice, as well as from the score.

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	ST (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Proper names (first)	47	31 Bambi 6 Thumper 3 Flower (1 Pretty Flower) 7 Faline	34	21 Bambi 6 Tippete 3 (1 Fiore carino) 4 Occhidolci
Kinship terms	20	15 Mother 3 Mama 1 Papa 1 My son	15	10 Mamma 3 Mamma 1 Papà 1 Figlio mio
Titles	4	3 Little prince 1 Young prince	5	3 Principino 2 Principino (*)
Titles + names	2	1 Mrs Quail 1 Prince Bambi	1	1 Signora Quaglia 0 (*translated as Principino)
Descriptors: generic names	5	4 Friend Owl 1 Fellas	5	4 Amico Gufo 1 Amici
TOTAL	78		60	

Table 3 *Bambi*

The evocative power of nouns is to be ascribed to their function of carriers of identity, even more so when they are meaningful[12]: e.g. *Thumper* > Tippete, a deverbal noun is turned into an onomatopoeic expression; *Flower* > Fiore; *Faline*[13] > Occhidolci.

As vocatives are a high percentage out of the total number of words in the screenplay, they are most often translated in the subtitles (78 in the original, 60 in the subtitles), in many cases replacing complete utterances. Here the meaning potential is attained by the various intersecting semiotic planes: images, sounds, score and often, lastly, language.

Kinship terms are second in rank, quite expectedly, as importance is attached to strong familiar bonds in the animal world and are omitted only when they are repeated to emphasise the tension or the climactic moment in the plot. For example, in the heart-rending scene in which Bambi's mother is shot, the little deer calls his mother repeatedly, with increased pitch, in a crescendo of anguish. The intensity of the feeling is entrusted to the images, to the music and to the pitch of the voice. The subtitles use in fact only one vocative but the cumulative effect of its repetition is achieved through the soundtrack. Both titles and descriptors have rarely been used but have always been translated.

4.6 Vocatives in *Lethal Weapon 4*

Lethal Weapon 4 (R. Donner, 1998) perfectly fits Neale's definition of action/adventure film (Neale 2000: 52-60; cf. "action movie" in Maiello 2001 and "police/detective film" in Menelao 2001: 224, cf. Italian "poliziesco"[14]). As Officer Riggs ironically puts it, what it is all about is usually "gunfights, explosions, sharks".

Indeed, this major genre is characterised by "a propensity for spectacular physical action, a narrative structure involving fights, chases and explosions, and in addition to the deployment of state-of-the-art special effects, an emphasis in performance on athletic feats and stunts" (Neale 2000: 52). Dirks (2006) uses the two labels separately as indicators of two different main genres, admitting the similarity of adventure to action films. In this respect, in *Lethal Weapon 4* action traits are predominant and include features such as "high energy, big-budget physical stunts and chases, [...] with rescues, battles, fights, escapes, destructive crises [fire], non-stop motion, spectacular rhythm and pacing, and adventurous, often two-dimentional 'good-guy' heroes [...] battling 'bad guys'". Nevertheless, a typically adventurous feature is the exciting story of the plot (Dirks 2006).

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	TT (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Proper names (first)	34	15 Leo 5 Trish 4 Ping 3 Lorna 3 Roger 2 Rianne 1 Bruce 1 Stephanie	20	10 Leo 1 Trish 0 4 Lorna 3 Roger 0 1 Bruce Lee 1 Stephanie
Proper names (last)	75	57 Riggs 4 Butters 3 Murtaugh 1 Biscuit 1 Boogers 1 Burger 1 Burton 1 Butler 1 Buttkiss 1 Hong 1 Putter 1 Summers	33	19 Riggs 4 Butters 0 1 Biscuit 1 Boogers 1 Burger 1 Burton 1 Butler 1 Buttkiss 1 Hong 1 Putter 1 Summers
Familiar forms	19	18 Rog 1 Vicki	5	4 Rog 1 Vicki
Kinship terms	8	7 Uncle Benny 1 Dad	3	3 Zio Benny 0
Titles	4	4 Sir	2	1 Signore, 1 sissignore
Titles + last names	1	1 Mr Proody	1	1 Sig. Proody
Vocational titles	15	9 Captain 1 Captains 1 Coast Guard 1 Doc 1 Doctor 1 Leutenant 1 Officer	13	8 Capitano 1 Capitani 1 Guardia costiera 1 Doc 0 1 Tenente 1 Agente
Vocational titles + last names	12	4 Captain Murtaugh 4 Captain Riggs 2 Sergent Murtaugh 1 Doctor Woods 1 Sergent Riggs	12	4 Capitano Murtaugh 4 Capitano Riggs 2 Sergente Murtaugh 1 Dott. Woods 1 Sergente Riggs

Descriptors: generic names	32	5 Man 3 Boy 3 Guys 3 Kid 3 You guys 2 Oh, brother! 2 Everybody 1 Babe 1 Baby 1 Boys 1 Buddy 1 Falks 1 Gang 1 Girls 1 Grandfather 1 Oh man 1 You 1 You two	20	1 Cazzo 1 Cucciolo, 1 mamma mia 2 Ragazzi, 1 gente 2 Ragazzo, 1 ragazzino 1 Ragazzi 1 Mamma mia! 2 Gente 0 0 1 Ragazzi 1 Amico 1 Ragazzi 1 Gente 1 Donne 1 Nonno 0 0 1 Voi due
Descriptors: modifier(s) + generic names	2	1 Telephone tough guy 1 You little phoner	1	1 Il duro del telefono 0
Descriptors: endearments	10	8 Honey 1 Love 1 Tiger	6	5 Tesoro, 1 cara 0 1 Tigre
Descriptors: insults	22	7 Son of a bitch 2 "you plik" 1 Asshole 1 Bitch 1 Fucker 1 Fuckface 1 Fucking asshole 1 You fucking leprechaun 1 Jerk 1 Mr Big Shot 1 Naughty 1 Pigs 1 You little shit 1 You son of a bitch 1 You stupid shit	19	6 Figlio di puttana 1 "blutto stlonzo" 1 Stronzo 1 Deficiente 1 Stronzo 1 Stronzo 1 Testa di cazzo 1 Folletto 1 Stronzo 1 Grand'uomo 1 Cattivello 0 1 Pezzo di merda 1 Piccolo figlio di puttana 1 Merdaccia
TOTAL	234		135	

Table 4 *Lethal Weapon 4*

The centrality of aesthetics (both in the human hyperbolic bodies and in the hyperbolicity of the actions), the speeded-up rhythm and the relevance of both the main characters' sexual and professional identity conditions the use of vocatives to a great extent. The proliferation of vocational titles, at times combined with last names, seems to reinforce both the sexual and the professional identity of male characters, especially of those who represent *the hero*[15]. Vocational titles are

mainly used in situations where the addressee's authority and role are to be emphasised either positively or negatively, but they may also serve to give precise information on the professional profile of a specific character if this is important in a given context (cf. *coast guard* > guardia costiera; *lieutenant* > tenente; *officer* > agente). Functional labels in the form of titles + last name (C*aptain Murtaugh*, *Sergent Murtaugh*, *Captain Riggs*, *Sergent Riggs*) are not necessarily used at workplace and in asymmetrical relationships, but may be used by colleagues to give an impression of intimacy. An extreme example is provided by several vocational titles in a row, used tongue-in-cheek by Riggs and Murtaugh when they get a promotion as Captains, thus becoming even more virtuous heroes by raising their professional status. The function of these specific vocatives appears to be intentionally retained in most subtitles (Figure 1).

Figure 1

In so much as heroic characters are proclaimed through language, secondary and less heroic characters are attributed this status in the same way. The wide range of mocking and incorrect surnames chosen or used inadvertedly mainly by Sergent Murtaugh addressing Detective Lee Butters appears to be used to discredit the young man and to threaten his masculinity and professional identity, which are central hero-like features in the texture of this genre, and by the director to amuse the audience. The incorrect surnames, i.e. Biscuit, Boogers, Burger, Burton, Butler, Buttkiss, Putter, Summers, have always been kept in the subtitles, but they have not been translated, so the puns deriving from their semantics are lost[16].

ACTION-ADVENTURE films normally comprise the presence of single groups of people that will be eventually defeated by the hero(s). In *Lethal Weapon 4*, the friends and LAPD officers Martin Riggs (Mel Gibson) and Roger Murtaugh (Danny Glover) try to stop the Chinese Triads from doing their illegal business in the U.S.. The screenplay is therefore plain and dry (Maiello 2001: 341), though the story is exciting and meant to be an energetic experience for the viewer. Action and violence are predominant elements, emphasised by a quick editing, fast shots and taboo language. As for the latter, insults have well-established address-

ees: criminals, gangsters and underworld figures who operate outside the law. In other words: the enemy. In terms of quantity, insults are not many (22 instances in the ST and 19 in the TT), even if the film genre would allow for more, and the dark cynical way of using language, a language of conflict, is overwhelming in the original and partly maintained in the subtitled version. Its genre-defining nature does not allow the subtitler to remove or modulate it without compromising the original communicative intentions and the genre requirements. Proper names (first and last) are not so relevant as in other genres (e.g. COMEDY), which is clear from their overall number[17]. Generic names are restricted to a few, neutral situations, as insults are preferred as genre-markers. Finally, endearments strongly clash with insults in terms of addressees and situational context. Their overall number is low (10 occurrences), and it mainly encompasses very common ones like *honey* and *love*, regularly translated, if at all, with "tesoro" or "caro/a" (cf. § 4.7). Endearments are used in familiar settings to underline the moral side of the hero, or rather the non-hero and human nature of the protagonists. Hence, the endearments-insults opposition is here functional as it traces the line between two opposite and opposing realms, i.e. family (as a representation of affection, warmth, protection, tenderness and relaxed atmosphere) and work (as a representation of hate, lack of feeling, violence, brutality and on-the-alert atmosphere).

These two categories of terms of address also differ formally: insults are normally complex noun groups, heavily modified and situation-based (Table 12) as opposed to endearments, which appear to have a simpler internal structure and to occur in more standardised patterns. This does not allow for the same extent of creativity in terms of language, but facilitates translation. An instance of an unusual endearment, thus labelled because of the context in which it occurs (cf. the same remarks for insults in *Sex and the City*), is the common name *tiger* used by Riggs when he refers to his to-be-born baby while embracing his partner's big belly (Example 1).

RIGGS: Easy **tiger**! Here he goes again

Example 1

Interestingly, no sharp distinction between these specific terms of address exists in terms of referents in films such as *East is East, Shallow Hal, Sex and the city* or *The Simpsons*. Here, endearments and insults are used both in everyday life and at work, and insults can be used playfully within family or among friends. The use and function of insults in *Lethal Weapon 4* therefore shows that the same category of terms of address has a different meaning and a different communicative purpose in different film genres.

By way of conclusion, we should point out that proper names, first and last, are chiefly used with the function of attention-getters, and are not regularly present in the subtitles. Most of the exchanges between Martin Riggs and Roger Murtaugh, who work together and constantly interact to defeat the enemy, occur in frantic and excited situations. Here the highest concentration of omissions can be noticed. Verbal exchanges (like shots and editing) are rapid, and the most important thing to pass is the message, often in the form of directions or requests for approval. Since style, spectacle, visual excesses, atmosphere and tone are equally important in most action pictures (Neale 2000: 54), non-particularly-relevant vocatives are typically omitted (Examples 2 and 3).

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
Riggs: Don't turn around. C'mon. Will him with me, **Rog**.	Non girarti. Ordinaglielo con me.

Example 2

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
Murtaugh: Hei **Riggs**, hei. Do you think the bird thing helped eh? You think it helped?	Credi che la cosa dell'uccello, sbattere le braccia[18], abbia aiutato?

Example 3

The use of vocatives is then restored when conversation gets quiet again. This explains the gap between the occurrences of *Riggs* and *Rog* used frantically in the original dialogue (respectively 57 and 18) which drop off to 19 and 4 in the subtitles[19].

4.7 Vocatives in *Sense and Sensibility*

The 1995 version of *Sense and Sensibility* directed by Ang Lee can be regarded as a delicate adaptation of Austen's novel, which deals with British social customs through the story of two very different sisters and their quest for the ideal marriage. The definition of literary adaptation (cf. Dirks 2006, among the various types of "mega genre"), although it does not specify the genre proper, is essential when categorising films like this. What is instead more difficult to pin down is the genre, as it is actually located at the intersection of comedy and drama[20] in that it partakes of some features of both. In addition, the thematic content suggests

that the parameter of the sub-genre ROMANCE is especially relevant in describing this film. ROMANCE FILMS consist of love stories that centre on passion, emotion, and the romantic, affectionate involvement of the main characters (usually a leading man and woman) and they in fact make the love story the main plot focus. In most cases in SCREEN ROMANCES, and *Sense and Sensibility* follows this trend, lovers face obstacles and the dangers of hardship, finances, illness, racial or social class status, occupation, psychological restraints, or family that menace their union and attainment of love. As in all love relationships, tensions of day-to-day life, temptations (of infidelity), and differences in temper enter into the plots of romantic films.

As conversation is so central in the film, verbal action almost completely encroaches on physical action and vocatives appear with remarkable frequency. The setting of the story, i.e. 18th century England, determines the choice of types: in fact names, either first or last, and titles are the most frequent form of address. Even though emotions are part and parcel of the plot of this film, the social conventions of the period that the film aims to depict impose restraint and decorum in expressing them. Consequently, generic names and offensive terms are very few, and terms of endearment, although quite frequent, are quite formulaic and stereotypical in nature. This is perfectly in keeping with the rules of behaviour of British society at the time Austen wrote: social ranks were quite rigid and forms of address necessarily reflected status configurations.

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	TT (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Names (first)	92	26 Marianne 22 Elinor 13 Edward 13 Margaret 6 Lucy 5 Thomas 3 John 2 Charlotte 2 Fanny	40	12 (1 translates Miss Marianne) 7 Elinor 8 Edward 4 Margaret 2 Lucy 2 Thomas 2 John 2 Charlotte 1 Fanny
Names (last)	18	13 Willoughby 5 Brandon	11	8 Willoughby 3 Brandon
Common nouns		1 Virtue	1	1 Virtù
Nicknames		4 Pigeon 1 Pooter		2 Pigeon 1 Pooter
Kinship terms	16	13 (12 Mamma + 1 Mother) 3 Father	9	7 Mamma 2 Padre
Titles	15	12 Madam 3 Sir	4	4 Signora 0

Titles + last names	97	49 Miss Dashwood (1 fictional) 10 Mr Ferrars 8 Mrs Dashwood 8 Mrs Jennings 8 Mr Willoughby 5 Miss Steele 5 Mr Palmer 3 Mrs Bunting 1 Mrs Palmer	23	12 Signorina Dashwood 2 Signor Ferrars 0 1 Signora Jennings 4 Signor Willoughby 1 Signorina Steele 1 Signor Palmer 2 Signora Bunting 0
Titles + first names	29	19 Miss Marianne (1 fictional) 9 Sir John 1 Mr Robert	9	7 Signorina Marianne 2 Sir John 0
Titles + names	1	1 Mr Impudence	1	1 Signora Impudenza
Vocational titles	22	22 Colonel	10	9 Colonnello
Vocational titles + last names	2	2 Colonel Brandon		1 Colonnello Brandon
Descriptors: generic names	1	1 My boy	0	0
Descriptors: modifier(s) generic names	3	1 Delightful creatures 1 Poor thing 1 You poor souls	1	1 Adorabili creature 0 0
Descriptors: endearments	42	11 Dearest 9 My dear (7 + 2 My dear (interjection)) 6 (My) dear + title - 2 My dear Miss Dashwood - 1 My dear Mrs Dashwood - 1 Dear Mrs Jennings - 1 My dear Sir John - 1 My dear Madam (fictional in Willoughby's letter) 4 Dear 3 My dear + first name 3 (My) dear ladies 3 My love 2 My darling 1 Beloved Marianne 1 My dears 1 My Marianne	19	6 (2 Cara, 2 Mia cara, 2 Tesoro) 1 Mia cara 4 - 1 Mia cara Signorina Dashwood (+1 Signorina Dashwood) - 0 - 0 - 1 Caro Sir John - 1 Cara Signora 1 1 2 (1 + 1) 2 (Tesoro, Amore mio) 0 1 (Mia amata Marianne) 1 0
Descriptors: insults	2	1 Viper in my bosom 1 You sly thing	0	0 (Ho cresciuto una vipera in seno) 0 (Che furbetta!)
TOTAL	344		131	

Table 5 *Sense and Sensibility*[21]

In the original version, vocatives are 344, of which only 126 have been retained in the subtitles. Titles are the most frequent option with 166 occurrences in various combinations (title alone e.g. *Madam*, title + last name e.g. *Miss Dashwood*, title + first name e.g. *Miss Marianne*, or vocational title e.g. *Colonel*) followed by names with 116 occurrences. The percentage of translated vocatives in subtitles is instead reversed, with 55 translated names and 47 titles. The discrepancy in number between vocatives in the original and in the translation is due to the fact that both names and titles can be accessed quite easily through the original soundtrack.

Titles are used either alone or in combination with names. A remarkable case in point is provided by the two address forms used for the Dashwood sisters: Elinor (starring Emma Thompson) is always referred to as *Miss Dashwood*, as a form of respect because she is the eldest sister, whereas her younger sister Marianne (starring Kate Winslet) is usually called *Miss Marianne*, a usage that is marked for temporal dialect in English (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1320), but, interestingly, not in Italian.

Generic names are very few (4) and have been translated only once. The reason why they are so poorly represented is that they presuppose a certain degree of informality and familiarity between collocutors. In the 4 cases identified they are used downwards, i.e. by social superiors to inferiors (e.g. *poor thing*) or by older to younger people (e.g. *you poor souls, delightful creatures, my boy*).

There are only two examples of derogatory terms (e.g. *you sly thing, viper in my bosom*) that have been omitted in the translation, which is a consequence of the fact that in very few relationships a certain degree of intimacy could be reached.

Finally, terms of endearment (42 in the original and 19 in the subtitles) are most times routine expressions, whose meaning does not presuppose a strong, heartfelt emotional involvement (e.g. *dear, dearest, my dear(s)/my dear + first name, my dear + title*)[22]. Conversely, in different genres, both endearment and offensive terms abound in number and are characterised by lexical creativity and inventiveness (e.g. the many examples in *East is East, Lethal Weapon 4, Sex and the City, Shallow Hal, The Simpsons*; cf. insults in Table 12; cf. also the function of *Marilyn Monroe* as an insult and *Prince Charming* as a form of endearment in *Sex and the City* 4.8).

On the whole, it can be noticed that when vocatives are translated the same type of vocative is almost always used: there is in fact just one exception in the whole film, a case where *Miss Marianne* is rendered with the first name *Marianne* in the subtitles. The use of the combination title + first name is quite significant as it is used only to address Marianne, whereas Elinor is always referred to as *Miss Dashwood* (cf. above). Changing the type of vocative is not a serious fault in itself, but it weakens the conventional pattern of address used in the original and consequently does not reproduce the frozen quality of social behaviour.

The only instance of creativity in the use of terms of address can be observed in Willoughby's parody of Mrs Jennings, where he mocks the old lady and employs some 'fictional' vocatives, two of which are common modes of address (*Miss Dashwood* and *Miss Marianne*), but one is instead rather inventive, as it is directed to an imaginary character, *Mr Impudence* (and is translated into Italian with a necessary change of grammatical gender, "Signora Impudenza")[23].

Sex and the City is a serial comedy that was broadcast for six years running on American TV (and afterwards in Europe as well) with huge success. Set in New York, the show focuses on the sex lives of four female best friends, three of whom are in their mid-to-late thirties, and one of whom, Samantha, is in her forties. The series became famous for shooting scenes on the streets and in the bars, restaurants and clubs of New York City while pushing the envelope of fashion and shattering sexual taboos. Even though it was based on the book that was compiled from the New York Observer column *Sex and the City* by Candace Bushnell, only the first season can be defined as a free adaptation of its source material, but from the second season on, it took on a life of its own. The language used is very colloquial as in *Sex and the City* the four women friends talk with candour and humour about men, sex and relationships, inspiring a new language and providing a new model of the ways women of all ages all over the world talk about men, dating and sex.

The hilarious quality of the series depends on both comic situations and verbal humour. This is reflected in the use of puns, allusions, and inventive and piquant language, a feature that is also suggested in the type of vocatives that have been used. As most of the time is spent chatting or discussing (apart from some linking narrative bits where Carrie – Sarah Jessica Parker – reads aloud what she has written on her laptop for the column *Sex and the City*, cf. above), vocatives are often employed, most of the time with a pragmatic function. In fact, in face-to-face conversation, both the topic of the exchange and the various cinesic and proxemic signals are enough to select addressees. Carrie, as the main character in the series, is both the sender and addressee of most of the vocatives in the episodes that have been analysed, i.e. "The Agony and the Ex-tasy" (from now on referred to as episode one) and "I heart NY" (referred to as episode two), both belonging to the fourth series.

The overall number of vocatives in the two episodes is respectively 29 and 32, which have been translated in both cases 19 times.

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	ST (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Names (first)	16	4 Carrie 4 Charlotte 2 Miranda 2 Trey 1 Hailey 1 Phil 1 Samantha 1 Sheila	12	2 Carrie 4 Charlotte 1 Miranda 2 Trey 1 Hailey 1 Phil 0 1 Sheila
Nicknames	1	1 Shecky	1	1 Spiritosona
Vocational titles	2	1 Friar Fuck 1 Sister	2	1 Frate Scopata 1 Sorella
Descriptors: generic names	4	1 Lady 1 Old chap 1 You guys 1 World	2	0 1 Vecchio mio 0 1 Gente
Descriptors: Endearments	6	3 Baby 3 Honey	2	1 Tesoro 1 Tesoro
Descriptors: insults	1	1 Marilyn Monroe	1	1 Marilyn Monroe
TOTAL	30		20	

Table 6 *Sex & the City*: The Agony and the Ex-tasy

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	ST (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Names (first)	16	4 Carrie 3 Bobbo 2 Danny (1 fictional)[24] 2 Miranda 2 Steve 1 Eric 1 Richard 1 Samantha	7	0 2 Bobbo 1 Danny 1 Miranda 1 Steve 1 Eric 1 Richard 0
First + last	1	1 Richard Wright	0	0
Nicknames	2	1 Mummy biggest 1 Prince Charming	2	1 Mammina 1 Principe azzurro
Kinship terms	1	1 Pops	1	1 Babbo
Titles	1	1 Ma'am	1	1 Signora
Vocational titles	2	2 Nurse	2	2 Infermiera
Descriptors: endearments	8	2 Kid 2 Gorgeous 1 Baby 1 Lover (fictional) 1 Sweet 1 Sweetie	5	2 Piccola 1 Bella 1 Tesoro 1 Amore mio 0 0
Descriptors: Insults	1	1 You bastard	1	1 Bastardo
TOTAL	32		19	

Table 7 *Sex & the City*: I heart NY

First names are here as well the most frequent vocative, but as was hinted at be-fore, they seldom perform an identifying function, apart from the obvious cases in which they are used either in telephone conversations, for instance when a message is recorded on the addressee's answering machine (cf. Example 4 taken from episode 1).

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
CHARLOTTE: **Carrie**, I'm in traffic. They're paving Fifth Avenue. I can't get through. Don't wait for me, happy birthday.	**Carrie**, sono nel traffico. Stanno pavimentando la Quinta strada./ Non aspettarmi, buon compleanno.

Example 4

More often then they somehow contribute to increase or diminish the force of a speech act (cf. Example 5 taken from episode 2)

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
SAMANTHA: If he's cheating on me I've got to know now.	Se mi tradisce, devo saperlo./
Carrie: **Samantha**, if you love him don't you think there's even the slightest possibility that he loves you?	Tu lo ami, non credi sia possibile che anche lui ti ami?

Example 5

In Example 5, for instance, Carrie tries to convince Samantha that Richard, the man she's going out with, might be sincerely in love with her. The vocative in initial position lends strength to her remark by involving Samantha and getting her to take her hypothesis into account. Despite its pragmatic function as an illocutionary force indicating device, the vocative is not retained in the subtitles, nor is its loss made up for.

Another instance is provided by Example 6 (episode 1), where Charlotte is told off for her fussy attitude and detachment. The vocative is exploited to reinforce the imperative that follows and is effectively retained in the subtitles.

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
SAMANTHA: Oh, come on **Charlotte**, get that judgemental puss off and join in.	**Charlotte**, non fare la criticona e partecipa.

Example 6

Endearments are the second frequent form of vocative. It is not always easy to draw a clear boundary between endearments and nicknames on the one hand and insults on the other. If one takes vocatives at their face value confining oneself to their literal meaning, *Marilyn Monroe* (episode 1) should be considered a positive evaluation, but its situational context (Carrie steps into fresh tarmac in front of a group of annoyed workers) makes it clear that it is an attack and is therefore loaded with irony and sarcasm (Figure 2 and 3).

Figure 2   Figure 3

In episode 2, Carrie calls Big – the man with whom she has a long on-and-off relationship – *Prince Charming* after he has behaved nicely to her and driven her in a carriage to Mount Sinai Hospital to assist Miranda in her labour. It is certainly meant to flatter him and also to thank him for being such a gentleman, but there is a more hidden implication, evoked by the frame of the fairy tale, for Carrie would like him to commit and settle down with her. So in both cases well-known referential expressions are used to exploit both the encyclopaedic meaning they evoke and also the more specific meaning they represent on a precise occasion.

For the purposes of the present classification, nicknames have been distinguished from endearments on the basis of one main parameter, i.e. whether they are sometimes innovative expressions whose interpretation is heavily context-dependent (nicknames) or if they unambiguously convey a positive meaning (endearments). By way of summarising, both nicknames and insults are always retained in the subtitles; endearments are sometimes omitted due to their inconsiderable semantic load. Many of them are in fact conventional expressions that do not presuppose much emotional involvement. Some peculiarities that deserve notice are the ironic use of titles in episode 1 (e.g. *Friar Fuck, Sister*) and of kinship terms in episode 2 (e.g. *Pops*), both of which have been translated (e.g. Frate Scopata, Sorella, Babbo, the former, however, quite disappointingly, as the intertextual allusion to Robin Hood's friend is lost).

Furthermore, in episode 2 there are two instances of "fictional" vocatives[25], i.e. forms of address that are directed at someone who is not present or who does not exist in the real world (cf. similar instances in *Sense and Sensibility*, 4.7). In Example 7 Steve is choosing a name for his future son and tries to address him to test how the name 'Danny' sounds in a piece of hypothetical dialogue. The second part of his turn signals the boundary of the fictional frame and his coming back to reality.

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
STEVE: Hey **Danny** you want to go shoot some hoops? It sounds right.	"**Danny** ti va di tirare a canestro?" Suona bene.

Example 7

In Example 8 (episode 2) Carrie is in front of a shop window and gazes at a pair of sandals that she would love to buy and wear on her date with Big. So she talks to the shoes as if they were a person. Then she immediately resumes normal speech, as she explains her reaction, most of all to the advantage of the audience.

ORIGINAL
CARRIE [*to a pair of shoes in a shop window*]: Hello, **lover**! I'm needing those for my last Big night on the town.

SUBTITLES
Ciao, **amore mio**! Mi servono per la mia ultima notte con Big.

Example 8

In both cases, since they express unexpected, unconventional meanings, the vocatives have been kept in the subtitles.

4.9 VOCATIVES IN *THE SIMPSONS*

In terms of genre, *The Simpsons* is a peculiar audiovisual product. We labelled it as SERIAL ANIMATION, which allows us to highlight and merge the predominant features of the audiovisual product at stake. Typically, animations are considered kids or family oriented films (Dirks 2006; cf. 4.5 on *Bambi*). *The Simpsons* is mainly targeted at a teenage or adult public, and not necessarily at children, as this segment of audience does not have the necessary background knowledge to grasp the references in the plot.

VOCATIVES	ST (Tokens)	ST (Types)	TT (Tokens)	TT (Types)
Proper names (first)	45	19 Homer 12 Bart 9 Marge 2 Eugene 1 Barney 1 Mike 1 Moe	32	13 Homer 8 Bart 6 Marge 2 Eugene 1 Barney 1 Mike 1 Moe
Proper names (last)	11	8 Simpson 3 Smithers	11	8 Simpson 3 Smithers
Familiar forms	1	1 Barn	1	1 Barn
Full names	2	2 Homer Simpson	1	1 Homer Simpson
Kinship terms	10	5 Dad 2 Mom 2 Son 1 Daddy	9	4 Papà 2 Mamma 2 Figliolo 1 Papà
Titles	11	7 Sir 1 Ladies 1 Lady 1 Madam 1 Mister	6	4 Signore 1 Ragazze 0 0 1 Signore
Titles + last names	1	1 Mr Burns	1	1 Signor Burns
Vocational titles + titles	1	1 Mr Maestro	1	1 Maestro
Vocational titles + last names	1	1 Reverend Lovejoy	1	1 Reverendo Lovejoy
Descriptors: generic names	17	4 Man 2 Buddy 2 Folks 2 Guys 2 People 1 Boy 1 Fat boy 1 My boy 1 Pal 1 You two	10	1 Signora 1 Bello 1 Gente 1 Ragazzi 2 Gente 1 Figliolo 1 Grassone 0 1 Amico mio 1 Voi due
Descriptor: modifier(s) + generic names	1	1 Liberty bell	1	1 Campanella
Descriptors: endearments	7	2 Honey 1 Baby 1 Dear 1 Doll 1 Me little bucko 1 Princess	7	2 Tesoro 1 Piccola 1 Caro 1 Bambolina 1 Mio piccolo amico 1 Principessa
Descriptors: insults	7	1 Full moon! 1 Pint-size 1 That purple fruit thing! 1 You big b... 1 You gross! 1 You big -- 1 You little --	7	1 La luna piena 1 Tappetto 1 Dannato frutto viola! 1 Grosso ... 1 Che schifo! 1 Grosso disg... 1 Piccolo disg...
TOTAL	116		89	

Table 8 *The Simpsons*: Homer in the night

Proper names (first)	32	9 Moe 8 Homer 3 Bart 2 Formico 2 Lenny 2 Michael 1 Cecil 1 Dagmar 1 Julian 1 Lisa 1 Marge 1 Shaggy*	28	7 Moe 7 Homer 3 Bart 2 Formico 2 Lenny 1 Michael 1 Cecil 1 Dagmar 1 Julian 1 Lisa 1 Marge 1 Shaggy
Diminutives	2	1 Bob 1 Homie	2	1 Bob 1 Homie
Full names	1	1 Moe Syzslak	1	1 Moe Syzslak
Common nouns	8	7 Turkey 1 Cougar	8	7 Tacchino 1 Puma
Kinship terms	5	4 Dad 1 Father	4	3 Papà 1 Padre
Vocational titles	5	4 Professor 1 Barkeep	4	4 Professore 1 Barista
Descriptors: generic names	10	3 Pal 1 Baby 1 (Oh), boy! 1 Buddy 1 Guys 1 Kids 1 Man 1 Young man	9	3 Vecchio mio 1 Baby 1 Bene, bene 1 Amico 1 Ragazzi 1 Ragazzi 0 1 Giovanotto
Descriptors: modifier(s) + generic names	2	1 Coffee boy 1 You glass-wipe	1	0 1 Vecchio canovaccio
Descriptors: endearments	1	1 Doll	1	1 Bambola
Descriptors: insults	5	2 Suckers 1 Smart guy 1 Son of a … 1 You dirty teens	5	1 Fresconi! 1 Che polli! 1 Intelligentone 1 Figlio di … 1 Sporchi ragazzacci
TOTAL	71		63	

Table 9 *The Simpsons:* Homer the Moe

The episodic form, the 15-to-20-minute length of each episode, the presence of permanent hero-like characters that present themselves again from week to week are all typical features of Serial films (Cati 2000; Dirks 2006).

The Simpsons is a particularly versatile audiovisual product, liable to adjust well to different sub-genres depending on the main theme of each episode. It exploits adult-oriented topics – a typical feature of teenpics (Neale 2000: 121) – and intertextual references, and besides engaging both the spectator's generic and specific knowledge to a great extent, it tends to borrow devices from other established genres and to either foreground or background them conveniently (Altman 1996: 279). Language adapts from episode to episode. Nevertheless, the fixed expository pattern of the series seems to generate a general trend whereby the most widely used and preserved terms of address are proper names that identify the main characters, those who are at the centre of the attention, those who are the stars of the series itself or, at times, the stars of a specific episode (Table 10).

Proper names			
Homer in the night		Homer the Moe	
ST	TT	ST	TT
19 Homer 12 Bart 9 Marge 2 Eugene 1 Barney 1 Mike **1 Moe**	13 Homer 8 Bart 6 Marge 2 Eugene 1 Barney 1 Mike **1 Moe**	**9 Moe** 8 Homer 3 Bart 2 Formico 2 Lenny 2 Michael 1 Cecil 1 Dagmar 1 Julian 1 Lisa 1 Marge 1 Shaggy	**7 Moe** 7 Homer 3 Bart 2 Formico 2 Lenny 1 Michael 1 Cecil 1 Dagmar 1 Julian 1 Lisa 1 Marge 1 Shaggy

Table 10 Distribution of proper names in The Simpsons

Although proper names dominate in term of number, when reference is not made to the stars of the series, language is used creatively. The creative use of language is a double edged weapon: it enriches the original but has the potential of triggering inadequate translations in the subtitled version and, in worst cases, unwanted shifts in register and pragmatic meaning, as in Example 9, where the slang expression used by a young guy, dressed-up in pirate-clothes and with a bandanna, gains a totally different illocutionary force:

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
WAITER: Ahoy! I spy the children's menu!	Ehi! Vedo un menu per bambini!//
BART: Ahoy! This place bites.	- Ehi! Questo posto fa pena!
MARGE: Bart!	- Bart!//
WAITER: So, what's it gonna be, **me little bucko?**	Allora cosa scegli,
	mio piccolo amico?

Example 9

Chiefly Irish for young man or lad, *bucko*, which also marks pirate language, seems here to be used with the meaning of blustering or bossy person, a person who is domineering and bullying. It is in fact addressed to Bart, who is actually conducting himself in an arrogant and superciliously pompous manner, with an air of overbearing self-confidence when reading the menu aloud and deciding what to eat. The reference to Bart's behaviour, no matter how mocking, is not only lost but also completely distorted by the Italian version *mio piccolo amico* 'my little friend'.

The sense of continuity and of closeness among characters in the series is made explicit by the choice of the generic descriptor *pal*, consistently translated as "vecchio mio" (but see "amico mio" in "Homer in the night"), as if it worked as an in-group making device.

As previously mentioned, language adapts from episode to episode according to the plot and to the most outstanding generic trait. In "Homer the Moe", the plot has a profound effect on the selection of vocatives, which requires the ability of the subtitler to maintain the original intentions whenever possible. Homer, temporarily substituting Moe in his bar and therefore working as a bartender,

uses language accordingly and adapts his register to the social circumstances even when at home, where he addresses his kids with unusual terms of address and resorts to bar-linked gambits[26].

Overall, we observed that a substantial number of terms of address is concentrated in relatively short episodes, which makes us wonder whether the number (and not only the type) of vocatives may depend on genre. Secondly, the apparent overuse of vocatives, as if there was no sufficient context to rely on in the identification of the addressees, seems to be dictated by the search for continuity or as a cohesive devices used to interconnect episodes. Thirdly, both episodes comprise a scant number of insults, although all very inventive and context-based, but as a general trend offensive descriptors are avoided and broken off both in the original and in the subtitles, as in the case of *son of a ... , you little b..., you big b....* This is in opposition to what happens in films which are differently targeted. In *The Simpsons* insults are meant to be hilarious and enjoyable, neither abusive nor provoking. Finally, findings are in line with the general and cross-genre trend whereby vocatives are dropped when the referent is visible (cf. Moe: Wait a minute **Homer** => Un attimo) and they are preserved when they are functional, i.e. in the case of attention-getters (Marge: **Bart?** This is Doctor Kaufman => **Bart?** Questo è il dottor Kaufman).

Descriptors in the form of generic names are the second most frequent type of vocatives used (17 > 10 "Homer in the night"; 10 > 9 "Homer the Moe"), in line with the American English usage (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1109). The same applies to the use of the typically American generic name *man*, only used by Bart in the episodes analysed. After these considerations, and crossing-over the traditional film genre types, it is possible to tag *The Simpsons* with the non-genre foil category label American Production (Dirks 2006). Indeed, culturally American features appear all through the series on different planes, that of language and that of content.

4.10 Descriptors: a few remarks

Descriptors are a very versatile instrument to describe and evaluate the addressee. As Allerton (1996: 621) puts it:

> When speakers wish to refer to an individual concrete entity – a person, a creature, a thing or a place – they find that their language offers them a range of possible linguistic units for doing so; most of these are noun phrases. The variety of structural possibilities for noun phrases, together with the range of vocabulary means that even when it comes to picking out a particular item in a given context, a language provides its speakers with a choice of linguistic expressions.

Thus speakers select a descriptor on a relevance basis (Allerton 1996: 622), i.e. of the addressee's most outstanding features, on his/her role in society or in the situation.

As already observed (cf. Bruti, Perego 2005), the creativity of the English language often fails to have a proper counterpart, or a counterpart at all, in Italian, where, for example, the same lexeme translates a variety of ingenious English expressions (e.g. *stronzo* for *fuckface, fucker, jerk, asshole* and *prick* in *Lethal Weapon 4* and for *slug* and *you cheeky twat* in *East is East*). Furthermore, English shows an

inclination to choose and eventually make up terms of address in terms of their functionality in a given context (cf. Allerton 1996). In other words, English can easily exploit the current situation and the speaker's standpoint in the selection of an appropriate referring expression, which may cause misunderstandings and meaningless translations.

The variety of structural possibilities for noun phrases used in English is shown in Table 11 as far as evaluative descriptors are concerned, and Table 12 as far as insults are concerned.

SOOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT
Telephone tough guy (*Lethal Weapon 4*)	Il duro del telefono
You little phoner (*Lethal Weapon 4*)	o
Barkeeper (*The Simpsons*)	Barista
Coffee boy (*The Simpsons*)	o
Liberty bell (*The Simpsons*)	Campanella
You glass-wipe (*The Simpsons*)	Vecchio canovaccio

Table 11 Evaluative descriptors (modifier + generic name)

SOOURCE TEXT	TARGET TEXT
You big daft get (*East is East*)	o
You cheeky twat (*East is East*)	Stronzo
You cow worshipping bastards (*East is East*)	Bastardi adoratori di vacche
You mard arse (East is East)	o (Quanto sei cretina)
Viper in my bosom (*Sense and Sensibility*)	o (Ho cresciuto una vipera in seno)
You sly thing (*Sense and Sensibility*)	o (Che furbetta!)
Pint-size (*The Simpsons*)	Tappetto
Mudwhistle (*Shallow Hal*)	Cicciolo
Unibrow (*Shallow Hal*)	Scimmione
You little warthog (*Shallow Hal*)	Schifoso maiale
You self-righteous little shit (*Shallow Hal*)	Arrogante testa di cazzo
You drunken eejit (*Sliding Doors*)	Ubriaca e suonata
You lazy git (*Sliding Doors*)	Pigrone
You sad, sad wanker (*Sliding Doors*)	o (Sei un patetico, triste segaiolo)
You useless shagging bastard (*Sliding Doors*)	o (Sei un farabutto, scopatore, buono a nulla!)
That purple fruit thing! (*The Simpsons*)	Dannato frutto viola!
You dirty teens (*The Simpsons*)	Sporchi ragazzacci

Table 12 Insults

By way of illustration, let us consider evaluative descriptors in *The Simpsons*. They are mostly situation-based and cannot work without the visuals. We can imply the meaning of *liberty bell* only when this term is fully contextualised, i.e. when we see that Homer is scratching a scratch'n'win card, and finds 2 bells and a piece of fruit (cf. Ex. 10 and Figure 4).

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
HOMER: Oh, liberty bell! Eh? Another **liberty bell**! Another and I am millionaire! C'mon, liberty bell, win, win, win! Oh! That purple fruit thing! Where were you yesterday?	Una campanella. // Forza **campanella**, ti prego, ti prego, ti prego. // Un'altra campanella! // Un'altra e sono ricco! // Dannato frutto viola! / Dov'eri ieri?

Example 10

Figure 4

4.11 Vocatives as secondary intejections

An interesting remark concerns the intersection area between vocatives and interjections. Vocatives can sometimes be employed in conversation as secondary interjections, that is expressions that still have autonomous meaning but can be used to express a sudden feeling or reaction. The employment of vocatives as secondary interjections in conversation has been observed in different forms in line with different film genres. Overall, *man* is the most widely used form in situations of surprise or disappointment[27] and in genres which comprise informal or humorous situations along with an American background (cf. *Shallow Hal* (Bruti, Perego 2005: 39-40), *Lethal Weapon 4* (§ 4.6) and *The Simpsons* (§ 4.9)).

When the function of *man* is clearly that of an interjection indicating intense feeling, or if its role is that of a generic name (cf. Example 11, *Lethal Weapon* 4), it is usually not rendered.

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
RIGGS: Sorry, Rog, about your loss. MURTAUGH : Thank you, **man**, thank you.	-Mi dispiace per i tuoi danni. -Grazie.

Example 11

Nevertheless, in such a case as Example 12, it is not clear whether the Italian taboo word substitutes for the interjection *man* or for the English colloquial intensifier *fucking*.

ORIGINAL	SUBTITLES
LEE BUTTERS: He's dead, eh? He's fucking dead, **man**	È morto. È morto, **cazzo**.

Example 12

The same trend has been observed in *The Simpsons*, and, more generally, in some of the films previously examined (*Shallow Hal*, *Sliding Doors*). In *Shallow Hal* (§ 4.2) it appears 6 times and is never translated in the Italian subtitles; in *The Simpsons* (§ 4.9), for instance, of the 4 occurrences of the episode "Homer in the night" only one is rendered as "signora" as its function is verbalised (Table 13); in *Sliding Doors* it appears once as *old man* and is omitted in the subtitles. It is therefore clear that genre does not have an effect on the way it is rendered nor has it on the preferred choice of omitting it. The use of *man*, though, is a marker of the language variety of the film, which is known to be typically lost in subtitles. Although it usually functions as an interjection, we decided to consider it a vocative which tends to be rendered according to its pragmatic meaning, with the subtitler opting for functionally equivalent solutions, where the original interjection disappears (Table 13, Ex. 13)[28].

ST	TT	Context
Wow! Cool, man!	Che forza!	Bart is looking at some ads on the newspaper and cries
Oh, thanks, man!	Ah! Grazie, signora.	Bart is excited because he eventually gets a spy-camera by mail. He thanks the female carrier animatedly
Whoa, man!	Wow!	Bart is admiring his new spy-camera
Good luck, man!	Buona fortuna	Bart wishes good luck to his father, who has to redeem for having danced with a hot lady in a club

Table 13 Interjections

BART: Whoa, **man!** Look at the size of this thing!
(*Bart is admiring his new spy-camera*)

Example 13

5. CONCLUSIONS

On the whole, the survey has shown that there is a certain difference in the type of vocatives chosen in each film depending on the genre and in some cases on the country of production. As far as translation is concerned, similar trends in the choice of what and how to translate have been observed in spite of genre. That is, a larger corpus has allowed us to observe that the tendency to discriminate between more or less relevant/meaningful vocatives is maintained when possible. In other words, vocatives with a relevant pragmatic meaning are usually retained. Some problems that are shared by all film genres arise when the subtitler has to deal with English informative and creative labels (i.e. descriptors,

either insults or endearments), which may be problematic in terms of meaning and length.

The class of nouns deserves a special mention: it is in fact the widest category in all genres, with some remarkable differences. They take on special significance in both *Lethal Weapon 4* and *Bambi*, and consequently in the subtitles in which they are most often translated, although for different reasons: in the former Murtagh intentionally manipulates Detective Lee Butters's name to create puns and thus to pour ridicule over him; these names are all meaningful and convey Murtagh's low opinion of the young detective. In *Bambi* nouns not only have great evocative power, but are meaningful and contribute therefore to personifying the characters. They are therefore used and translated even when it would have been possible to avoid them. This also happens in *The Simpsons*, where the density of names seems to be particularly high both in source and target text on the grounds that there are a group of stable characters in the series but other that change from episode to episode. A certain degree of continuity needs to be preserved and this is achieved through names as identifying referential labels selecting the most important characters. Repetition of names is in other words a signal of importance, and helps the audience to memorise and prioritise them, according to the role the referents play in the plot.

Another interesting finding concerns the different functions that the same category of vocatives have across genres: insults, for example, seem to be the category that is most strongly influenced by genre, which in fact determines their number, type, function, and translation. In *Lethal Weapon 4* they belong to the language of violence and conflict that is connected to the professional role of the two protagonists, whereas in comedies (*East is East, Shallow Hal* and also in *The Simpsons*) they are non offensive and amusing. Endearments, which are formally simpler and less situation-based than insults, acquire a genre-specific status only when they enter into opposition with insults (cf. *Lethal Weapon 4*). On the other hand, if their semantic load is inconsiderable or they are used as routine expressions (*Sex & the City* and *Sense and Sensibility*), they tend to be removed. Titles, conjoined or disjoined from first and last names, are another category that is tightly linked to (sub-)genre: literary adaptation > romance are defined by the frequency of titles, which are necessary markers of social customs, rigid ranks and status configuration. On the other hand, they are used in other film genres only in specific social situations. Generic names are preferably used in American productions (*The Simpsons, Shallow Hal* and *Lethal Weapon 4*) or as social-class markers (*East is East*), in the presence of young protagonists (*Sex and the City, East is East, Shallow Hal* and *Lethal Weapon 4*) but they are poorly represented in those cases where the film genre implies a high degree of formality and colloquial language (*Sense and Sensibility*).

	Bambi		East is East		Lethal Weapon 4		Sense and Sensibility		Sex and the City		The Simpsons		Shallow Hall		Sliding Doors		The Talented Mr Ripley	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
Proper names (first)	47	34	166	116	34	20	92	40	32	19	77	60	116	87	122	54	110	63
Proper names (last)	0	0	1	1	75	33	18	11	0	0	11	11	0	0	0	0	1	1
Familiar forms	0	0	8	6	19	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
Diminutives/Nicknames	0	0	5	5	0	0	5	3	3	3	2	2	8	8	0	0	11	1
Full names	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
Common nouns	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	8	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kinship terms	20	15	52	32	8	3	16	9	1	1	15	13	9	10	1	1	1	1
Titles	4	5	10	5	4	2	15	4	1	1	11	6	11	5	2	0	10	8
Title + first name	2	1	0	0	0	0	29	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Title + last name	0	0	11	7	1	1	97	23	0	0	1	1	6	4	0	0	9	9
Title + common noun	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vocational titles	0	0	4	2	15	13	22	9	4	4	5	4	5	5	1	0	0	0
Vocational title + last name	0	0	0	0	12	12	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vocational title + title	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Descriptors: generic names	5	5	10	4	32	20	4	1	4	2	27	19	25	8	6	0	0	0
Descriptors: generic + modifier	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
Descriptors: endearments	0	0	15	9	10	6	42	19	14	7	8	8	9	9	6	5	4	4
Descriptors: insults	0	0	60	45	22	19	2	0	2	2	12	12	8	8	9	4	0	0
TOTAL	78	60	343	233	234	135	349	132	62	39	186	151	198	145	150	66	149	89

1 While both authors are responsible for the introduction and the conclusions (par. 0 and 5) along with par. 4.10 and 4.11, Silvia Bruti is the author of par. 1, 3.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.7, 4.8 and Elisa Perego is the author of par. 2, 3, 4.1, 4.4, 4.6, 4.9.

2 For a descriptive account of vocatives see both Davies 1986 and Gramley and Pätzold 1999.

3 From a sociolinguistic point of view, the way individual speakers or group of speakers use the repertoire of address variants available to them is extremely meaningful, as address behaviour reflects the speaker's (and, more generally, the dyad's) social and linguistic background (Braun 1988: 13), by exposing his/her status or illustrating what relationship (e.g. close, intimate, strained, troubled, etc.) is established between the collocutors.

4 On the connection between genre and dialogue pattern see Kozloff 2000: 137 and ff.

5 We are most grateful to Yves Gambier for providing us with the stimulus to work in this direction. His comments on our presentation in Alicante in May 2004 were challenging and thought-provoking.

6 Along with specific use of specific linguistic features, as this work highlights.

7 I.e. main film genres, sub-genres and non-genres. Main film genres are the most common and identifiable ones; film sub-genres are identifiable sub-classes within the larger film genre container; non-genre films cross-over many traditional film types.

8 Both attributes or intentions may be referred to in order to define film genres (Tudor 1986: 4). Altman (1986: 31) proposes instead a distinction between semantic and syntactic approaches to genres, the former based on the genre's building blocks, the latter on the structural sequence.

9 Cf. Carroll "Such a template can make sense if it is thoroughly researched and well-timed, especially if subtitlers are free to use it as an aid but are not compelled to force their translation, regardless of its structure, into its mold. However, the rigidity of such files can result in poor subtitling with little adherence to now common standards of good subtitling practice".

10 From now on the abbreviations ST and TT will be used referring respectively to Source- and Target Text.

11 The story is based on a novel published in 1926 by the Viennese author Felix Salten (cf. http://disney.go.com/vault/archives/characters/bambi/bambi.html).

12 Quite interestingly, the names in the Italian subtitled and dubbed version differ: in dubbing, in fact, *Tippete* becomes *Tamburino* and *Occhidolci* becomes *Feline*. The second choice seems to privilege a shorter term, but the first one uses a longer word, with the same initial sound as the one used in the subtitles.

13 A search on the web gave the following result: *Faline* is a name of Latin origin, meaning "like a cat". Possible variants are *Faeleen, Fayline, Felina, Feline*. As for its popularity, the name *Faline* was not ranked among 4275 first names for females of all ages in the 1990 U.S. Census (http://www.thinkbabynames.com/name/0/Faline).

14 Menelao (2001) highlights a further interesting trait of this genre, not mentioned elsewhere, whereby the crescendo of suspense is tightly connected with the speed of the actions.

15 I.e. the central character, one around which the plot is built, a person involved in a dangerous experience either by chance or for duty (Maiello 2001: 340).

16 Most of these fake surnames have a subtly negative connotation

or are meant to be funny. *Biscuit* might be considered as having a clear feminine connotation; *Booger* is a US slang expression for a piece of dried mucus from inside the nose; *Burger* refers to food; *Burton* has a possibly endless number of referents (http://www.answers.com/burton); *Butler* is a male servant; *Buttkiss* is a slang expression (or a possible variant of *bupkis*) for 'nothing'. In any case, no matter what they exactly refer to, they are used in line with the speaker's (or the director's) intention to create a funny situation.

17 34 vs. 166 in *East is East*, 122 in *Sliding Doors*, 116 in *Shallow Hall*, 110 in *The Talented Mr Ripley*, and in the new sample 92 in *Sense and Sensibility*, 77 in *The Simpsons*, 47 in *Bambi* and 32 in *Sex and the City.*

18 Interestingly, a non-verbal message conveyed by the speaker imitating the gesture, is encoded linguistically.

19 It is interesting to make mention of three instances (which have not been tabled) where a vocative is present in the Italian version only. Apparently, inserting a vocative in the written text compensates for repetitions in the spoken text, contributes to give a self-contained appearance to the subtitle and allows the subtitler to avoid unnatural formulae (cf. Leo to Rog: Don't leave me! Don't leave me! > Non lasciarmi **Rog**; Officer: You're all mine! All mine! Sei tutto mio, **bello**./Tutto mio.; Riggs to Lorna: Bye bye! > Ciao, **tesoro**.)

20 Cf. definitions for Comedies and Dramas in Dirks 2006, http://www.filmsite.org/comedyfilms.html e http://www.filmsite.org/drama-films.html.

21 Both Pigeon and Pooter have been classified as nicknames. The former refers to Mrs Jenning's parrot and the second to her butler. A search in dictionaries of English names/surnames gave no results.

Interestingly, both names start with a /p/ sound and are, at least partially, sound-symbolic (conveying the idea of clumsiness; S. George, personal communication).

22 They do in *Lethal Weapon 4*.

23 The same type of 'fictional' address, where a vocative is employed to refer to someone who is either not physically present in the situation or is a totally invented character, is quite common in the series *Sex and the City.*

24 Cf. further on in the text for an explanation.

25 This kind of vocative seems to be quite frequently resorted to in the series, as it also appears in other episodes of other seasons.

26 Cf. Homer to Bart: Freshen your drink, **pal**? => Ti riempio il bicchiere, **vecchio mio;** Homer to Lisa: There you go, **doll** *(offering her a cigarette)* => Ecco, **bambola**; Homer to Maggie: Look, **buddy**. I don't know where you go but you can't sleep here => Senti, **amico**. Non mi importa dove vai, // ma non puoi dormire qui.

27 "[I]n the place of 'damn' or even 'whoa'. May be considered regional and more so used in the Texas or Louisiana and surrounding areas. Can be cross used with 'meng' esp. when stretched in its use" (http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=man&defid=1385405).

28 The same phenomenon concerns the form of endearment *my dear* in *Sense and Sensibility* (§ 4.7): Mrs Jennings: **My dear**. Well, you do not waste time, Miss Marianne => Non perdete tempo con // la vostra lettera; Mrs Jennings: Oh **my dear**, he's not the only young man worth having => Non è l'unico giovane // che valga la pena avere.

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