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**Translating Morphological Hapax Legomena:  
A Corpus-Assisted Study of Filmic Teen Speech**

TUTORI

*Prof.ssa Silvia Bruti*

*Prof.ssa Belinda Cranford Camiciottoli*

PRESIDENTE DEL CORSO DI DOTTORATO

*Prof. Gianni Iotti*

CANDIDATA

*Debora Ciampi*

CICLO XXVIII – A.A. 2015/16

*To my students,  
whose creative conversations were  
a constant inspiration during the writing of this thesis.*

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## Introduction

*Creativity is intelligence having fun.*  
Albert Einstein

*To create something, as the Gods knew, requires a certain boldness.  
To my mind, a true 'Creative' should not  
simply seek to satisfy a pre-existing demand  
but instead transform our notion of what we want.  
A work of art forms its own necessary audience, creates its own taste.  
In this sense, at the heart of creativity lies a refusal. It causes a little friction.*  
Zadie Smith

### 1. Aim of the work and research questions

The aim of this study is to explore the strategies used by professionals to translate language creativity in dubbed movies. Among the creative phenomena that may occur in speech, this study focused on the invention of new words, particularly those formed via morphological processes. This theoretical investigation has the practical aim to provide a source of inspiration to translation practitioners, raising their awareness of the linguistic and socio-cultural dynamics that lie behind different translation choices.

The translation of creative words was investigated as a complex phenomenon involving a formal perspective and a socio-cultural perspective. The formal perspective focused on the linguistic strategies used in Italian to reproduce the same creative effects as in the original versions. The socio-cultural perspective focused on sensitive topics encoded in creative words, whose translation can affect the way the target culture is represented (e.g., references to sex, violence and drug consumption).

This theoretical analysis was integrated with a viewer perception test, i.e., a survey administered to a sample of viewers to elicit their reactions to the translation solutions used in the movies. Therefore, the analysis of language creativity was not limited to the author's intuitions, but it was also based on empirical data provided by the actual end-users of the movies.

Based on this discussion, this study intends to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What linguistic resources are predominantly used in the Italian versions to translate English creative words? Do they have the same degree of creativity as in the original versions?
- 2) Are the socio-cultural values encoded in creative words subject to manipulation during the translation? What is the effect on the representation of the target culture?
- 3) To what extent is the creative effect of the translations perceived by the Italian audience?

These questions were answered on the basis of a small parallel corpus of American movies and their Italian dubbed versions compiled by the author. As a case study for the analysis of creativity, movies targeted at teenagers were selected. This choice was motivated by the fact that language creativity is the quintessence of teenagers' identities, i.e., a means to distance themselves from adults and strengthen solidarity with their peers (Eckert 2004; Cortelazzo 2010; Bakht 2010; Bucholtz 2011).

## 2. Background studies

Within Linguistics, creativity has received considerable attention in the last decade from corpus-based studies. In fact, a large variety of examples of creative patterns occurring in spoken English were provided by Carter (2004) on the basis of the CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English), e.g., the invention of new words, puns, variations on formulaic patterns, repetitions, and echoes. Carter's (2004) research was followed by a surge of interest in everyday creativity, which brought about further examples of the above-mentioned patterns in different genres and contexts of face-to-face interaction such as computer-mediated communication, education, and the workplace (Maybin and Swann 2006, 2007; Swann, Pope, and Carter 2011; Atkins and Carter 2012).

Theoretical research in the area of morphology has also contributed significantly to the emphasis on creativity, with three comprehensive works on contemporary morphological processes for forming words in English being published in only two years (Bauer et al. 2013; Mattiello 2013; Miller 2014). These were preceded by a series of articles foregrounding mechanisms defined as "extra-grammatical morphology" by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 36-41), which were largely disregarded until then, e.g., abbreviations, blends, and



reduplicatives (Hong 2004; López Rúa 2004, 2007; Ronneberg-Sibold 2006; Conti and Mattiello 2008; Elfner and Kimper 2008; Merlini Barbaresi 2008).

These data on contemporary forms of creativity in spoken English trigger indeed a curiosity on how they can be translated in different languages such as Italian. This issue may be particularly interesting into translation modes such as dubbing, where the construction of meanings results from three intermingling factors:

- 1) The interplay of a multitude of codes and channels in the process of meaning-making, e.g., paralinguage, icons, written language that appears on screen, mouth articulation for lip synchronization, the length of the character's lines, and background music (Chaume 2004; Delabastita 1996);
- 2) The combination of artificial and spontaneous features of conversation, e.g., films need to respect time and space constraints, be clear and entertaining, and sound like true-to-life dialogues (Baños 2014; Bednarek 2010);
- 3) The reproduction of the socio-cultural values and ideologies encoded in the source culture (Díaz-Cintas 2012; Toury 1995 [2012]).

The research on dubbing in the English-Italian language pair has placed great emphasis on the translation of formulaic language (Pavesi 2005, 2008; Bucaria 2008; Antonini and Chiaro 2009; Freddi 2009; Bonsignori, Bruti, and Masi 2011, 2012) while the opposite pole, i.e., linguistic creativity, was predominantly analysed in relation to humorous references (Chiaro 2010; Fuentes Luque 2010; Ranzato 2011). Youth language, in particular, has been extensively investigated in sociolinguistics as the epitome of language creativity (Eble 1996; Stenström 2002; Eckert 2004; Cortelazzo 2010; Bakth 2010; Bucholtz 2011; Sandrelli and Sauro 2011; Tagliamonte *forthc.*), although the studies on filmic teen speech in Italy are still relatively few (i.e., Bianchi 2008; Zanotti 2012; Ranzato 2015; Bonsignori 2015).

Based on this theoretical framework, the present study offers an exploration of the strategies available to translate the creative language patterns which characterize contemporary spoken English, while at the same time shedding light on the representation of youth culture in translated audiovisual products.

### 3. Methodology<sup>1</sup>

To achieve the objectives described in the previous sections, five American teen movies and their Italian dubbed versions were analysed, i.e., *Clueless* (1995, A. Heckerling, USA), *10 Things I Hate about You* (1999, G. Junger, USA), *Mean Girls 1* (2004, M. Waters, USA), *The Clique* (2008, M. Lembeck, USA), and *Mean Girls 2* (2011, M. Mayron, USA), chosen for the high occurrence of creative language. After a manual transcription of the movie dialogues, a parallel corpus was created with the software program *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) with the aim to facilitate the contrastive analysis of the English and Italian versions, which were automatically aligned by the program. Creative words were analysed with a combined approach of qualitative and quantitative investigation, i.e., they were identified manually and provided with tags of their morphological categories which the program retrieved automatically.

This methodology is consistent with the corpus-assisted approaches recently applied to Audiovisual Translation Studies (Valentini 2008; Heiss and Soffritti 2008; Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Bruti et al. 2013) and initiated in Translation Studies (Baker 1993; Laviosa 2002; Kenny 2001). It results from a combination of the empirical observation of a corpus of data, i.e., “a collection of naturally occurring language or text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language” (Sinclair 1991: 171) and the theoretical tenets of Descriptive Translation Studies aimed at analysing translation as a real phenomenon in relation to the literary, cultural and historical contexts in which it is produced (Toury 1995 [2012]).

The corpus-assisted analysis of the creative words was followed by a brief complementary work aimed at verifying the findings that had emerged (research question 3 listed in the previous section). An online survey was administered to a sample of Italian teenagers, who were asked to rate their perceived degree of creativity in a series of translation solutions previously analysed. The survey was created with the survey software *Polldaddy*, which uploaded short video clips drawn from the movies comprised in the corpus.<sup>2</sup>

The creation of viewer perception tests can be framed within an approach to translation developed in the last decade by researchers at the School of Translation and Interpreting at the

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<sup>1</sup> This introductory section is aimed at outlining the methodological tools used in the present study. More detailed information on the working phases is provided in Chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Polldaddy* can be retrieved from <https://polldaddy.com>.

University of Bologna (Forlì). The objective was to survey consumers on their level of satisfaction about the quality of audiovisual translation (Antonini and Chiaro 2005, 2009; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Antonini 2008; Rossato and Chiaro 2010).

#### 4. How the thesis is structured

This study is structured into three parts. The first provides the theoretical framework in which the analysis of language creativity can be localized in scholarly research. This part is divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 describes creativity from a linguistic point of view, focusing on terminological labels, formal patterns, functional features, and sociolinguistic dynamics related to youth language. The aim of the chapter is to provide reference points to identify creative language patterns in the original versions of the movies analysed in the second part of this study. Chapter 2 describes creativity from a translational point of view, focusing on the features of dubbed language, the cognitive stylistics approach, and the research methods based on corpus linguistics and viewer perception tests. The aim of the chapter is to describe the dynamics at stake when translating for dubbing, which is essential for the analysis of the Italian versions of the corpus.

The second part of this study focuses on the corpus-assisted analysis. This part is divided into three chapters. Chapter 3 describes the materials and methods used for the analysis of language creativity in dubbed movies, i.e., data collection, transcription, and corpus analysis tools. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis of creativity in the corpus from a formal point of view. A wide range of examples is provided of translation strategies where the creative effect achieved in the original versions are reproduced or lost. Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis of creativity in the corpus from a socio-cultural point of view. A wide range of examples are provided of translation strategies where potentially disturbing topics were toned down or retained (i.e., references to sex, violence, and drug consumption).

The third part of this study focuses on the viewer perception test. This part is comprised in Chapter 6, which describes the structure of the online survey and the results obtained after administrating it to a sample of Italian teenagers.

The study concludes with a section which wraps up the issues characterizing language creativity as a complex phenomenon where formal and socio-cultural features intermingle, and

for which it is of fundamental importance to also collect the opinions of the listeners (viewers, in this case).

**PART I**  
**THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

## **Chapter 1**

### **Hapaxes in spontaneous conversation**

In this chapter I describe hapax legomena from a linguistic perspective, in order to be able to detect them and understand their roles in the corpus-assisted analysis presented in Part II. Section 1.1 frames hapaxes within the broader concept of language creativity, as emerges from a review of the studies on spoken corpora conducted in the Conversation Analysis research area. In section 1.2, several terminological labels to refer to new words in Linguistics are reviewed and discussed, in order to motivate the selection of the term “hapax legomena” in the present study. Section 1.3 describes hapaxes from a formal perspective based on the taxonomies of word formation mechanisms articulated in morphological studies. In section 1.4, hapaxes are described from a functional perspective as elements that contribute to constructing the illocutionary point of the speech act in which they are located. Section 1.5 provides teen talk as an example of a language variety rich in hapaxes and other forms of language creativity.

#### **1.1. Localizing hapaxes in language creativity**

Creativity is a notoriously elusive notion as it ultimately depends on subjective evaluation. An attempt to provide an inclusive definition of creativity is offered by Carter (2004), one of the most prominent subject matter experts in the contemporary scenario of Applied Linguistics. According to Carter (2004: 9), linguistic creativity “involves a marked breaking or bending of the rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning”. This definition is the starting point for the present study.

When we think of creativity, we tend to see it as a prerogative of talented artists. Contrarily, extensive research in Conversation Analysis has shown that this is merely a stereotype. Consistent evidence from spontaneous conversation revealed that creativity permeates everyday speech and is a common ability of all speakers (Tannen 1989; Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2004; Cook 1997, 2000; Crystal 1998; Carter 1999, 2004; Maybin and Swann 2006, 2007; Swann, Pope, and Carter 2011; Atkins and Carter 2012).

The existence of creativity as a speech phenomenon has been acknowledged since the early days of Linguistics. A seminal starting point is the “poetic function” of language theorized by Jakobson (1960: 356), which is activated whenever in discourse there is a focus on the message form due to a departure from the canonical norms of the language system. A few years later, in his theory of transformational generative grammar, Chomsky (1964: 7) referred to the “‘creative’ aspect of language”, arguing that human species possess the competence to generate an indefinite set of language choices from a finite set of rules and elements.

These observations were further developed by authors such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who investigated the cognitive processes occurring in the mind of creative speakers. In their now classic text *Metaphors We Live By*, they argued that creative language is motivated by the metaphorical functioning of the human mind in perceiving everyday things. In other words, we habitually understand one thing in terms of another, and this triggers the use of non-canonical language forms such as metaphors, irony, or hyperbole.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of these tenets, in Conversation Analysis a line of research exploring creativity in routine uses of language emerged. An early empirical study was carried out by Tannen (1989) on a small corpus of informal interactions between family or friends in the USA, where she underlined an extensive use of figures of speech, imagery, and repetitions. Further research in this direction was carried out by Cook (1997; 2000) and Crystal (1998), who explored the forms and interactional functions of creative uses that are in the public domain such as jokes, word games, children’s rhymes and riddles, and playground lore.

These studies were followed by a large-scale study on everyday creativity conducted on CANCODE (*Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English*), a computerized corpus of everyday spoken English built by Cambridge University Press and the University of Nottingham (Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2004; Carter 1999, 2004). The corpus includes about five million words and is made up of transcribed recordings of spoken interaction occurred in the United Kingdom and Ireland divided into sub-corpora according to the situational context

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<sup>3</sup> After the pioneering work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a well-established research area developed under the denomination Metaphor Studies as a branch of Cognitive Linguistics (see, among others, Gibbs 1994, 2008; Semino 2002; Cameron 2006). Interesting recent studies concern, for example, the use of metaphor to represent the concept of pain, i.e. PAIN is conventionally associated with the target domain DARK and violence-related metaphors especially drawn from military conceptual domains are predominantly used by patients, family carers and health professionals to talk about illnesses and cancer (Kövecses 2008; Demjén, Semino et al. 2015).

and the roles of the participants. According to Carter (2004), the initial goal of the CANCODE project did not specifically focus on creativity, but instances of repetitions, puns, and neologisms were so numerous in the corpus that creativity became one of the primary research topics.

In the following years, these findings were enriched with further empirical data drawn from a wide range of non-literary genres, which were presented in a special issue of *Applied Linguistics* and a resource book for students both edited by Maybin and Swann (2006, 2007), a collected volume edited by Swann, Pope, and Carter (2011), and a chapter in *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* authored by Atkins and Carter (2012). These publications provide extensive examples of creative language uses in different genres and contexts including computer-mediated communication (Maybin 2006; North 2006, 2007; Goddard 2011), education (Cameron 2006; Pomerantz and Bell 2007; Pahl 2011; Semino 2011), interaction at the workplace including doctor-patient interaction (Cameron 2006; Holmes 2007; Semino 2011), children's language practices (Gillen 2006), conversational narratives (Toolan 2006), and forms of self-expression such as diary keeping, personal letters, graffiti, and hip hop (Maybin 2006; Lin 2011).

Among the future paths for the study of creativity, Carter (2007: 700) strongly advocated the need for shifting the research focus from the *producer* towards the *receiver* of creativity. He suggested "making participants much more actively a part of the research" in order to achieve a more comprehensive view of creativity as a collaborative process and not a phenomenon restricted to one single individual. This view is grounded on the assumption that interaction is a performance where "speaking itself always implies an exposure to the judgement, reaction and collaboration of an audience, which interprets, assesses, approves, sanctions, expands upon what is being said" (Duranti 1997: 16). Carter's (2007) objective proves to be particularly relevant for this study, as Part III presents a survey that I administered to a sample of viewers to test their perception of the creative items extracted from the corpus analysed in Part II.

The results from the studies on language creativity mentioned so far can be collected in such a way as to articulate a taxonomy of creative forms which potentially occur in speech. This is indeed not exhaustive, but it serves as a map where we can localize hapaxes, which are the object of the present study. Following Carter's (2004: 109) suggestion, there are two levels of creativity which he termed "pattern re-forming" and "pattern forming". **Pattern re-**



**forming choices** occur when the speakers play overtly and directly with language by transforming and re-shaping existing words and expressions. Creative phenomena such as the invention of new words, puns, and the displacement of fixedness pertain to this level.

The **invention of new words** involves the coinage of novel words through morphological processes or figures of speech (Carter 2004: 97-100, ch. 4; Cameron 2006: 46-53; Maybin and Swann 2006: 14-21). The language exchange in (1) is an example of the former type.

(1)

Mark: You said you wanted the little ones as well. Want the little ones?

Julie: Not really...sort of *salady*...that fruit bowl would be ideal.

(Carter 2004: 99)

Here the speaker, Julie, is preparing food and she asks her interlocutor to fetch her a bowl to put salad in it. The new word is “salady”, formed by adding the adjectival suffix “-y” to the noun “salad”. The new meaning is “suitable for eating salad in it”. In the same vein, example (2) shows a new word formed through a figure of speech.

(2)

Waitress: The *ham-sandwich* at table 11 wants the bill.

Waiter: OK. I'll get it.

(Carter 2004: 123)

Here a waitress is talking to a colleague, and she refers to one of the customers as a “ham-sandwich”. This new word is a metonym, i.e., a figure of speech where a word is used as substitute for another word with which it is closely related –in this case, for “the person who is eating a ham-sandwich at table 11” (Carter 2004).

**Puns** are phenomena of word play based on ambiguity in word meaning, often relying on homophones or near homophones, i.e., words with the same or similar sounds but different meanings (Crystal 1998, Cook 2000, Carter 2004: 90-4, Maybin and Swann 2006: 4-5, Atkins and Carter 2012: 319). An example is shown in (3).

(3)

Ellen: [feeling bark] These are *plane trees*, aren't they?

Darren: No, they're quite *patterned* [wincing look]

(Maybin and Swann 2006: 4)

Here the interlocutors are sitting by some trees in a park. The verbal play relies for its effect on the sameness in sound between “plane” and “plain”.

The **displacement of fixedness** consists in playing with fixed structures such as idioms and proverbs by modifying their constituents (Carter 2004: 95-7, Carter 2006: 31, Atkins and Carter 2012: 319-320). An example is shown in (4).

(4)

Ann: He's at it again but he really wants, you know, just to sit down.

Jo: Like they just talk about how they both feel.

Ann: *Out of the frying pan into the deep freeze* this time.

(Carter 2004: 95)

Jo and Ann are talking about a friend's stormy marriage and the fact that relations between the couple are ‘frozen’ because they are barely talking. In the proverb “out of the frying pan into the fire” (i.e., “to go from one bad situation into a worse”), “fire” is substituted with “deep freeze”, which evokes the ‘cold’ situation between the couple (Carter 2004). Interestingly, observations on the structural flexibility of formulaic sequences led scholars such as Wray and Perkins (2000) and Wray (2000, 2008) to argue that creativity and formulaicity are two sides of the same coin rather than two opposite poles, in that creativity is the result of a deviation from prefabricated chunks of language seen as slot-and-filler structures.

The second macro-category of creative forms, namely pattern forming, refers to less overt and subliminal language play (Carter 2004). Instead of transformations, the predominant features are regularity, symmetry, and parallelism. In this type of creativity, cooperation between the interlocutors plays a fundamental role cooperation (Tannen 1989). Phenomena such as self-repetition and echoing pertain to this category.

**Self-repetition** consists in repeating a set of words or a grammatical structure in the same speaking turn (Tannen 1989: ch. 3, Carter 2004: 100-1, Atkins and Carter 2012: 220-22). An example is in (5), where the speaker is talking about a man who fascinates her.

(5)

Woman: *And he knows* Spanish. *And he knows* French. *And he knows* English. *And he knows* German. *And he* is a gentleman.

(adapted from Tannen 1989: 48)

The repetition of “and he knows” gives a sense of rhythm to the speech, making it similar to a list. In this way, emphasis is drawn to the intellectual skills of the man referred to (Tannen 1989).

**Echoing** occurs when one linguistic construction is repeated across speaking turns (Tannen 1989: chapter 3, Carter 2004: 100-1, Atkins and Carter 2012: 220-22). An example is in (6), where the interlocutors are making fun of a mutual female friend who is receiving continual courtship by another male friend of theirs.

(6)

Laura: She’s a bit *chubby* as well.

Helen: Oh he likes to *chase* after *chubby* girls, does he?

(Atkins and Carter 2012: 321)

The second speaker repeats “chubby” uttered by her interlocutor and adds “chase”, which produces alliteration with the previous turn based on the phoneme /ʃ/.

Finally, it is to be noted that the categories have no strict boundaries and different combinations can be made. An example is (7), which is the follow-up of the conversation in (6).

(7)

Jess: He’s a *chubby chaser*!

[laughter]

(Atkins and Carter 2012: 320)

The same expression, “chubby chaser” can be seen as both a pattern-forming and a pattern re-forming choice. The phoneme /tʃ/ and the words “chubby” and “chase” are echoes from the previous turns, i.e., pattern forming choices (Atkins and Carter 2012). However, they also pertain to the pattern re-forming level, because a new word is coined by transforming the verb “chase” into the noun “chaser”, i.e., a “chubby chaser” is a person who likes chubby girls.

## 1.2. Terminology for hapaxes

So far I have used the neutral term “new words” to refer to the output of word formation mechanisms. However, several technical terms are available in Linguistics, depending on the perspective with which a word is analysed. In this section, several terminological labels are presented and discussed, namely neologisms, nonce-formations (1.2.1.), and slang (1.2.2.). The aim of this section is to motivate the selection of “hapax legomena” with which I refer to the new words analysed in Part II.

### 1.2.1. Neologisms, nonce-formations, hapaxes

When dealing with new words, scholars frequently distinguish between neologisms and nonce-formations. However, definitions and interpretations vary among scholars. Bauer (2001: 38-40) called “nonce-formation” a word which is coined spontaneously by an individual for one occasion and which lacks a lexical entry in reference works such as dictionaries. He called “neologism” a nonce-formation that becomes part of the norm of the language and has an entry in lexicographic sources.

For Hohenhaus (2005: 363-5, 2007: 17-8), “nonce formations” are new words in a psycholinguistic sense, i.e., they are formed by a speaker on the spur of the moment, as opposed to being retrieved ready-made from her/his mental lexicon. He used the term “neologisms” for new words in a diachronic sense, i.e., they have been recently coined by a speaker and are beginning to reoccur in the usage of other speakers.

Munat (2007: 168-69) considered as “nonce formations” the words which are heavily context-dependent and whose interpretation relies on the co-text. For her, nonce formations only find application in the restricted context in which they are used, and not in the world at

large. She added that, when a nonce formation reoccurs repeatedly in different contexts in a relatively brief span of time, it can be considered a “neologism”.

A more neutral term is “hapax legomena” (abbreviated as “hapaxes”), which generally indicates “a term of which only one instance of use is recorded” (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, hereinafter OED). It is widely used in philology, computer science, and corpus linguistics with reference to the single occurrence of a word in a text, a collection of works by one author, or a collection of texts that represent an entire language (Kenny 2001).

For the purpose of the present study (analysing how creativity is translated in films), I reject Hohenhaus’ definitions (2005, 2007) because it is hard to determine whether a word was created on the spot by the scriptwriter, and whether other speakers were using it at the time of film production. Munat’s (2007) definition is also controversial, as context-dependency is indeed a subjective notion and does not constitute an objective criterion for carrying out an empirical analysis. On the contrary, I assume Bauer’s (2001) definitions as reference points as the absence of a word in dictionaries can be an objective criterion for identifying instances of creativity in films. However, I adopt the neutral “hapax legomena” as an umbrella term for words which are not listed in the dictionary, while avoiding the label “nonce formations” (Bauer 2001: 38-40) which is too strictly associated with issues related to the life cycle of a word (i.e., whether a word was invented for the particular occasion of film writing or not).

### 1.2.2. Slang

Another term frequently used in Linguistics to refer to new words is “slang”. However, the use of this label is sometimes arguable. Although there is no unique clear-cut definition for the slang phenomenon, the pertinent studies (from early ones by Dumas and Lighter 1978, Eble 1996, and Lighter 2001 to more recent ones by Adams 2009, Green 2011, and Coleman 2012) agreed that a word can be defined as slang only if information on the context of usage is provided, i.e., the relationship between the speaker and listener, the communicative intentions, and the social context of the language exchange.

In fact, slang has a complex nature where linguistic, stylistic, and social aspects are intertwined. Linguistically, slang is a language variety characterized by a leaning towards lexical innovation (Dumas and Lighter 1978; Sornig 1981). Stylistically, it is a level of usage

contrasting with formal language (Quirk et al. 1985; Stenström et al. 2002) but distinct from non-standard varieties such as dialect, register, cant, argot, and jargon (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Eble 1996). Sociologically, it is a means of identification and cohesiveness within a group of peers. It establishes or reinforces social identity within the group (Eble 1996) and allows insiders not to be understood by outsiders (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Stenström et al. 2002). In fact, among the ideal conditions for the development of slang, there is the need for the peer group to be socially dense and live in a status of subordination with respect to a figure of authority (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Coleman 2012). In the pertinent literature, the prototypical examples of peer groups where slang easily develops are teenagers and college students, among who a sense of hierarchy is perceived respectively towards adults and teachers (e.g., Munro 1989; Eble 1996; Stenström et al. 2002).<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the emphasis on the context as pointed out in the literature, the label “slang” is often used to indicate individual single words out of context. This is the case of the so-called dictionaries of slang, among which one can mention *The Concise New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (Dalzell and Victor 2007), *Green’s Dictionary of Slang* (2010), and *The Historical Dictionary of American Slang*. Although in the introductions the compilers stressed on the importance of social factors for assessing the slang nature of words, in the following pages they presented an immense collection of words without always contextualizing them in the practices of any particular group of peers. As a result, there is no evidence that the label “slang” can be applied to each word. A similar approach can be found in certain theoretical studies on slang such as Mattiello (2008: 38), who distinguished, for example, between “belly” (one’s stomach) and “beer belly” (a protruding stomach caused by drinking large quantities of beer), classifying them respectively as “colloquial” and “slang”. With no contextual information about where they are used and by whom, this distinction may not always be applicable.

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<sup>4</sup> In my opinion, the speech of college students has become a prototypical example of slang because the easy access to the data on the part of researchers allowed for an extensive number of studies in this direction. For example, it is not unusual for researchers to be also the teachers of the students under investigation. The power relationship might facilitate the collection of data. Therefore, a more varied sample of peer groups should be studied in order to gain a comprehensive overview of the slang phenomenon. Other types of peer groups that are less accessible may turn out to be more slang-prone than students.

### 1.3. Formal features of hapaxes: a view from Morphological studies

In the previous sections, the creative phenomena that potentially occur in speech were listed. This section zooms in on one of them, i.e., the invention of new words via morphological mechanisms, also known in morphological studies as word-formation processes (Marchand 1969). In the English language, the works that surveyed the processes with which words are formed are manifold, from early studies such as Bauer (1983, 2001), Plag (2003), and Lieber (2005) to recent ones such as Bauer et al. (2013), Mattiello (2013), and Miller (2014). In the present study, I follow the taxonomy articulated by Bauer et al. (2013), which I integrate with the classification developed by Mattiello (2013). The resulting classification served as a working taxonomy for identifying hapaxes in Part II.

The motivation for which I chose the two models mentioned above is that *The Oxford Reference Guide to English Morphology* by Bauer et al. (2013), in addition to providing extremely updated data from contemporary English, represents a strong consensus in morphological studies, since it results from the collaboration of three linguists who have been among the most influential in the last few decades. However, even though the authors claimed in the preface that the volume covers “the whole of contemporary English morphology” (Bauer et al. 2013: ix), only a few pages out of seven hundred of the entire volume were devoted to phenomena such as clippings, reduplicatives, and blends, and no specific section at all was devoted to mechanisms such as acronyms and initialisms. This is surprising, given the recent surge of interest in these processes with which novel words are coined in all sectors of contemporary society, from popular culture to internet terminology to medicine (López Rúa 2002, 2004, Conti and Mattiello 2008 on acronyms and neighbouring categories; Fandrych 2007, López Rúa 2007 on lexical creativity in electronic communication; Hong 2004, Ronneberg-Sibold 2006 and Lehrer 2007 on blends; Elfner and Kimper 2008, Merlini Barbaresi 2008 on reduplication). All these phenomena were brought together in Mattiello (2013), who also divided each one into several sub-categories.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The unifying criterion with which Mattiello (2013) gathered abbreviations, blends, reduplicatives and related phenomena is based on the assumption made by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 36-41) that they all lie outside the module of grammar, in that the processes through which they are obtained exhibit more irregularities than grammatical rules, i.e., given an input, the output is only partially predictable (for this reason, they are labelled “extra-grammatical morphology”). Contrary to this position, Bauer et al. (2013: 190) accommodated these

Bauer et al. (2013: 431) identified derivation and compounding as the processes used for forming words. Derivation consists in forming a word by either combining an affix with a base or via non-combinatorial processes on a base such as conversion or clipping. In compounding, a word is formed by combining two bases. According to Bauer et al. (2013: 161-385), **DERIVATION** includes:

- **Affixation:** this comprises prefixation and suffixation, which consist in adding an affix respectively before or after the base, for example “-un” (prefix) + “clear” (base) → “unclear”, and “measure” (base) + “-able” (suffix) → “measurable”;
- **Conversion:** the syntactic class of one word shifts to another with no formal changes, for example “to look” (verb) → “have a *look*” (noun), or “idle” (adjective) → “to idle” (verb);
- **Back-formation:** a suffix or prefix is deleted in analogy to pairs of base and derivative that feature the affix in question. For example, “peddle” is derived from “peddler” on the assumption that “-er” is the personal suffix occurring in “writer”, “freighter”, etc.;

In addition, Bauer et al. (2013: 190-2) included in derivation a series of intermediate processes between morphology and phonology. They called these formations “prosodic morphology”, because the output is obtained via manipulations or restrictions on the metrical or syllabic structure of the input. These comprise:

- **Clipping:** a word is abbreviated to one of its parts, so that some phonetic material of the base is lost. Mattiello (2013: 70-82) offered examples of words where the deleted part is the final (“ad” ← “advertisement”), the initial (“mia” ← “bulimia”), the initial and final (“tec” ← “detective”), the middle (“secy” ← “secretary”), or some scattered letters (“dlr” ← “dollar”);
- **Acronyms and initialisms:** the derived word is obtained by concatenating the initial letters of the words in a phrase, title, compound, or list. Acronyms are pronounced as full words, while initialisms are named letter by letter. Mattiello (2013: 82-110) provided examples of words where the letters which compose the output are the

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formations within grammatical word-formation and considered the extra-grammaticality of phenomena such as clippings as “ill-founded” on the basis of recent work on large sets of data showing that the process undergoes a series of severe restrictions (Lappe 2007, as cited in Bauer et al. 2013: 190). The debate is still open, yet, in my opinion, this does not justify an imbalance in treatment of certain phenomena with respect to others as occurred in Bauer et al. (2013).



initials of all the words in the input (“GMO” ← “Genetically Modified Organism”) or only some of them (“FOB” ← “Fresh Off the Boat”). She also gave examples of how the order of some letters can be changed (“MISHAP” ← “Missiles High-Speed Assembly Program”), or extra-vowels can be added (“HUMVEE” ← “High-mobility Multi-purpose wheeled Vehicle”). Initialisms can contain symbols (“n/s” ← “Non-Smoking”), coordinators (“b. and b.” ← “bed and breakfast”), prepositions (“C. in C.” ← “Commander in Chief”), or numerals (“4WD” ← “Four-Wheel Drive”);

- **Expletive insertion:** the derived word is obtained by inserting an expletive between two feet of a base (“eco-fucking-nomics”)<sup>6</sup>;
- **Hypocoristics in “-ie”:** the derived word is obtained by clipping and then adding the suffix “-ie” or “-y” to the end (“*brollie*” ← “*umbrella*”);

**COMPOUNDS**, from a formal point of view, are classified by Bauer et al. (2013) according to their syntactic category and they are described in terms of the various combinations of the syntactic categories of the components (cf. Bauer 2006; Katamba 2009):

- **Nominal compounds:** the most productive type is noun-noun compound (“film society”). Other types are adjective-noun (“slow food”), verb-noun (“board pass”), and types where the first element ending in “-ing” is ambiguously analysed as a noun or a verb (“killing field”);
- **Verbal compounds:** these are predominantly non-canonical<sup>7</sup> and can be obtained via conversion, (“to white-lie” ← “white lie”), back-derivation (“to crash-land” ← “crash-landing”), or inversion of phrasal verbs (“to upgrade” ← “grade up”). Canonical types include forms with nouns or verbs as first elements (“to window-shop”);
- **Adjectival compounds:** canonical types are formed with nouns or adjectives as first elements (“ankle-deep”, “icy-hot”). Non-canonical types have phrases in pre-modifying position such as “go-slow” in “they want a go-slow approach”;

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<sup>6</sup> Here the term “expletive” indicates words which do not add lexical meaning to their matrices, but produce an emotive effect.

<sup>7</sup> According to Bauer et al. (2013), canonical compounds combine two or more bases, while non-canonical are formed via some other processes such as conversion.

- **Prepositional compounds:** these are mostly non-canonical and they are grouped together because the first or second element is a preposition (“breakdown”, “tuned-in”, “down-sized”, “out-sourced”).
- Further categories of compounds were identified by Bauer et al. (2013: 454-62) according to the types of the internal elements:
- **Neo-classical compounds:** these exhibit an obligatorily bound root in the first or second element (*astro-physics*);
- **Phrasal compounds:** these exhibit a phrase in first position (“less-than-successful husband”, “soon-to-be-divorced wife”). Lexicalized phrases such as “forget-me-not” or “lady-in-waiting” are instead excluded from compound status;<sup>8</sup>
- **Reduplicative compounds:** in the second element, the first word is repeated either totally or partially. Mattiello (2013: 141-168) specified that total reduplication can be the exact repetition of a word (“buddy-buddy”), or the repetition of a word in a slightly variant form (“bumpety-bump”). She also provided the example of a partial reduplication, where only a portion of a word is repeated, so that the second element can exhibit vowel aphophony, i.e., alternation of the internal vowel (“chit-chat”), or rhyming, (“hotsy-totsy”);
- **Blends:** at least one of the bases lacks some of its original phonological material. Mattiello (2013: 118-127) specified that blends can be distinguished into “total” and “partial”. In total blends, both the bases are reduced (“ginormous” ← “gigantic” + “enormous”). In partial blends only one is reduced (“gaydio” ← “gay” + “radio”). In some cases, the bases can overlap (“californicate” ← “California” + “fornicate”).

One controversial issue regarding compounding is how to determine whether a concatenation of bases is a morphological compound or a syntactic phrase. Different types of diagnostic tests were proposed to answer this question.<sup>9</sup> However, the results are often incongruent and leave

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<sup>8</sup> There is no consensus in theoretical linguistics about the boundaries between morphology and syntax as far as phrasal compounds are concerned. Differently from Bauer et al (2013), scholars such as Quirk et al (1985), for example, list lexicalized phrases such as “forget-me-not” and “lady-in-waiting” as compounds.

<sup>9</sup> Diagnostic tests include syntactic, phonological, and semantic criteria. Syntactic criteria were suggested by scholars such as Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 450) who claimed that the constituents of a compound cannot enter separately into relations of coordination and modification without causing a semantic change to the concept expressed. The following tests, for example, can be applied to “ice-cream”:

i. \*[ice- and custard-] creams

the question unresolved. In the present study, I am in line with the inclusive definition of compounds suggested by Dressler (2005), who identified a continuum ranging from prototypical compounds to phrasal compounds to syntactic phrases. For the purposes of this study, it is of secondary importance to establish whether a sequence of bases is a compound in a strict sense, since the focus is on compounds in terms of pre-modification. The latter is a typically English feature, which in Italian is rarely used, instead. In the present study, attention is drawn to the translation strategies available to cope with this linguistic mismatch. Based on this motivation, to identify compoundhood I judged that the following general semantic criteria were sufficient:

- Compounds denote a unitary concept (Bisetto 2004);
- Compounds have a naming function (Downing 1977).

Table 1 displays examples of compounds and syntactic phrases drawn from the corpus analysed in part II, which I disambiguated by means of the criteria mentioned above. On the basis of subjective intuition, in words such as “happy-hour”, “couch-commando”, and “Chihuahua-shirt”, the first constituent is linked to the second with a higher degree of cohesiveness than the first constituent in “tennis instructor”, “school clothes”, and “political messages”. In fact, while the function of “happy”, “couch”, and “Chihuahua” is naming, the function of “tennis”, “school” and “political” is describing a property of the second constituent. For the same reason, I also included in my analysis the compounds whose first constituent is a phrase (e.g., “the don’t-even-think-about-it group”) and creative lexicalized phrases (e.g., “a don’t-even-think-about-it”). Even in these cases, the force of attraction among the constituents to indicate a single concept is higher than in phrase-like structures whose first element lacks agreement marking (e.g., “all-carb diet”, “three-way call”). Here, the first element has the function of describing the second constituent rather than indicating a single concept.

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ii. \*ice- [lollies and creams]

iii. \*[two ice- and ten custard-] creams

iv. \*[crushed ice-]cream

v. \*ice-[Italian cream]

Phonological criteria were instead proposed by Chomsky and Halle (1969), who claimed that primary stress is on the first constituent in compounds (‘ice-cream), and on the second constituent in phrases (‘ice-cream). Semantic criteria include the assumption that the relation between the components of the compound is not semantically transparent. This assumption was rejected by scholars such as Dressler (2005), who highlighted that the components in idioms such as “kick the bucket” are also semantically opaque.

Table 1 Disambiguation of compounds

COMPOUNDS		NON-COMPOUNDS	
Item	Meaning	Item	Meaning
“Happy-hour”	A period of the day when drinks are sold at reduced prices in a bar	“Tennis instructor”	Somebody who teaches tennis
“Couch-commando”	The act of choosing the channels one likes without asking the other people sitting on the couch in front of the TV	“School clothes”	Clothes worn to go to school
“Chihuahua-shirt”	A very tight shirt	“Political messages”	Communications about political subjects
“the don't-even-think-about-it group”	A clique with which one cannot come into contact	“All-carb diet”	The food that you eat without carbohydrates
“(a) don't-even-think-about-it”	An intensified form of the noun “don't” (“dos and don'ts”). A rule that you should strictly follow	“Three-way call”	A phone call where three people talk to each other

In addition to the purely morphological processes listed so far, a phenomenon that I call **variation** can be included in this section, because it involves some kind of manipulation on the formal structure of a word.<sup>10</sup> Miller (2014) described it as a process where a word X is reanalysed as the nearest word Y, which sounds like X, and which, in some manner, accounts for the meaning of X. He pointed out that variation typically occurs when foreign words are mispronounced (“mayday” for *m’aider*, ‘help me’), but it can also occur to well-known words, often in surprising ways. An example is “sparrow-grass”, which resulted from a variation of “asparagus”, which, according to Miller (2014: 118), may be influenced by a phonetic similarity between “spara-” and “sparrow” and the fact that growing asparagus resembles “grass”.

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<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon was referred to by Miller (2014: 117) as “folk etymology”. I chose the term “variation” because, in my opinion, it emphasizes the sense of manipulation involved in creativity.

#### 1.4. Functional features of hapaxes: a view from Pragmatics

In the last section, I illustrated the formal patterns available for coining a new word. Now the question arises about why a speaker chooses creativity instead of ordinary linguistic devices, and specifically one formal pattern instead of another. Widdowson (2008: 508) provided the following definition of creativity from a pragmatic perspective:

a motivated violation of the manner maxim which focuses on the message form factor in the realization of speech act conditions in a way that disrupts normal expectations, creates implicatures of one kind or another and thereby brings about, in speech act terms, a particular perlocutionary effect.

This definition describes what occurs from a functional perspective when a newly-coined word is used in a conversation. During an interaction, the speaker violates the Gricean maxim of manner (avoid obscurity) and creates an implication about the meaning of the word, which the addressee is expected to infer via cognitive processes such as blending, metaphor, and metonym (Fauconnier 2004). As Lehrer (2003) suggested, the speaker's intention is to produce a double effect on the addressee. The addressee's response is slowed down as new words require greater processing effort, but the use of a clever and puzzling word provides pleasure, entertainment, amusement, or even proper laughter.

Based on this discussion, amusement –in addition to naming– may be considered the underlying function of newly-coined words. Amusement acts at a cognitive level in that the newly-coined word engages the readers in a 'game' where they infer and guess the new meaning through cues in the co-text and context.

In addition to amusement as an *underlying* function, a series of *immediate* functions can be identified in relation to the speaker's communicative goals at a micro-structural level in the conversation. These act at a pragmatic level in that the new coinage contributes to the construction of the illocutionary point of the utterance in which it is contained, i.e., the general intention of a speaker in producing that utterance (Searle and Vanderveken 1985).

A reference point in this direction is a volume edited by Munat (2007a), which contains a series of case studies on functional aspects of novel lexical items in different genres ranging from advertising and the media to science fiction to children literature. This served me as a

source of inspiration for identifying the functions of hapaxes in the qualitative analysis conducted in Part II. What follows contains a couple of examples which can serve to provide an overview of the methodology adopted in the above-mentioned volume.

The first example is the hapax used in (1), which was defined as a “dummy compound” by Hohenhaus (2007: 19), i.e., the second constituent is a vague word such as “thing” or “business”, and the first constituent is a word mentioned in the preceding context.

(1)

Willie: [...] I want to talk about what we’re going to do on our vacation. [...] We decided that we should all stay right here. [the conversation digresses]

Willie: Let’s just go back to this *vacation thing*, right?

Lynn: Yeah. I think we should talk about it. How come we’re not going anywhere?

(Hohenhaus 2007: 19)

The speaker’s choice of using a creative compound instead of a clausal description condenses information and brings about social closeness to the addressee. In fact, the vague word “thing” adds informality to the utterance, and the anaphoric reference stresses on the relation of solidarity and common ground with the addressee. This marker of solidarity is not only used within small peer communities. Hohenhaus (2007: 20-1) also mentioned fictional texts as the privileged loci for dummy compounds, which serve as devices for involving the reader into the story by creating a sense of familiarity between them and the narrator.<sup>11</sup>

Another example is the hapax contained in (2), i.e., a verb resulting from a process of conversion (see derivation in section 1.2):

(2)

Ruby: Well, what?

Stacey: Don’t *well-what* me! (From an episode of the British BBC soap *Eastenders*, 25/08/2005, as cited in Hohenhaus 2007: 29)

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<sup>11</sup> Scholars such as Channell (1994) have long acknowledged the use of vague language with the pragmatic purpose of giving the right amount of information to the listener and reinforcing solidarity with him/her. In fact, the contributions in the volume edited by Munat (2007a) including Hohenhaus (2007) apply well-established pragmatic functions to specific situational contexts.

In this interaction, the speech situation is conflicting. The intention of the second speaker is to achieve a position of power by rejecting what her interlocutor has just uttered (Hohenhaus 2007). To do this, she cites the linguistic material used by the other speaker (“well”, “what”) and transforms it into a converted verb. In this case, the conversion boosts the illocutionary force of the utterance, because to reiterate the idiosyncratic linguistic choice of the interlocutor by means of a negation (“don’t”) serves to intensify the conflict between the speakers in terms of power relationship (Holmes 1984).

### 1.5. Hapaxes and creativity in youth language<sup>12</sup>

So far I have described language creativity from a theoretical perspective. Here I contextualize the phenomenon, providing teenage speech as an example. This choice is motivated by the fact that seminal sociolinguistic research on youth language has long acknowledged that adolescents are particularly prone to language innovations, as their desire to distance themselves from adults and strengthen solidarity with their peers are ideal conditions to manipulate language and create their own code (Eckert 2004; Stenström and Jørgensen 2009).

These favourable conditions are solidified if we consider that adolescents strive to distance themselves not only from adults, but also from the peer groups to which they are not affiliated. As ethnographic studies showed, youth culture is made up of a series of sub-cultures, each one characterized by a distinctive ideological and speech style (Eckert 1989, 2000; Bucholtz 1997, 2011; Bakht 2010). Consequently, teenage is an extremely peer-oriented life stage, which favours linguistic creativity as a means to strengthen social bonds by creating a sort of ‘secret code’ shared by the members of the social clique.

Moreover, it goes without saying that adolescents have numerous occasions to invent words and expressions because, under the influence of socio-cultural trends, they continually develop new ways of doing things, and this leads to the need to find new ways of talking about what they are doing (Eckert 2004). An example is the terminology created among the young to give

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<sup>12</sup> It may be argued that a description of youth language is inconclusive owing to its rapid change from one generation to another. This section does not aim to be exhaustive; its purpose is to give an idea of the type of conversation which is contained in the corpus analysed in Part II.

a name to actions related to social media such as the currently popular “selfie”, i.e., a word formed by the addition of the suffix “-ie” to the noun “self” to indicate “a photograph of one’s self taken with a Smartphone and shared via social media” (Australian Associated Press 2013).

Research on teen speech has been carried out extensively in a wide range of languages. In this study, I focus on American English (1.5.1) and Italian (1.5.2), which are the working languages for the analysis presented in Part II. For information regarding research conducted on teen speech in other languages and cultures, the volumes edited by Stenström and Jørgensen (2009) and Jørgensen (2012) may be valuable reference points. In particular, several data are drawn from the largest corpora on youth language up to now, which are accessible for research online, i.e., *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), collected in London at the beginning of the Nineties (<http://clu.uni.no/icame/colt/>) and extensively illustrated in a seminal work by Stenström et al. (2002), *Språkkontakt och Ungomdspråk i Norden* (UNO), collected in the Nordic capitals at the end of the Nineties (<http://www.uib.no/uno/>), and *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente* (COLA), which began to be collected in Madrid in 2002 and which includes sub-corpora from Southern American Spanish ([www.colam.org](http://www.colam.org)). The method used to collect these data consisted in recording the conversations that took place among teenagers at and out of the school; for this purpose, each recruit was equipped with a recorder and a microphone. More recent data on teen speech are offered in the *Linguistic Innovators Corpus* (LIC), which consists of 1.4-million-word-transcribed interviews to teenagers living in London carried out in 2005 with the aim to document change in contemporary spoken English (Kerswill et al. 2007; Cheshire et al. 2008). Further data on teen conversation in the twenty-first century can be found online as part of the European Socrates-Minerva project *Sacodeyl European Youth Language* which contains data on British, French, German, Italian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, and Spanish teen speech. In this case, the method used to collect data was based on interview questions by the researcher to the teenagers on a wide range of topics (home and families, hobbies, etc.). The video clips of the interviews and the transcriptions are stored online ([www.um.es/sacodeyl](http://www.um.es/sacodeyl)) and basic corpus search tools such as the word list generator are also available in the website. Last but not least, another influential contribution on teen speech spoken in the twenty-first century came from the studies on Canadian English conducted on the basis of spoken corpora and collected through interviews by in-group observers



(Tagliamonte and Ito 2003; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Tagliamonte 2008). Particularly, a promising monograph on teen talk authored by Tagliamonte (forthc.) is forthcoming.

#### 1.5.1. American English teen talk

An extensive amount of data on the language used by teenagers in the USA is provided by ethnographic studies conducted in schools in various areas of the USA. The largest and most influential ones up to now were carried out by Eckert (1989, 2000) in the Detroit suburban area at the end of the Eighties, Mendoza-Denton (1997, 2008) in California's Silicon Valley at the end of the Nineties, Bucholtz (1997, 2011) in Northern California at the end of the Nineties, and Bakht (2010) in Long Island (New York) at the beginning of the twenty-first century. On the basis of these studies, an outline of American English teen talk was provided in article by Eckert (2004) appeared in the volume *The Language of the USA. Themes for the Twenty-first Century*, even though she pointed out that youth language is far from being a homogeneous category due to differences related to the distinctive styles of youth sub-cultures and vernaculars. The following features can be identified as common:

- New coinages;
- Extensive use of quotatives;
- Non-standard grammar;
- Code switching and code mixing.

Numerous examples of new coinages formed via morphological or semantic processes are offered by Bucholtz (2011: 157-161), who revealed that teenagers possess a high degree of metalinguistic awareness for humorous effect. An interesting case is shown in example 1, where the young speaker provides an explanation for the motivations that lie behind the coinage of a word that functions as a keyword in her peer group (Bucholtz 2011: 157-8).

(1)

Fred: Oh, and we make up words, like, okay, every day Kate and Bob have to go retrieve their violins from their arts building lockers, up on the second floor of the arts building.

[...]

Fred: So we said "we need a new verb that means to retrieve one's violin". So we go "*schnarfing*" every day after school.

[...]

Fred: And there's another verb, because this other girl's coming with us got her bike helmet every day after school. So to retrieve one's helmet is "*to nargle*".

[...]

Fred: So we *schnarf* and we *nargle* together.

In the same vein, Bucholtz (2011: 159) stated that puns are "remitting" parts of teenagers' interactions. Among the examples drawn from her ethnographic study, one can mention the joke produced with syntax in (2). Here the speaker is referring to one of her sudden changes of mind by using a metaphor from the jargon of rail transport (adapted from Bucholtz 2011: 159)

(2)

Claire: [...] *My train of thought got derailed.*

Another typical feature of teen speech in the USA is the extensive use of quotatives as a strategy with which teenagers enhance discourse with expressive meanings (Besnier 1992; Buchstaller 2003). Quotatives are much more than a technique used to report the speech of others. In many cases, they do not introduce the actual words uttered by a speaker in the past but rather reproduce an imagined performance of that speaker; this dramatized narration expresses the speaker's affective stance towards the represented other (Besnier 1992; Buchstaller 2003). Among the innovative quotatives used by teenagers, Eckert (2004), Bucholtz (2011) and Bakht (2010) mentioned markers such as "go", "be like", and "be all". The utterance in (3) drawn from the ethnographic study by Bucholtz (2011: 110-111) exemplifies how a teenager uses "be all" with the aim to take a negative stance towards the people he quotes.

(3)

Billy: I only talk with the people I can relate with.

Acme: Mhm. Yeah. My friends. [...] I don't go around just talking to fools I don't know, just *being all, "Blablablablablablab, bladah, bladah"*.

Here the negative stance is expressed through prosodic cues such as vowel lengthening (“Blahblahlahlahlah,bladah,bladah”). This device is used by the speaker with the aim to reproduce the purposeless nature of the conversations held by the teenagers who are not members of his peer group. The use of quotatives may be framed within the broader concept of intensification, a tendency associated with all word classes defined by Athanasiadou (2007: 555) as “the expression but also the achieving of subjectivity, in that the conceptualizers are very much involved in projecting their own perspective on an entity”. The expression of subjectivity plays a major role in teen speech, as it is a well-known fact that adolescence is a life stage when personal feelings and emotions are emphasized as a means to affirm one’s identity. Within this framework, in addition to quotatives, Bakth (2010) also provided data concerning the use of prototypical intensification devices such as the adverbials “so”, “very”, and “really”. Particularly, she stressed the high frequency of “so”, which was also detected by Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) in the television series *Friends* as a newer variant of “really” and discussed as an ideal candidate for becoming the predominant intensifier in American English spontaneous speech too.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to quotatives, an important role in American English teen speech is also played by non-standard grammar. This has long been associated with the speech style of the teenagers who are affiliated with street culture, hip-hop music (where African American Vernacular English is widespread), or simply with a negative attitude towards education (Labov 1972; Eckert 2000; Bucholtz 2011). Examples are double negation (“we can’t have food in the building no more”), zero copula (“he bad”), verbal disagreement (“he don’t”), and the levelling of verbal “-s” in the third person singular verb form in the present tense (“she go”) (Labov 1972; Eckert 2000; Bucholtz 2011). However, contrary to common beliefs, unconventionality is not the exclusive feature of teenage morphosyntax. Extreme standard grammar and formal vocabulary can also be verbal habits among teenagers, specifically in the nerd sub-culture, i.e., those who spend most of their time studying and refuse everything that is deemed ‘cool’ by mainstream teenagers. As an example, Bucholtz (2011: 139-163) mentioned reformulation

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<sup>13</sup> Adverbial intensifiers as a linguistic strategy used by a speaker to scale upwards or downwards the properties referred to by a given entity (Bolinger 1972) are among the topics most extensively dealt with in the research on teen speech in the Anglophone world. Studies in this direction include, for example, Stenström et al. (2002: section 6.2), and Núñez Pertejo and Palacios Martínez (2014) on British English; Tagliamonte and Ito (2003), Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) and Tagliamonte (2008) on Canadian English.

through a type of lexis pertaining to the jargon of science or academia (“my observation is that” instead of “I think”, or “the whole Y chromosome” instead of “all the males”).

Finally, a major role in American English teen speech is played by code-switching due to the frequent occasions of language contact such as that between English and Spanish, which has developed as a consequence of the emigrating processes on the part of Southern Americans. In this framework, Mendoza-Denton (1997, 2008) analysed the speech of two opposed peer groups, i.e., the Norteñas, where American identity prevails, and the Sureñas, who identify themselves as Mexican. What emerged from her study is that a higher rate of Spanish linguistic forms was detected in the speech style of the latter group, not surprisingly.

#### 1.5.1. Italian teen talk

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, there was a surge of interest in youth language in Italy, which led to the six-day Sappada-Plodn conference *Giovani, Lingue, Dialetti* in 2005, and the publication of collected volumes such as *Forme della comunicazione giovanile* edited by Marcato and Fusco (2005), *Lingue, giovani, dialetti* edited by Marcato (2006), and *I linguaggi giovanili* edited by Stefanelli and Saura (2011). In addition, a website called *Lingua Giovani* was also created as a reference point for research on Italian youth language (<http://www.maldura.unipd.it/linguagiovani/>). The data on teen talk in Italy are drawn from research conducted in schools situated in different areas of the country by means of sociolinguistic questionnaires administered to teenagers (Trifone 1996 in Pescara; Canobbio 1998 in Turin; Marcato 2005 in the Venetian area; Franceschini, Pierazzo, and Turro 2006 in Tuscany and Liguria; Lavinio and Lanero 2008 in Sardinia). On the basis of these studies, an outline of Italian youth language is offered by Sobrero (1992), which subsequently received consensus by Cortelazzo (2010) and Coveri (2011). Youth language was described as a hybrid variety made up of a series of features characterizing contemporary Italian (Sobrero 1992; Cortelazzo 2010; Coveri 2011):

- Colloquial language;
- Dialects and regionalisms;
- The influence of foreign languages;
- Technical jargons;

- Catchphrases drawn from the mass media;
- Words which once pertained to technical jargons;
- Ephemeral words.

Colloquial language includes recursive items such as words formed with the nominal suffix *-aro*, which indicates occupation (*discotecaro*, ‘someone who frequently goes to the disco’), the adjectival suffix *-oso*, which indicates abundance (*palloso*, ‘a very annoying person’), or the intensifying prefixes *-mega* (*megafesta*, ‘a big party’) and *-super* (*superinteressante*, ‘extremely interesting’) (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

Dialectal features comprise words and expressions pertaining to the dialect used in the area where the speakers live, but also words and expressions imported from other dialects. A major influence comes from the Roman dialect, which is especially exported via the media, given that Rome is the place where the Italian cinema industry is set. As examples, one can mention words such as *racchia* (‘a very ugly woman’), *bono/bona*, (‘an attractive boy/girl’), and *sfiga* (‘bad luck’) (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

The foreign languages which predominantly influence the Italian youth language are English and Spanish. The former is related to the Anglo-American cultural wave in today’s globalized society, while the latter is due to the structural similarity of romance languages (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010). Foreign words can be reproduced as full borrowings (*dreadlocks*) or calques (*sniffare* from “sniff”, as related to drugs). Alternatively, Italian words can be substituted with their foreign equivalents, e.g., *ragazzo* can be replaced by monosyllabic words such as the English “boy” or the Spanish *chico* (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010). Another mechanism is the addition of foreign suffixes and endings to Italian words, e.g., the noun *arrapescion*, formed with the root of the Italian verb *arrapare* (‘to make somebody sexually excited’) and the pseudo-suffix *-escion* which approximately reproduces the pronunciation of the English suffix “-ation” (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

Specialized jargons include words drawn from the medical area (*sclerare*, ‘to become crazy’), computer science (*un bit*, ‘one moment’ where a “bit” is a unit of information), astronomy (*galattico*, ‘extraordinary’), and sports (*marciare*, ‘to court somebody’) (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

The media led to the diffusion of catchphrases coined in TV programmes or advertisements, a classic example being *lavato con Perlana* ('something washed with the washing powder *Perlana*') (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

Another component consists of words which once pertained to technical jargons and then began to be used on a larger scale. These include, for example, *imboscarsi* ('to hide') and *cotta* ('crush'), which were respectively part of the jargon used in the army and at school some decades ago (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).

Last but not least, in line with the themes of the present study, youth language is made up of ephemeral words and expressions coined on-the-spot and only used for a short period of time, be it one generation or a small community of peers. This ability to be linguistically creative was considered as the most characteristic and innovative nucleus of youth language (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010). From a formal point of view, in addition to the suffixes and prefixes previously mentioned, abbreviation is another frequent mechanism, i.e., clipping (*pome* ← *pomeriggio*, 'afternoon') or acronyms and initialisms (CBCR ← *Cresci Bene Che Ripasso*, 'I'll see you when you grow up and become even prettier') (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010). From a semantic point of view, recursive mechanisms are metaphor (*cozza*, 'mussel', which indicates an ugly woman), metonymy (e.g., *ferro*, 'iron', with the figurative and metonymical meaning of 'moto' or 'car'), antonomasia (*aladino*, 'Aladin', which stands for 'somebody who has great ideas'), and hyperbole (*da dio*, 'like God', which stands for 'very good') (Sobrero 1992; Coveri 2011; Cortelazzo 2010).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See Franceschini, Pierazzo, and Turri (2006) for further insights on the rhetorical-semantic mechanisms that underlie the creation of new words among Italian teenagers. The data are drawn from *BaDaLi* (*Banca Dati Linguagiovane*), an electronic database of conversation exchanged among teenagers in Tuscany and Liguria.

## Chapter 2

### Audiovisual Translation

In the previous chapter, hapax legomena were described from a linguistic perspective with a focus on formal and functional features. The aim was to provide a theoretical background to identify and analyse hapaxes in the corpus presented in Part II. In this chapter, I move from a linguistic to a translational perspective with a focus on dubbing. This translation mode is described in order to highlight what factors are at stake in the translation of the movies included in the corpus.

For this purpose, section 2.1 contextualizes the branch of Audiovisual Translation Studies within the broader discipline of Translation Studies and illustrates its process of academization and institutionalization. Section 2.2 focuses on dubbing and presents the technical and cultural factors that come into play when translating, i.e., the need for coherence and synchronization, the relationship between fiction and naturalness in the dialogues, and the ideological norms of the target culture. Section 2.3 zooms in on the specific issue of translating hapaxes and creativity. The first sub-section is devoted to the strategies identified by translation scholars to deal with creative words. The second sub-section reviews the findings that emerged from studies on dubbed teen movies where creativity is ubiquitous. Section 2.4 describes two research methods recently developed in Audiovisual Translation Studies that I used for analysing creativity in Part II and III, namely corpus-based studies and perception studies.

#### 2.1. Audiovisual Translation Studies: a historical overview

Today we are literally surrounded by screens of all shapes and sizes. Our lives are pervaded by audiovisual technology with television sets, laptops, tablets, Smartphones, and videogame consoles being musts for individuals. This panorama creates demand for new forms of translation that have to meet the challenges of new complex semiotic spaces. Within this framework, Pérez-González (2014) distinguished the modes for translating audiovisual products into three macro-categories: subtitling, revoicing, and assistive forms of translation.

**Subtitling** occurs when fragments of written text in the target language are shown on screen in correspondence with the character's utterances in the source version. Two main

subtitling practices were identified: conventional subtitles and fansubbing. **Conventional subtitles** are realized by translation companies on the basis of relatively fixed norms (see, inter alia, Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007). **Fansubbing** is the practice by which fan communities of films, TV series or cartoons produce amateurish subtitled versions of their favourite programmes and distribute them via Internet-based channels (see Massidda 2015).

**Revoicing** is a translation mode in which the original dialogue soundtrack is substituted or overlapped with a translated soundtrack. The most common revoicing mode is **lip-synchronized dubbing**, where the translated track “attempts to follow as closely as possible the timing, phrasing, and lip movement of the original dialogue” (Luyken et al. 1991: 311). Other modes include voice-over, narration, and free commentary. In **voice-over** the translated and original tracks are heard simultaneously, with the former starting a few seconds after the latter recorded at a lower volume. **Narration** is a type of voice-over where the translation has been summarized. In **free commentary**, a comedian manipulates the translation, adding jokes or funny comments, either with dubbing or voice-over. In **simultaneous interpreting**, the translation is performed on the spot.

**Assistive forms of translation** include, for instance, subtitling and revoicing, when they acquire special features in order to facilitate access to information and entertainment to sensory impaired audiences. **Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing** consists in adding specific features to conventional subtitles such as punctuation marks (see Orero 2012). **Audio description** for the blind and visually impaired provides an account of the actions and objects visible on screen and relevant for understanding the plot (see Di Giovanni 2014).

Until recently, there has been a tendency among scholars to classifying European countries into dubbing and subtitling countries, based on the way films and TV series are watched most frequently. For example, Italy, Germany, France, and Spain were traditionally associated with dubbing, whereas Netherlands, Portugal, and Scandinavian countries were associated with subtitling (Luyken et al. 1991). However, scholars such as Chaume (2012: 6) have recently argued against this simplistic division and pointed out changing attitudes. For example, in cinema houses set in large cities of traditionally dubbing countries such as Valencia in Spain, films are now increasingly shown in both their dubbed and subtitled versions (Chaume 2012). Another example is Italy, where some TV channels such as *MTV* are increasingly translating teen programs with subtitles or voice-over. Vice versa, there has been an increase in the use of



dubbing in the countries that traditionally adopted subtitling. This is especially the case of teen series, which are now often dubbed in countries such as Greece, Norway, and Denmark (Chaume 2012).

Audiovisual translation as a professional practice has been exploited for over eighty years since subtitles were used in silent movies to retain narrative continuity (the so-called intertitles), or when sound was added to silent movies. However, it has only been in the last few decades that this type of translation has received scholarly attention. As Gambier (2008) noted, before the mid-nineties, studies on audiovisual translation were published sporadically, mainly addressing an elitist, specialized readership. An example worthy of mention is Fodor's (1976) study on articulatory phonetics applied to the process of lip synchronization. In the following decades, Bassnet (1980/1991) included translation for the cinema in her mapping of Translation Studies, which was followed by the first *Conference on Dubbing and Subtitling* held in Stockholm in 1987 and supported by EBU (European Broadcasting Union). These events marked a significant interest in audiovisual translation between the early Eighties and the late Nineties. However, in a ground-breaking article describing the multi-channel and multi-code nature of audiovisual texts published at the end of the Eighties, Delabastita (1989: 202) still described audiovisual translation as a "virgin area of research".

The actual surge of interest in audiovisual translation began in the middle of the Nineties, when more systematic studies were carried out in line with a proliferation of conferences, publications, dissertations, M.A. and Ph.D. theses on the subject. This proliferation was followed by the inclusion of audiovisual translation in translator training curricula. According to Pérez-González (2014), this officially marked the institutionalization of audiovisual translation as an academic discipline in its own right. Key reference points were international conferences such as the biennial series *Languages & The Media* held in Berlin since 2002 and the annual series *Media for All* held in several European countries since 2007 (Portugal, Belgium, England, and Croatia). Other reference points for audiovisual translation research include the publication of seminal volumes and articles on dubbing and subtitling (Herbst 1997; Gambier 2004; Pavesi 2005; Chaume 2012; Díaz-Cintas and Remael 2007) and the foundation of Ph.D, MSc, and intensive courses in Audiovisual Translation such as those held at University College London (<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/centras>). As Bollettieri, Di Giovanni, and Rossato (2014: second paragraph) have recently pointed out, "although widely seen as a sub-discipline of

Translation Studies, studies on audiovisual translation are truly interdisciplinary in themselves, bringing together knowledge of more or less traditional media, IT, audience reception, cognitivism, and, of course, languages and cultures.”

## 2.2. The language of dubbing

Among the types of audiovisual translation mentioned in 2.1, this section specifically focuses on dubbing. The language of dubbing results from the interplay of the following factors:

- The need for coherence and synchronization with what happens on screen;
- The combination of artificial and natural elements of conversation;
- The ideological norms that determine the acceptability of contents in the target culture.

### 2.2.1. Coherence and synchronization

Communication in audiovisual texts takes place through two channels and a multitude of codes (Delabastita 1989; Remael 2001; Chaume 2004, 2012). The channels involved are eyesight and hearing. Eyesight concerns the images that appear on screen (road signs, colours, body movements, and so on). Hearing concerns the acoustic side of the movie (the language spoken, sounds, noises, and so on). The combination of the acoustic channel and the visual channel leads to the creation of different types of messages (Delabastita 1989; Remael 2001):

- Aural-verbal (e.g., the character’s speech);
- Aural-non verbal (e.g., the character’s accent and intonation, background noises);
- Visual-verbal (e.g., titles, road signs);
- Visual-non verbal (e.g., the characters’ actions).

Filmic codes include the language used, paralinguistic features, songs, special effects, diegetic or non-diegetic sounds, images, the style of images, body language, written language which appears on screen, and shot associations (Chaume 2012). The first five codes are transmitted by the acoustic channel, while the others by the visual channel.

Based on these features, it can be deduced that language is only one of the numerous components which contribute to meaning-making in films (Piazza 2010; Wildfeuer 2013). In

fact, the viewers are actively engaged in creating meanings by finding connections between different filmic devices such as language, images, sound, gestures, types of shots, etc. As Wildfeuer (2013: 1) argued,

film interpretation is an active process of relational meaning-making and inferring its propositional content in terms of assumptions and hypotheses, which the recipient makes according to concrete cues within the text.<sup>15</sup>

Within this framework, central concerns for dubbing translators are coherence and synchrony between the translation and what happens on screen. “Coherence” is the need for correspondence between words and images in terms of semantic relation (Chaume 2012: 69-70). “Synchrony” refers instead to the correspondence between the translation and the character’s dramatization, i.e., voice and body movements (Chaume 2012: 69-70). Synchronization can be distinguished into three typologies: lip or phonetic synchrony, kinesic synchrony, and isochrony. Lip or phonetic synchrony requires the adaptation of the translation to the articulatory movements of the characters, especially if the scene is shot as a close-up or extreme close-up (Fodor 1976; Luyken et al. 1991; Whitman-Linsen 1992; Chaume 2012). Kinesic synchrony requires the correspondence of the translation with the characters’ body movements (Fodor 1976; Whitman-Linsen 1992; Chaume 2012)<sup>16</sup>. Isochrony requires the correspondence of the translation with the duration of the on-screen characters’ utterances (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Chaume 2012). Scholars such as Herbst (1997) pointed out that there may be differences in synchronization practices across cultures. He argued that, for example, German dubbing practices place emphasis on lip synchronization, while in countries such as Italy it is the naturalness of the dialogues that is prioritized.

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<sup>15</sup> The perspective adopted by Wildfred (2013) implies that film comprehension shares the same mechanism that lies at the basis of reading comprehension, which is regarded as a combination of top-down and bottom-up cognitive strategies (Goodman 1967; Stockwell 2002). Top-down strategies refer to readers *bringing meaning to* the text by using their background knowledge to make sense of what they read (e.g., their knowledge of the linguistic code). Bottom-up strategies refer to readers *drawing meaning from* the text by identifying and interpreting textual cues (e.g., facial expressions that change the literal meaning of an utterance, for example a smile that turns an insult into a compliment).

<sup>16</sup> Fodor (1992: 33) referred to this type of synchrony as “character synchrony”.

### 2.2.2. Artificial and natural elements of conversation

As far as the linguistic code is concerned, film dialogue is a peculiar language variety that combines features of fictional conversation with features of spontaneous conversation. Several terms have been used in the scholarly literature to highlight the hybrid nature of film dialogue. Gregory and Carroll (1978: 42) defined it as a mode of discourse “written to be spoken as if not written”, highlighting that it is created in such a way that it has to seem spontaneous. Similarly, Baños and Chaume (2009: section 2) coined the expression “prefabricated orality”, underlining the fact that the spontaneous features of film dialogue are planned very carefully, although their aim is to sound natural. Another label was used by Sinclair (2004: 80), who referred to film dialogue as “quasi-speech”, where “speech” refers to spontaneous language and “quasi” to its being written and then recited.

Numerous studies highlighted that the divergences between movie dialogue and spontaneous conversation are mainly due to the communicative goals of the audiovisual medium such as time and space constraints and the need to produce movies that are appealing and commercially successful (Taylor 1999; Kozloff 2000; Chaume 2004; Pavesi 2005; Bednarek 2010; Baños 2014). For these reasons, language has to be economic and compact, and clarity can be achieved by means of a slower rhythm and a more limited number of orality markers than in spontaneous conversation (e.g., overlaps, interruptions, repetitions, and discourse markers). These features were summarized by Bednarek (2010: 65-66) as follows:

Television discourse needs to be comprehensible to the audience (avoiding unintelligible and vague language; entertain the audience (including emotional and aesthetic language; avoiding repetition, long monologues or narratives); create characters that the audience finds realistic (featuring informal language); and attract a large audience (featuring conventions of stage dialogue, stock lines; less linguistic variation).

In her seminal volume on the distinctive features of film language, Kozloff (2000) highlighted that, when orality markers are used in film dialogue, they are nevertheless the result of a

deliberate choice of the scriptwriters with the aim to imitate natural conversation.<sup>17</sup> Within this framework, Baños (2014) compared a pre-production script and the final dialogues of a Spanish TV series, showing that the implementation of orality markers such as hesitations, false starts and repetitions can even occur while shooting a scene as part of the actors' leeway for improvisation.

A more positive standpoint on the presence of orality markers in film dialogue was instead adopted by Quaglio (2009), Rodríguez Martín and Moreno Jaén (2009), Rodríguez Martín (2010), and Forchini (2012), who carried out corpus-based studies aimed at demonstrating that movie dialogue and face-to-face conversation share similarities and can thus be exploited in ELT (English Language Teaching) to develop the students' speaking competence. Their quantitative analyses revealed that movie dialogue shares some linguistic features of natural conversation, and specific differences are only found in terms of frequency in relation to the characteristics of the medium. For example, both movie dialogue and natural conversation contain instances of vague language. However, the occurrence is lower in movie dialogue since the aim is to achieve clarity and not to hinder comprehension on the part of the viewers (Quaglio 2009).

From a translational point of view, since the original film versions contain artificial elements, it is simplistic to expect the dubbing translator to produce dialogues entirely resembling natural conversation. Some degree of artificiality is inevitably present. As Pavesi (2008: 81) claimed,

approximation to orality is to be expected in the translated script as a reflection of the approximation to orality in the source script. That is, other things being equal, greater realism is likely to be achieved in the translation of texts that already exhibit a high degree of naturalness in the source language. Conversely, if the source text contains very unrealistic language, the translated text will not be expected to strive for naturalness.

Therefore, like original film dialogue, dubbed language can also be considered as a combination of artificial and spontaneous features of conversation. For this reason, it is often

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<sup>17</sup> According to Kozloff (2000), the use of orality markers in films also depends on genres. Films centred on pathos such as melodramas, for example, contain a higher number of emphatic words and expressions than other genres where pathos is less relevant to the plot (e.g., westerns).

referred to as a third norm, which differs from both the source and the target language norm (Pavesi 1996). Dubbed film dialogue is also known as dubbese, highlighting its status as an autonomous sociolinguistic variety with its own distinctive features (Myers 1973). In a forthcoming article, Pavesi (forthc.) described the features of dubbed language as composed of three axes of variation, for a total of six poles of attraction:

- Naturalness versus register specificity;
- Target-language orientation versus source-language interference;
- Routinization versus creativity.

The first axis (naturalness vs. register specificity) refers to the degree of conformity to spontaneous speech, and the specificities of dubbed language as an independent register. On the one hand, studies revealed similarities with spontaneous speech. In Italian, these were found in relation to syntactic complexity, i.e., a similar ratio between independent and dependent clauses, similar frequency values for the major subordinate clauses (*che*, *se*, and *quando*), and similar frequency values for personal pronouns (Pavesi 2008, 2009).<sup>18</sup> In Spanish, similarities with spontaneous speech were found primarily at the lexical level due to a flexible and creative vocabulary (Chaume 2012; Baños 2014b).

On the other hand, studies also revealed divergences with spontaneous speech. These were found in relation to sociolinguistic variation, i.e., phonological, morphological and lexical features that typify a sociolinguistic status tend to be levelled out in the translation (Goris 1993; Herbst 1997; Brincat 2000; Pavesi 2005). However, regional traits were found if functional and purposeful to the plot, i.e., either to caricaturize comic characters, or to connote stereotypes. Examples are Italian-American criminals speaking with a Sicilian dialect, or cunning characters speaking with a Neapolitan accent (Parini 2009; Pavesi 2005). It is to be noted that register specificity may also be linked to Toury's (1995 [2012]) universal law of standardization, according to which translation is universally subject to a tendency towards the neutralization of sociolinguistic variation.

The second axis of variation (target-language orientation and source-language interference) refers to the overuse of patterns that are typical of the source language, and the introduction of patterns which are unnatural in the target language. On the one hand, studies on dubbed

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<sup>18</sup> Second person pronouns are relatively more frequent due to the interactional nature of film dialogue (Pavesi 2009).

movies revealed a tendency towards the implementation of linguistic items that are typical of colloquial conversations in the source language. In Italian, these include marked word order such as right dislocations (Pavesi 2008), the omission of the demonstratives “this” and “that” (Pavesi 2013), and the intensification of compliments by means of reinforcing devices such as adverbial intensifiers and superlatives (Bruti 2009, 2013).

On the other hand, studies also revealed the influence of languages such as English, for example the occurrence of calques and borrowings (Herbst 1997; Brincat 2000; Pavesi 2005; Bruti and Pavesi 2008; Romero Fresco 2009; Minutella 2011). In many cases, calques are also used independently of its original triggers and become translational routines which save the translator’s time while reducing the viewer’s effort in understanding discourse thanks to their repetitiveness (Karamitroglou 2000).<sup>19</sup> In Italian, for example, the leave-taking formula *notte*, used as an abbreviation of *buonanotte*, is a literal translation of the English “night” (short for “goodnight”). However, scholars noticed that *notte* is often used as a translation solution to other leave-taking formulas such as “bye bye” and “goodnight” (Pavesi forthc.). In Spanish, a tendency towards translational routines concerns, for example, the discourse marker *veamos* (a calque of “let’s see”), which translates other units that fulfil the same pragmatic function, i.e., to make a pause without losing the floor (Romero Fresco 2009). It is to be noted that, similarly to the first axis of variation previously described, even source-language interference was recognized by Toury (1995 [2012]) as a universal tendency in the translation process.

The third axis (routinization vs. creativity) refers to the use of repeated translational solutions, and the production of creative translations. On the one hand, studies revealed that the formulae used in the source versions are reproduced in the dubbed versions, for example by translating conversational routines with relatively fixed modules (Pavesi 2005, 2008; Bucaria 2008; Antonini and Chiaro 2009; Freddi 2009; Bonsignori, Bruti, and Masi 2011, 2012). In Italian, for example, the occurrences of “that’s all” were found to be translated as *tutto qua/tutto qui* (Pavesi forthc.) and “do you know” as *sai che* and *lo sai che* (Pavesi 2008).

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<sup>19</sup> This is consistent with assumptions made in linguistic studies on formulaic language such as Wray (2002), who argued that the primary function of formulaic sequences is to benefit the speaker in some way. This macro-function includes several sub-functions such as the reduction of the speaker’s processing load and the marking of discourse structure to facilitate the hearer’s comprehension.

On the other hand, studies also revealed the use of creative solutions when translational hurdles such as humorous references occur (Chiaro 2010; Fuentes Luque 2010; Ranzato 2011). A classic example is the translation of a pun contained in the Max Brothers' film *Horse Feather*. In one scene of the film, Groucho Marx demands that someone gives him a seal to sign a document, and Harpo Marx turns up bringing him an actual seal (the animal). The Italian translator replaced Groucho's request with the exclamation *focalizziamo* ('let's focus on it'), whose etymological root (*foca-*) is a homophone of the Italian word indicating a seal animal, (*foca*). This can be quoted as a brilliant example of the translator's inventiveness.

### 2.2.3. Ideology and cultural norms

In addition to its relevance from a linguistic point of view as was illustrated in section 2.2.2, the language of dubbing is also worthy of investigation for its socio-cultural embeddedness. A long-acknowledged phenomenon is that the translation process involves power negotiations between cultures (Lefevere 1985, 1992; Bassnett and Lefevere 1998; Hermans 1999; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). According to Even-Zohar's (1979) ground-breaking Polysystem Theory, which inspired the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies, the literary works produced in one culture (including translations) constitute a dynamic system of interrelated texts sharing what Toury (1995: 51) defined the ideological "norms" of that culture, i.e., ideas and values according to which a certain behaviour should be regarded as more or less desirable. Within this framework, the persons or institutions holding the power to tacitly or explicitly establish norms in one culture were referred to by Lefevere (1985: 227-228) as "patronage", which includes persons, group of persons, social classes, royal courts, publishers, or the media. On the basis of these dynamics, it can be deduced that translation is never neutral and always implies an act of rewriting and manipulation, i.e., filtering a text according to specific socio-cultural values (Lefevere 1992; Hermans 1999). As a result, the translator actively contributes to reinforcing or debunking the stereotypes and prejudices that are rooted in the cognitive schemata of a community. As claimed by Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002: xxi; my emphasis),

[translation] is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification,



refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. In these ways *translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture.*

Due to their status as translated texts, dubbed films can also be seen as part of a polysystem, i.e., an audiovisual polysystem. In fact, numerous studies have been devoted to the language of dubbing as a “site of representational practice”, i.e., materials where scholars can investigate how foreign values are presented to the audiences (Pérez-González 2014: 30). The line of research which investigates the representation of socio-cultural themes in translated movies is very prolific encompassing four macro-categories: political references, gender issues, taboo language, and post-colonial discourse.

Political references were studied with the aim to unmask instances of manipulation in film dialogues due to the application of censorial norms in the source culture. In other words, translators or dubbing adaptors can shorten or alter films in order to avoid or add references to political issues that are relevant to that culture from a historical point of view. Analyses in this direction include dubbing in fascist and post-fascist Italy (Ranzato 2009, 2011; Mereu 2012) and Spain (Merino and Rabadán 2002; Garnemark 2012). The interplay of censorship and politics was also illustrated with regard to non-European countries, an example being the following case study mentioned by Cronin (2009: 11) concerning colonizers in Northern Rhodesia:

One of the paradoxical effects of paranoid censorship in imperial settings was that the narrative or storyline was continually disrupted by the anxious cuts of colonizers. Vulnerable natives were thus unlikely to be affected by the meanings of narratives that the censors’ shears had rendered illegible [...] [T]he vast majority of showings of films in the Copperbelt were out of doors and the noise levels were such that the soundtrack was not often audible. Even if it had been, this would have made little difference as the miners and their families with limited access to formal education would not have been able to follow extended dialogue in British English or colloquial American English.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This reference was only used by Cronin (2009) as part of the theoretical background to his volume, which was centred on a different subject instead, i.e., how translators and situations that involve translation are represented in movies.

Gender issues were mainly analysed in relation to women and homosexual identities, in line with an approach to the study of translation aimed at unmasking patriarchal stereotypes towards the role of women or sceptic attitudes towards homosexuality (Chamberlain 1992; Spivak 1993). The analyses carried out by De Marco (2006), Ranzato (2012), and Sandrelli (2016) can be mentioned as examples of studies in this direction. De Marco (2006) analysed a collection of movies dubbed into Spanish and Italian with a focus on the manipulation of language aimed at reinforcing andocentric clichés. Interestingly, she revealed that words and expressions associating women to prostitution or sexual intercourse were frequently added in the translations.

As far as gay speech is concerned, Ranzato (2012) showed how references to homosexual themes in dubbed Italian movies or TV series tend to be either omitted or transformed into heterosexual references. Moreover, words that convey pride and liberation in the original versions often even become words of self-deprecation and ambiguity in Italian. As an explanation, she highlighted that homosexuality entered Italy more slowly than in the Anglophone world, and thus the predominant norms about homosexuality in the Italian culture are still scepticism and an out-of-date view of homosexuals as tormented persons with inverted sexual desires. Interestingly, Ranzato (2012) also highlighted that the Italian lexicon referring to homosexuality is quite limited compared to the English, since many creative terms used in the original versions lack lexical equivalents in the translations (for example, “butch” and “dyke” are often translated with the more general term *omosessuale*, ‘homosexual’). This tendency was also confirmed in a recent study carried out by Sandrelli (2016) on the strategies used to dub gay-themed TV series in Italy. Similarly to Ranzato (2012), she highlighted that a more standardized register is used, combined with a more limited range of translation options, especially with regard to female homosexuality.

Studies on taboo language include Chiaro (2007), Bucaria (2009), and Pardo (2013), who revealed numerous cases where swearwords related to sexual intercourse tend to be mitigated or omitted in Italian and Spanish dubbed movies and series. Sexual references were also among the subjects investigated in qualitative studies on filmic teen speech by Bianchi (2008) and Zanotti (2012), who also revealed a tendency towards the mitigation of taboo language in

Italian dubbed movies targeted at teenagers.<sup>21</sup> According to Parini (2014:160), the mitigation of strong language and potentially disturbing topics in Italian dubbing “should not be considered merely an act of censorship, but rather as a domesticating strategy” due to the fact that Italian domestic productions contain a significantly lower degree of strong language than US productions.

Colonial discourse was studied with the aim to examine the linguistic strategies used in original and dubbed movies to construct the identities of immigrant communities. Examples of studies in this direction include Bonsignori (2012) and Bruti and Bonsignori (2014). Bonsignori (2012) focused on the linguistic strategies used for the characterization of Desi/Brit Asian in dubbed Italian movies (a language variety spoken by immigrant communities living in the UK and USA). The analysis revealed a high level of creativity in the original versions, and a wide range of strategies used in their translations were examined. In particular, with regard to morphology, which is the object of the present study, Bonsignori (2012) observed that reduplicatives are normalized via paraphrase, and compounds tend to undergo explication, e.g., using a noun phrase followed by a prepositional phrase. In the same vein, Bruti and Bonsignori (2012) focused on the portrayal and translation of Indian English in dubbed Italian movies, illustrating its markers of identity and their relative translation solutions. Compounds, for example, undergo explication even when they have an important role in terms of cultural identity (i.e., when one of the components is a loanword from Hindi, which creates a code-switching effect).

### 2.3. Creativity as a translation issue

The previous section reviewed the general features of film dialogue that play a central role in the translation for dubbing of any type of text. This section focuses on a specific translation problem that arises in creative texts such as those containing youth language, namely the presence of novel words. Section 2.3.1 illustrates the cognitive stylistic approach to translation, which is integrated with the theory of translation universals. Section 2.3.2 reviews the translation strategies identified in the literature which can serve as reference points in

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<sup>21</sup> For more information on their findings, see Chapter 2 (section 2.3.3).

contrastive analyses. Section 2.3.3 zooms in on the issue of creativity in youth language and reviews the trends used to dub teen movies in Italy (2.3.3).

### 2.3.1. Cognitive stylistics and translation universals

Differently from early approaches to translation studies, which primarily aimed to analyse the linguistic changes that occurred from a source text to a target text in terms of lexicogrammatical patterns (among others, Catford 1965), contemporary approaches to translation focus on contextual factors such as the cognitive mechanisms involved in the process of translation. According to a recent approach known as cognitive stylistics, translation should attempt to produce in the target version the same cognitive effects achieved in the source version. Boase-Beier (2011: 73), one of the major theorizers of this approach, argued that

any translation, whether aiming to preserve or change the text-type of the original, will need to interact closely with the style of the text. Especially for the literary translator, understanding the style of the source text and being able to recreate similar stylistic effects in the target text are essential.

The notion of style is conceived as the result of the foregrounding effect, which refers to the presence of language features that stand out from the surrounding linguistic elements. McIntyre and Jeffries (2010: 31) explained the foregrounding theory as the fact that “in any text some sounds, words, phrases and/or clauses may be so different from what surrounds them, or from some perceived ‘norm’ in the language generally, that they are set into relief by this difference and made more prominent as a result”. They added that foregrounding is achieved by either linguistic parallelism or linguistic deviation. Parallelism occurs when a linguistic feature stands out due to an unexpected regularity. An example is the repetition of the same linguistic pattern across the lines of a poem. Foregrounding via deviation occurs instead when a linguistic feature stands out due to an unexpected irregularity. An example is the invention of new words via familiar affixes or compounding mechanisms (see Chapter 1, section 1.2).

The approach proposed by Boase-Beier (2004; 2011) consists in hypothesizing the cognitive effects that foregrounding mechanisms have on the source reader and reproduce them in the translated version in order to let the target reader experience the same effects. She provided the example of a German poem, *Beim lesen der Zeitung* ('While Reading the Paper'), where an omission of the auxiliary for perfect tense creates an ambiguity about the political stance of the voice. As a result, the readers are cognitively engaged in the poem for discovering the author's intention, for example by resorting to allusions in the co-text. According to Boase-Beier (2004), the translator should re-create a similar ambiguity in the target version in order to engage the readers as in the source version.

If the approach proposed by Boase-Beier (2004, 2011) is applied to hapaxes, the cognitive effects of hapaxes need to be detected. In Chapter 1 (section 1.3), I argued that the underlying function of hapaxes is to amuse the readers, who are engaged in a game where they guess and infer meanings. This leads to the assumption that translators should strive to produce in the target version the same degree of amusement that the readers experience in the source version. For this purpose, the translators have the linguistic resources of the target language system at their disposal, which they should combine in such a way that an amusing effect is achieved.

At this point, translators' choices may be affected by the presence of translation universals. According to Toury's (1995 [2012]) law of interference, translators mostly use language patterns that bear a resemblance to the source language rather than patterns that are typical of the target language. In other words, a tendency towards literal translations is hypothesized. On the basis of this claim, Tirkkonen-Condit (2004) formulated the Unique Item Hypothesis, according to which the linguistic elements of a target language that have no counterparts in a source language tend to occur with lower frequencies in translated texts than in non-translated texts. In order to verify her theory, she carried out a corpus-based study with a focus on verbs of sufficiency, which are distinctive of the Finnish language and have no direct equivalents in English. For this purpose, she compared their frequencies in a corpus of original Finnish texts and a corpus of Finnish translated texts (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004). The results revealed lower occurrences of these verbs in the translated corpus, thus validating her initial hypothesis.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Scholars such as Chesterman (2004) advocated for the implementation of corpus-based studies for testing the existence of translation universals across languages.

### 2.3.2. Review of translation strategies

While the previous section focused on the process of translation from a theoretical point of view, this section deals with the translation strategies adopted in actual translations, as observed by scholars such as Delabastita (2004) and Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002). This section serves as a reference point for the contrastive analysis conducted in Part II, where some of these strategies are mentioned.

Delabastita (2004: 885) articulated a classification of the strategies available to translate hapaxes (called “neologisms”), which he distinguished into the following types:

- Replacing the source-text neologism by a target language neologism coined to imitate it;
- Directly copying the source text neologism, with or without involving special signals (italics, inverted commas), annotation (intratextual glossing through couplet, extratextual glossing through footnotes) or phonological/graphological adaptation);
- Using an existing target language neologism even though it has a slightly different denotational meaning;
- Using a denotationally equivalent but non-neologistic expression in the target language;
- Reproducing the neologistic style but in different textual positions and by means of different linguistic devices.

In addition, reference can be made to general translation strategies that have been identified in the literature so far. A comprehensive and versatile taxonomy is provided by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002), who identified the following eighteen techniques with examples based on translations involving English, Spanish, Arabic, French, and Italian:

- **Adaptation:** a cultural element in the source text is replaced with a cultural element in the target text, e.g., “baseball” → *fútbol*;
- **Amplification:** to add details that are not present in the source text, e.g., *Ramadan* → “Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting”;
- **Borrowing:** to transfer a word directly from another language. It can be pure, i.e., done without any changes, e.g., “lobby” (English text) → *lobby* (Spanish text). It can be naturalized, i.e., done by adapting the word to the spelling of the target language, e.g., “goal” → *gol*;

- **Calque:** to translate a word literally in terms of lexis or formal structure, e.g., *École Normal* → “Normal School”;
- **Compensation:** an element of information or a stylistic effect is reproduced in another place in the target text;
- **Description:** a term is replaced with the description of its form and/or function, e.g., *panettone* → “traditional Italian cake eaten on New Year’s Eve”;
- **Discursive creation:** the correspondence between the source item and the target item is totally unpredictable and out of context. It is often used for translating film titles, e.g., “Rumble Fish” → *La ley de la calle*;
- **Established equivalent:** to use a word or an expression that is recognized as an equivalent in the target language by dictionaries or language in use, e.g., “They are as like as two peas” → *Se parecen como dos gotas de agua*;
- **Generalization:** to use a more general or neutral term, e.g., *guichet*, *fenêtre*, or *devanture* → “window”;
- **Linguistic amplification:** linguistic elements are added to a word or an expression instead of using one with the same number of words. It is often used in dubbing and consecutive interpreting, e.g., “No way” → *De ninguna de las maneras* instead of *en absolute*;
- **Linguistic compression:** to synthesize linguistic elements in the translation instead of using a word or an expression with the same number of words. It is often done in subtitling or simultaneous interpreting, e.g., “Yes, so what?” → ¿Y? instead of ¿Sí, y qué?;
- **Literal translation:** translating word for word, e.g., “They are as like as two peas” → *Se parecen como dos guisante*;
- **Modulation:** to change the point of view, focus or cognitive category, e.g., “You are going to be a father” → *stai per avere un figlio*;
- **Particularization:** to use a more precise term, e.g., “window” → *guichet*;
- **Reduction:** to suppress a piece of information in the translation, e.g., “Ramadan, the month of fasting” → *Ramadan*;
- **Substitution:** to change linguistic elements with paralinguistic elements and vice versa, e.g., the Arab gesture of putting your hand on your heart → “Thank you”;

- **Transposition:** to change a grammatical category, e.g., “He will soon be back” → *No tardará en venir* instead of *estará de vuelta pronto*;
- **Variation:** to change linguistic or paralinguistic elements, e.g., change of textual tone, change of social dialect.

### 2.3.3. Translating creativity in teen movies

Among film genres, teen movies are particularly rich in language creativity. As mentioned in 1.5, creativity is the quintessence of teenagers’ identities, i.e., a means to distance themselves from adults and reinforce the bonds with their peers. Investigating the creative language used in teen movies is interesting from both a socio-cultural and linguistic point of view. First, audio-visual sources are powerful models for teenagers from a sociological, psychological, and linguistic point of view, influencing their cognitive, relational and communicative growth. Therefore, teen movies have a central role in encoding the models of individual and group identity construction to which adolescents are exposed and to which they tend to conform (Ferro and Sardo 2008; Driscoll 2011). Secondly, “the linguistic innovations used in the TV for children and teenagers are important for linguists because it means that they are no longer innovations but norms. [...] TV detects, reproduces, and produces linguistic trends” (Ferro and Sardo 2008: 381, my translation). Journalists such as Bierma (2005) and Orr (2015), for example, claimed that the movies comprised in the corpus analysed in part II represent the scriptwriters’ attempts to reproduce teen talk as actually spoken by American teenagers. However, it should be noted that both the original and the translated versions were created by adults. Therefore, teen movies may run the risk of portraying stereotypical features of teen speech, thus leading to a hyper-characterization of juvenile language (Pavesi 2005; Zanotti 2012; Ranzato 2015). Despite the importance of teen movies in representing youth culture and values, the norms that regulate the translation of youth films have not been outlined yet (Zanotti 2012). Several case studies have taken a first step towards that goal, although without providing quantitative results (Bianchi 2008; Zanotti 2012; Ranzato 2015; Bonsignori 2015).

Bianchi (2008) analysed the translation of juvenile words and expressions in the American teen series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003), which is characterized by a high degree of creativity in the original version. The analysis of its translation showed a tendency to toning



down informality and replacing it with standard words and expressions. For example, neologisms are often rendered with conventional expressions, and references to pop culture are neutralized (e.g., proper names are turned into common names). In addition, little difference was found between the way teenagers and adults speak, in that they both tend to use standard Italian.

According to Bianchi (2008), the mitigation of informal language in translated movies may be due to a general tendency on the part of Italian scriptwriters to depicting teenagers as disciplined subjects who do not behave too rebelliously. This assumption is in line with claims made by Buonanno (1991) at the end of the nineties with regard to original Italian teen movies such as *Classe di ferro*, *College* and *Aquile*. According to Buonanno (1991: 80), the Italian teenagers that appeared on screen at that time “don’t generally drink and rarely smoke; drugs are out of question; they are healthy and athletic; they usually get on well with their family and are respectful of institutions”.

A similar analysis to Bianchi (2008) was carried out by Zanotti (2012) on three teen movies released in the seventies, i.e., *American Graffiti*, *The Lords of Flatbush*, and *Grease*. Her study focused on the dialogues that deal with sensitive subjects such as sexuality, violence, crime, and drug. She observed that strong language tends to be toned down and references to potentially disturbing topics are mitigated. The interpretation provided by Zanotti (2012) is that censorial norms in the seventies were stricter in Italy than the Anglophone world. This translation choice has also been identified by scholars such as Ranzato (2009) in other film genres such as Woody Allen movies. According to Ranzato (2009: 44), “the detectable policy with fiction products [in Italy] is consistently one of ‘toning down’, in order to dilute the impact of potentially offensive themes”.

However, there are also studies that underline instances of creativity in translated teen movies (Ranzato 2015; Bonsignori 2015). Ranzato (2015) analysed the translated versions of the British TV series *Skins* (2007). She highlighted a tendency to using extremely creative translation solutions which exploit the typical features of Italian teen talk mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.5), i.e., neologisms, hyperboles, alliteration, rhymes, technical jargon, and calques. Particularly, Ranzato (2015) noticed that most of the creative solutions used in the dubbed version involve completely different linguistic strategies compared to the original version, especially in relation to culture-specific references. A remarkable case is illustrated in

example (1), where Abigail, a posh character in *Skins*, uses creative words and expressions that are typical of the upper class teen speech, i.e., “fit as fuck”, “chav”, and “that’s so safe” (Ranzato 2015: 167).<sup>23</sup>

(1)

ABIGAIL	Hi, Tony. You’re looking so, so fit. <i>Fit as fuck</i> , yah? Yah?	Ciao, Tony. Oggi hai uno sguardo <i>fico fosco e tosto</i> . <i>Un tosto che tosto si intosta</i> . Ah ah, carina vero?
TONY	Hi, Aby.	
ABIGAIL	I heard you dumped that <i>chav</i> girl. <i>That’s so safe</i> . Slut.	Ho sentito che hai mollato la riccia. Bravo, <i>un gesto da estasi</i> . Vacca.

As can be noticed, creative words are translated with a tongue twister made up of meaningless words (*fico fosco e tosto*. *Un tosto che tosto si intosta*). This strategy added an exotic feel to teen talk and compensated for the loss of the culture-specific reference. According to Ranzato (2015: 173), this solution creates a form of “hyper-young” juvenile speech which sounds artificial and rather unrealistic.

In the same vein, Bonsignori (2015) also identified instances of creativity in filmic teen speech. She carried out a diachronic analysis of how morphology is translated in three teen movies released in different decades, i.e., *Sixteen Candles* (1984), *Clueless* (1997), and *Juno* (2007). Her analysis revealed that filmic teen speech in the original versions uses more creative devices in the movies of recent production than the ones released in past decades. The same tendency was identified in the translated versions, as more creative solutions were found in *Juno* (2007) compared to the other movies, e.g., the creation of new words (Bonsignori 2015).

## 2.4. Research methods

The previous section was devoted to linguistic creativity in teen movies. This section provides an overview of two research methods that have recently emerged in Audiovisual

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<sup>23</sup> “Fit as fuck” and “safe” are typically regarded by British young people as expressions pertaining to a ‘cool’ way of speaking. “Chav” is a negatively connoted term of address used in the UK for referring to working class people on the basis of the negative stereotype that they are ignorant and wear cheap clothes.

Translation Studies which I adopt for analysing creativity in Part II, namely corpus-based studies (2.4.1) and perception studies (2.4.2). The use of a multi-method research approach, called “triangulation” by Pérez-González (2014: 174), may facilitate the validation of the findings derived from each method and lead to a more meaningful account of the phenomena under analysis.

#### 2.4.1. Corpus-based studies

In recent years, Audiovisual Translation Studies borrowed a methodology adopted since the mid-nineties in the larger field of Translation Studies and initiated in Linguistics in the eighties, namely corpus-based investigation (Baker 1993; Kenny 2001; Oakes and Ji 2012). This methodology is based on the empirical observation of a corpus of data, defined by Sinclair (1991: 171) as “a collection of naturally occurring language or text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language” which can be interrogated with software programs for automatic text processing. The empirical observation of a corpus was combined with the theoretical tenets of Descriptive Translation Studies aimed to analyse the features of translation in relation to the literary, cultural and historical contexts in which it is produced (Toury 1995 [2012]). The merger of corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies led to the use of computer software to facilitate the identification of recurrent translation solutions that would be difficult to identify through manual analysis (Baker 1993; Kenny 2001; Oakes and Ji 2012).

From a review of the corpus-based studies carried out so far in the research on dubbing, it can be noticed that parallel corpora, comparable corpora, and reference corpora were used (Heiss and Soffritti 2008; Valentini 2008, 2013; Bruti and Pavesi 2008; Pavesi 2008, 2009, 2012; Baños and Chaume 2009; Freddi 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009; Bonsignori, Bruti, and Masi 2011, 2012; Baños 2013; Forchini 2013). In parallel corpora, the source and target texts are aligned one next to the other. Comparable corpora contain texts in various languages within the same context of usage. Reference corpora contain texts collected from a wide range of sources and designed to represent a language as a whole, so that they can be used as benchmarks.

Examples of parallel, comparable, and reference corpora are provided by the recent *Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue*, whose compilation was described in Freddi and Pavesi (2009) and

Freddi (2013). The corpus is structured in three sub-corpora. The first contains 24 films in their original British or American versions. The second contains the dubbed Italian versions of the 24 films transcribed orthographically. The third contains six Italian original films transcribed orthographically and chosen for their similarity in genre, time span, and critical success to the 24 films. The first and the second sub-corpora make up a parallel corpus in which the researcher can detect translation patterns between the original English versions and the Italian dubbed versions of the same films. The first and the third sub-corpora make up a comparable corpus where the researcher can analyse the similarities and differences between original and dubbed Italian film dialogue. Each of the sub-corpora can be compared with corpora of spontaneous conversation such as the spoken sections of the BNC (*British National Corpus*), COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) or LIP (*Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato*). These can be considered as reference corpora and are used to identify the distinctive features of fictional dialogue compared with spontaneous conversation.

The working phases in a corpus-based analysis of dubbed language correspond to those identified by Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (1998) as the five essential steps characterizing any corpus-based analysis:

- A research question is posed;
- A corpus is designed and compiled. In the case of oral texts, this phase also includes the transcription of audio tracks;
- The corpus is annotated with additional linguistic information in relation to the purpose of the study;
- The items of interest are retrieved and analysed quantitatively and qualitatively;
- The results are interpreted and discussed.

What follows is a more detailed description of each step with reference to audiovisual translation studies.

As far as the first working phase is concerned (corpus design and compilation), films should be selected in such a way that the sample is balanced and representative of the entire population. Therefore, as occurs in any corpus-based investigation (be it on oral or written texts), intuition and value judgment play a major role, as the selection of texts for inclusion in a corpus significantly affects what the observer will notice (Baker 1993; Kenny 2001). In the case of the *Pavia Corpus* previously mentioned, sampling criteria were established in relation to the

research purpose, i.e., to investigate conversational features of contemporary dubbed language. Therefore, films centred on face-to-face interactional exchanges released in the last two decades were included as good exemplars of recent conversational films (Freddi and Pavesi 2009). Other genres such as westerns and science fiction were excluded, as they are less typically associated with spontaneous conversation.

The next working phase is the preparation of the films in an electronic format that can be read by the software program that will be used for processing the text (generally in plain text format). Since obtaining copyright permissions for using the film scripts produced by studios is often time-consuming, the audio tracks of the films need to be transcribed. For this purpose, amateurish databases of transcribed film dialogue are available on the Internet.<sup>24</sup> However, manual correction is necessary, as mistakes and omissions can be frequent. Forchini (2012), for example, compared the web transcript of the film *The Devils Wears Prada* with its official script provided by the American TV channel *AMC*, showing that the two versions had the same content but different wording. She carried out the same comparison about the film *Catwoman*, showing that the very first words reported in an online transcript did not correspond to those actually said in the movie.

After the corpus is compiled and transcribed, the researcher may decide to focus on the words and lemmas as they appear in the texts or other features of dubbed language which are not directly visible. In this latter case, the transcripts need to be annotated with additional linguistic information known as tags (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998). The most common features investigated in corpus-based studies are the grammatical functions and the semantic fields of words. In these cases, the tagging operation is carried out automatically with software programs and is known as POS tagging (Parts of Speech Tagging) or semantic tagging.<sup>25</sup>

The next phase after corpus compilation and annotation is the interrogation of the corpus. This is done with specific software programs that automatically retrieve linguistic items from the texts (words, parts of speech, semantic fields). There are a wide number of software programs available for corpus search, from user-friendly programs such as *AntConc* to

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<sup>24</sup> See, for example, [www.script-o-rama.com](http://www.script-o-rama.com) and [www.dailyscripts.com](http://www.dailyscripts.com).

<sup>25</sup> For details from a computer science perspective, see Rayson (2002).

professional ones such as *SketchEngine*, *WMatrix*, and *Wordsmith Tools*.<sup>26</sup> These programs contain a number of dedicated query tools with which different types of linguistic analysis can be carried out. From a review of the studies conducted so far in the research on dubbing, it can be noted that the concordancer is the privileged tool (Heiss and Soffritti 2008; Valentini 2008, 2013; Bruti and Pavesi 2008; Pavesi 2008, 2009, 2012; Baños and Chaume 2009; Freddi 2009, 2012; Matamala 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009; Bonsignori, Bruti, and Masi 2011, 2012; Baños 2013; Forchini 2013).

The concordancer looks for all the occurrences of a specific word or lemma in the corpus and generates vertical lists of that item with a portion of the co-text to the left and to the right. Most of the software programs for corpus analysis also display dispersion plots, which indicate the distribution of a word in the corpus (whether it is used extensively in specific sections and rarely in others in relation to different contextual conditions). As examples of studies conducted with the concordancer, one can mention those carried out by Pavesi (2009), Freddi (2009), and Romero Fresco (2009), who searched for the occurrences of orality markers (i.e., subordinators or discourse markers) in a corpus of dubbed movies and then compared their frequencies with those in corpora of spontaneous dialogue and corpora of original film dialogue.

The concordancer was also exploited in corpus-based studies where multimodal features play a primary role. As illustrated in Valentini (2008) and Heiss and Soffritti (2008), a multimedia-annotated corpus called *Forlìxt 1* was constructed (the *Forlì Corpus of Screen Translation*) comprising the dubbed and subtitled versions of films translated from and into German, Italian and French. The distinctive feature of the corpus is that there are two separate databases. In the first, the multimedia versions of the films are stored. The other contains the literal transcriptions of the dialogues. The films are annotated on the basis of their pragmatic, cultural and linguistic features including prosodic, paralinguistic tools and linguistic varieties. The user can either visualize a table of concordances or view the scene in multimedia pages. In this case, the occurrences of the items of interest are visualized as a normal table of concordances or by showing the scene in multimedia pages.

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<sup>26</sup> Information and download options can be found at : <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html> for *AntConc*, [www.sketchengine.com](http://www.sketchengine.com) for *Sketch Engine*, <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/> for *WMatrix*, and [www.lexically.net/wordsmith/](http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/) for *Wordsmith Tools*.

Thanks to the structure of the corpus, Valentini (2013), for example, analysed the translation of phrasal verbs in French-Italian dubbing in relation to non-verbal features. Her study revealed several cases where the translation of phrasal verbs is constrained by kinetic synchrony (body language and facial expressions). Moreover, she compared their frequencies in dubbed dialogues, original film dialogues and spontaneous speech. She highlighted that phrasal verbs are less frequent in dubbed dialogues than in the other two language varieties.

While the concordancer is the privileged corpus analysis tool used in the research on dubbing, in the related fields of audio description studies and film studies, keywords lists were also exploited (among others, Salway 2009 and McIntyre 2012). The keyness measure determines the linguistic items that occur in statistically significant higher or lower frequencies compared to a reference corpus. If the ratio between the frequency of a word in a corpus is higher than the frequency of the same word in the reference corpus, it means that the word is typical of the target corpus.

An example of study based on keywords was carried out by Salway (2009) on the language of audio-description. He compared a corpus of audio description scripts with corpora of general English and identified the words that are distinctive of the language used for audio description on the basis of keywords, i.e., the words which obtained higher values from the ratio between their frequency in the audio description corpus and their frequency in the general English corpus. At this point, Salway (2009) used the concordancer to find the occurrences of the keywords in the corpus and examined the pragmatic context in which they appear.

It is to be noted that, in relation to keywords, the choice of a reference corpus is fundamental for the validity of the results. Scholars such as Culpeper (2009) claim that if the reference corpus is closely related to the target corpus, the resultant keywords will be more likely to represent distinctive features of the target corpus. Within this framework, Scott (2009) carried out an experiment where he tested a series of different corpora on two target texts from the BNC (British National Corpus) in order to measure to what extent different types of reference corpora affect resultant keywords. Three main findings emerged from his study. First, precision values increase as the size of the corpus increases. The only exceptions are small domain-specific corpora, for which a medium-size reference corpus is sufficient. Secondly, keywords can be even identified in a reference corpus that has little or no relation

with the target text. Thirdly, corpora pertaining to the same genre lead to the identification of different keywords.

#### 2.4.2. Perception studies

Another research method that emerged in the last ten years consists in administering questionnaires to viewers in order to collect information on how they react to translated products. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, scholars such as Antonini and Chiaro (2005) assumed that audiovisual translation studies contained the following paradox: the audience is the reason why translation exists, yet they are largely ignored in the scholarly literature on translation. According to Antonini and Chiaro (2005), until then the studies on screen translation had mainly adopted a prescriptive or descriptive approach, often illustrating case studies based on contrastive analyses of the source and target texts. By doing so, judgments about the quality of the translations were assessed from the point of view of the translator, while nothing was known about the reactions of the viewers. In the perspective adopted by Antonini and Chiaro (2005), it was assumed that audiovisual translation is a service to the public. Therefore, questionnaires should function as tools for collecting customer satisfaction feedback, as occurs in the management philosophy of almost any public services interested in monitoring the quality of their products (Chiaro 2008).

Before questionnaires began to be used in audiovisual translation studies, information on how the audiences reacted to a translated product was offered by studies conducted on viewer reception, i.e., how a film or a translation mode is welcomed in a specific context. This type of analysis was traditionally conducted in the field of media studies, an example being the internationally famous survey carried out by Katz and Liebes (1993) on the reception of the soap opera *Dallas* in different countries and social contexts of the USA including non-native speakers of English. In examining viewer response, the fact that some of them watched the soap opera in a translated version was not taken into consideration. In the field of audiovisual translation studies, the reception study conducted by Karamitroglou (2000) is worthy of mention. Karamitroglou (2000) administered a survey among Greek children with the aim to discover their attitudes towards the translation modes used in the TV programmes they watched (subtitling or revoicing).



However, reception only provides a limited perspective, as it offers anonymous data on the viewer's general preferences and attitudes. Conversely, perception provides an individualized and detailed account of how each viewer reacts to specific features of the translated product. To date, perception studies in the area of dubbing are still relatively few. They include a large-scale study on the perception of dubbing by Italian audiences (Antonini and Chiaro 2005, 2009; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Antonini 2008), and some case studies on the perception of humour (Rossato and Chiaro 2010; Amarossi 2011).<sup>27</sup>

The large-scale research conducted by Antonini and Chiaro (2005, 2009), Bucaria and Chiaro (2007), and Antonini (2008) on how Italian viewers react to dubbed TV programmes is based on an online questionnaire devised and promoted as a pop-under appearing on the web provider *Virgilio*. Three hundred hours of fictional dubbed programmes were recorded and the scenes containing these translational hurdles were identified and extracted:

- Culture-specific references (e.g., place names, celebrities, institutions);
- Linguistic elements (e.g., taboo language, terms of address, politeness);
- Lingua-cultural references (e.g., songs, jokes, allusions);
- Visuals (e.g., culture-specific elements void of language).

An online questionnaire was developed, based on a random selection of the video clips. Each participant was asked to answer four questions based on four translational hurdles. Specifically, each participant was asked to watch the video clips and rate his/her understanding of the clip (in the case of the hurdle 1, 3, and 4) or the likelihood of such language being used in spontaneous conversation (in the case of the hurdle 2) on a 1-10 scale. Subsequently, they were asked to explain what they had understood in their own words. Thanks to this information, the researchers could compare the participants' declared and actual understanding. For example, the results for culture-specific references showed that most of the respondents declared that they had understood the references, but in fact most of them did not (Antonini 2008). The results for linguistic elements showed that most of the viewers were aware that they would not

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<sup>27</sup> For perception studies carried out in other fields of audiovisual translation, see for example, de Pablos-Ortega (2015) and Di Giovanni (2013). The former focuses on the perception of characters in the subtitled version of Pedro Almodóvar's film *La Flor de mi Secreto* on the part of British, North American and Spanish audiences. Di Giovanni (2012) focuses on the perception of documentaries on the part of Italian viewers in relation to different translation modes such as voice-over and subtitling.

use typical expressions of dubbese such as *già* in spontaneous speech, but they accepted them as conventions used on screen (Antonini and Chiaro 2009).

The questionnaire also contained questions eliciting socio-demographic data and attitudes towards dubbing and subtitling. Although the questionnaire attracted more than one hundred respondents, which makes the results significant indeed, it should be noted that the age of the respondents ranged from 18 to over 60, thus leaving out teenagers. It would be interesting if they also had a voice in judging the quality of translations. As adolescents are particularly receptive of language innovations, they might be indicators of future linguistic trends in contemporary Italian language. The present study may make a contribution in this direction with the questionnaire presented in Part III.

In addition to the large-scale research mentioned above, other case studies were conducted with a focus on humour (Rossato and Chiaro 2010; Amarossi 2011). Rossato and Chiaro (2010) compared the reactions of Italian and German viewers to humorous references contained in the original and dubbed Italian version of the German comedy *Goodbye Lenin*. The questionnaire was structured in three sections. The first elicited the respondents' demographic data, attitudes towards comedy, and knowledge of German language and history. In the second section, the respondents were asked to choose an adjective from a list of 14 humorous terms that, in their opinion, best described the film, characters, linguistic expressions, and visual cultural references (e.g., "hilarious", "comic", "sarcastic", "sad", "tragic", "disturbing"). The third section was devoted to selected scene of the film. The participants had to rate the level of humour response<sup>28</sup> (e.g., "indifferent", "smile", "moving") and chose one of the 14 humorous adjectives.

Similarly, Amarossi (2011) developed an online questionnaire to compare the reactions of Russian, Italian and English-speaking respondents watching video clips of humorous sketches by Russian, Italian, British and North American comedians. The first section elicited the respondents' socio-demographic status and their declared sense of humour. In the second section, they watched the video clips and rated the level of perceived humour on a rating scale from 1 to 10.

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<sup>28</sup> "The overt response to a humorous stimulus usually, but not necessarily, signalled by laughter or smiling" (Chiaro 2014: 219)

Chiaro (2014) summarized the main findings from the studies carried out on perception and humour so far. She pointed out that if humour is enacted by an internationally well-known character, there is consensus among viewers in terms of humour response. If the humorous reference is culture-specific, differences in humour responses were likely to occur between respondents from different cultures. Moreover, the perception of humour can vary from one individual to another due to subjective variables such as mood and personality traits.

Humour and creativity share common ground in that they are both based on subjectivity and aim to amuse the listener. However, while perception studies have already been conducted on humour, no study has been carried out on creativity. The questionnaire presented in Part III aims to fill this gap and offer empirical data on viewers' reactions to the translation of creativity.

**PART II**  
**CORPUS-ASSISTED ANALYSIS**

## Chapter 3

### Corpus construction and methodology of analysis

As stated in the Introduction, and on the basis of the theoretical background illustrated in chapters 1-2, the aim of this study is to analyse the translation of newly-coined words in filmic teen talk. This allows for a dual focus. Firstly, from a formal point of view, the linguistic strategies used for rendering the morphological processes of word-formation that are typical of the English language system can be examined. Secondly, the representation of youth culture can be monitored in terms of the socio-cultural meanings encoded in language.

For this purpose, I compiled and transcribed a small parallel corpus of English and dubbed Italian film dialogue, and then analysed the data with a combined quantitative and qualitative approach. This chapter is devoted to the criteria with which the corpus was constructed and interrogated. Section 3.1 focuses on the sampling strategies for designing the corpus. Section 3.2 illustrates the criteria and symbols used for transcribing the film audio-tracks. Section 3.3 describes the software and tools used for extracting the items of interest.

#### 3.1. Data collection

Since this study focuses on the translation of language creativity as used by teenagers in films, the target population includes all the English teen movies that contain language creativity and are available in Italian translation. As a sampling frame for the selection of individual films, I consulted *The Internet Movie Database*, an online database where a wide array of information on a large number of films and TV series is stored. In the database, a set of keywords are assigned to each film on the basis of the contents of the plot. This allows the researcher to select the themes that are deemed relevant to the purpose of his/her study.

In this case, the presence of language creativity was essential. For this reason, the first step was to conduct a search by the keyword “clique”. This choice is consistent with scholarly claims that the use of language creativity is prolific within a peer group (Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Eble 1996; Stenström et al. 2002; Adams 2009; Coleman 2012). Eighty-four films emerged from this preliminary search.

The second step was to remove the films not specifically targeted at teenagers and read the synopses of the remaining films. I narrowed my choice to the films centred on the lives of teenagers belonging to different subcultures (e.g., popular girls, losers, sports guys, teenagers, nerds, emos). This makes the corpus varied in terms of situational contexts and socio-cultural values represented, as each sub-culture has its own language style and ideology (Eckert 1989, 2000, 2004; Mendoza-Denton 1997, 2008; Bucholtz 1997; 2011; Bakht 2010). This process led to the selection of the following five films to comprise the corpus, whose cover images are shown in Figure 1: *Clueless* (hereinafter CLU), *10 Things I Hate about You* (TEN), *Mean Girls* (MG), *The Clique* (TC), and *Mean Girls 2* (MG2).

Figure 1 Cover images of the films in the corpus



As can be seen in Table 2, the corpus, which I named Teen Film Corpus (hereinafter TFC) is made up of nearly 50,000 running words in each language version, for a total of nearly 100,000 words in the whole corpus. With regard to issues of representativeness, the films were released over the last two decades with roughly regular intervals (1995-1999-2004-2008-2013). Therefore, translation strategies and the representation of youth culture could also be studied diachronically, especially in relation to the emancipation of society, which may have affected the freedom of expression and censorial strategies. The TFC is also varied in terms of producers and translators, which is likely to offer a wider range of translation strategies than products by the same authors and translators. The TFC is instead not varied in terms of the English varieties represented, in that all the movies contain American English dialogues. Generalizations can thus be made only in relation to the American language and culture, which

is nevertheless very interesting due to the American ‘cultural wave’ that has been increasingly influencing our languages and cultures.

As far as issues of balance are concerned, runtime ranges from nearly 90 to nearly 100 minutes. The number of running words is also roughly balanced, ranging between approximately 8,000 to 12,000 in the original versions. As can be seen from the negative value for percentage change, the running words in the original and translated versions are also reasonably balanced.

Table 2 Composition of the TFC

Film title	Release Year	Film Director	Writer	Translator Adaptor	Runtime	Running words in Eng (n)	Running Words in Ita (n)	Difference in running words (%)
<b>CLU</b>	1995	Amy Heckerling	Amy Heckerling	Lorena Bertini	97'	11,974	11,589	-3.2
<b>TEN</b>	1999	Gil Junger	Karen McCullan; Kristen Smith	Anna Rita Pasanisi	97'	8,386	8,092	-3.5
<b>MG</b>	2004	Mark Waters	Tina Fey	Fiamma Izzo	97'	12,029	11,108	-7.7
<b>TC</b>	2008	Micheal Lembeck	Liz Tigelaar		87'	7,368	7,023	-4.7
<b>MG2</b>	2011	Melanie Mayron	Allison Schroeder; Elana Lesser; Cliff Ruby		96'	9,887	9,813	-0.7
<b>TFC</b>					474'	49,644	47,625	-19.8

Among these movies, CLU and MG play a fundamental role in relation to spontaneous conversation. Speaking of CLU, the linguist Carmen Fought stated that “the language was basically another character in that movie. A lot of research was put into it to really capture how Californians talked at the time” (as cited in Bierma 2005: first paragraph). In the same vein, an article recently published on *The Independent* referred to MG as a movie that “defined a whole generation –and gave it a new language” (Orr 2015: title). In fact, a word coined in MG was

even used by The White House on the social network Twitter, which demonstrates how the movie may have been influential for everyday speech.<sup>29</sup>

### 3.2. Transcription

Once the films were selected with the criteria illustrated in 3.1, the audio track was transcribed in order to make the corpus machine-readable. The English film scripts were available online (www.script-o-rama.com), even though a manual correction was partially necessary. The Italian versions were instead fully transcribed manually. For the purpose of this study, an orthographic type of transcription was used reporting what is uttered on screen on the basis of orthographic rules such as punctuation and capital letters for proper names. In addition to the orthographic transcription, I also annotated:

- Newly-coined words;
- Extra-linguistic information;
- Loan words;
- Written texts that appear on screen (e.g., text messages, chat windows).

The annotation of newly-coined words was functional to the extraction process, which was carried out with the corpus analysis software described in section 3.3. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.2.2), the working criterion for identifying creative words was that the words are not listed in the dictionary (OED). The words so identified were annotated according to the morphological process with which they are formed, and on the basis of the taxonomy presented in Chapter 1 (section 1.3). The symbols used for annotation are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3 Annotation for morphological processes

Morphological process	Symbol	Example
Affixation	#	#unbloggable
Compounding	+	+dry-swallow
Reduplicatives	%	%Abby-Scabby
Blending	_	_grool
Abbreviations	=	=NBF
Conversion	°	a °Baldwin
Variation	^	^ridunkulous

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<sup>29</sup> The adjective *fetch*, coined in MG with the meaning of “cool”, was tweeted by the White House on August 2013 as a caption below a photo of Obama’s dog.



Extra-linguistic information includes paralinguistic behaviour, kinetic features, and non-linguistic contextual information. This was added when judged that it was relevant to an understanding of creative language exchanges. The symbols used for annotation are square brackets, as exemplified in (1). Here, the comment “wearing a very tight shirt” was added to help understand the meaning of the creative compound word “Chihuahua-shirt” (a T-shirt is so small that it looks like a Chihuahua dog).

(1)

MASSIE: Oh my God. Jenna Dressler’s wearing her Chihuahua-shirt again.

JENNA DRESSLER: [wearing a very tight shirt] Hey, you guys. How’s your winter break?

Massie, I heard you have an NBF from Florida.

Loan words were annotated to analyse the extent to which foreign words are used, in that they are instances of creativity from the point of view of the target language. The symbols used for annotation are round brackets. An example is provided in (2). Here some English linguistic items are used in the Italian version, thus representing cases of Anglicization, i.e., the noun “bypass” is conjugated as if it were a verb in Italian (meaning “not to go somewhere”), and the word “party” remains untranslated.

(2)

Io (bypasso) il (party)

Written texts that appear on screen were annotated to distinguish between words uttered by the characters and those used via other media such as text and chat messages. Annotation symbols have been chosen as follows. The content of the written text is in single angle brackets. If the text is translated with a subtitle, the latter is in double angle brackets. This is exemplified in Table 4. Here, the scene is shot with a close-up on a computer screen that

shows Mandi’s status on her social network page (“Mandi’s status...pets”). In the Italian version, a subtitle appears simultaneously (“Mandi...cagnetti”).<sup>30</sup>

Table 4 Annotation for written texts

Information	Annotation	Example
Written text	< >	<Mandi’s status: hates scum-sucking bitches who poison other people’s pets.>
Subtitle	<< >>	<<Mandi Weatherly odia le stronzette che avvelenano gli altrui cagnetti>>

### 3.3. Corpus tools

After the transcription phase, I created a parallel corpus comprising the English and the Italian versions of the films using the software *SketchEngine* (Kilgariff et al. 2014). The English and the Italian versions were aligned on a turn-by-turn basis. As a result, when a search word is input in one of the languages of the corpus, the system outputs all the sentences in the corpus containing that word, and displays the entire turn that contains it. Thanks to this alignment structure, translation problem-solution pairs were identified on the basis of a qualitative analysis of the entire turn. Figure 2 shows a screenshot of the TFC which was queried for occurrences of the determiner “the”. This has been chosen as an example of a ubiquitous item which can occur more than one time in the same speaking turn, and thus poses problems for corpus alignment. By aligning the corpus on a turn-by-turn basis, the column on the left displays the turns in the English section of the TFC where “the” occurs. The column on the right displays the corresponding turns in the Italian section.

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<sup>30</sup> For the full transcripts of the movies, see the CD-ROM attached to the present dissertation.


Figure 2 Turn-by-turn alignment in the TFC

ENGLISH VERSION	ITALIAN VERSION
file2568203 It's an identity. Like <b>the</b> muscle cars who think they own the road and check out every passing vehicle.	file2568202 Ci si identificano addirittura. I bolidi supersportivi che si sentono i padroni della strada e squadrano tutti quelli che passano.
file2568203 It's an identity. Like the muscle cars who think they own <b>the</b> road and check out every passing vehicle.	file2568202 Ci si identificano addirittura. I bolidi supersportivi che si sentono i padroni della strada e squadrano tutti quelli che passano.
file2568203 <b>The</b> +I'm-so-perky-I-might-shake-my-tube-tops cutesy cars.	file2568202 Le macchine +sono-così-carina-e impertinente-che-potrei-anche-levarmi-il-top.
file2568203 And then there's <b>the</b> most dangerous vehicle on the road. The high performance, high maintenance sports cars. If they liked you, your life was all green lights.	file2568202 E poi ci sono le macchine più pericolose in circolazione, quelle sportive di gran lusso, superaccessoriate. Se piaci a loro, la tua vita è un semaforo verde.
file2568203 And then there's the most dangerous vehicle on <b>the</b> road. The high performance, high maintenance sports cars. If they liked you, your life was all green lights.	file2568202 E poi ci sono le macchine più pericolose in circolazione, quelle sportive di gran lusso, superaccessoriate. Se piaci a loro, la tua vita è un semaforo verde.
file2568203 And then there's the most dangerous vehicle on the road. <b>The</b> high performance, high maintenance sports cars. If they liked you, your life was all green lights.	file2568202 E poi ci sono le macchine più pericolose in circolazione, quelle sportive di gran lusso, superaccessoriate. Se piaci a loro, la tua vita è un semaforo verde.

After the alignment phase, I interrogated the corpus in such a way as to be able to answer my two research questions. The first question aims to analyse what linguistic strategies are used to translate creative words into Italian. For this purpose, the concordancer was used to retrieve the occurrences of morphological processes in the English section of the TFC and analyse the corresponding translation solutions in the aligned Italian version. This led to the identification of translation patterns. As shown in 3.2, the retrieval of morphological processes was enabled by the use of a symbol in the initial position of the words. As an example, Figure 3 shows the concordances for the items formed with a blending process, which were retrieved by querying any word whose initial character is an underscore. As can be seen, six items occur in the TFC. By selecting one of the occurrences (highlighted in yellow in Fig. 3), *Sketch Engine* provides a visualization of the co-text, which localizes the words in the situational contexts. In Fig. 3, the co-text of the word “Glambition” is shown in the yellow box at the bottom of the page.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the meanings of creative words can be reconstructed and the translation analysis can take into account contextual factors other than the formal patterns of individual words.

<sup>31</sup> In TC, “Glambition” (“glamour” + “ambition”) is the name of home-made cosmetics that some girls produce and sell to their school friends.

Figure 3 Concordances for blending processes in the TFC

Query <u>_.*</u> 6 > Switch KWIC 6 > Positive filter 6 > Switch KWIC 6 (24,096.39 per million)	
ENGLISH VERSION	ITALIAN VERSION
file2587628 CADY: <u>_Grool</u> . I meant to say "cool" and then I started to say "great".	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 CADY : _Frico! Cioè, volevo dire "fico", poi ho cominciato a dire "grazie".
file2587628 KEVIN: Hey, Africa. You staying for the <u>_Mathletes</u> meeting?	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 KEVIN : Hey, Africa. Resti per la riunione dei _Matleti?
file2587628 MANDI: But I'm a benevolent dictator, so why don't we discuss over a non-fat, no-sugar raspberry <u>_frappuccino</u> at the coffee joint?	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 MANDI : Ma sono una dittatrice benevola quindi parliamone davanti a qualcosa senza grassi né zuccheri. Un _frappuccino al lampone, in caffetteria.
file2587628 TEACHER: Do you need a personal invitation to come in? Give me your email. I'll send you an <u>_evite</u> .	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 TEACHER : Vuole un invito per entrare in classe? Le posso mandare un invito se mi dà la sua email.
file2587628 CLAIRE: How about " <u>_Glamblition</u> " ?	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 CLAIRE : A voi piace " <u>_Glem(bition)</u> "?
file2587628 KRISTEN: Yeah, Chris <u>_Babely</u> is seriously gonna freak.	<input type="checkbox"/> file2587627 KRISTEN : A Chris verrà un colpo secco.
<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <div> <a href="#">&lt; previous</a> ALICIA: I heart that. MASSIE: And we could sell that to the field trip to New York on Saturday. The whole class would be there. KRISTEN: You guys, we need a great name. DYLAN: What about "+home-works"? Because, we make it at home, and it works. MASSIE: "Homeworks"? That makes us sound like losers who don't have any friends and never go out like... ((She points to Claire. Everybody laughs)) CLAIRE: How about "<u>_Glamblition</u>"? MASSIE: It'll do, until I think of something better. DYLAN: You look amazing. KRISTEN: Yeah, Chris <u>_Babely</u> is seriously gonna freak. <a href="#">next &gt;</a> </div>	

The data obtained from the interrogation of the TFC were then integrated with additional information on the use of morphological items in American English drawn from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). To date, the COCA contains 450 million words drawn from a wide range of language varieties such as spontaneous conversation, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts collected from 1993 to 2012. Moreover, the COCA is part-of-speech tagged, and thus a wide range of query types can be entered including both lexical items and grammatical functions, or a combination of them. I exploited the COCA with the aim to monitor the trends in usage of morphological items across text genres. This information is used in the analysis to carry out a comparison of film dialogue and spontaneous conversation with particular regard to morphology. For example, one of the creative words in the TFC is formed with the suffix “-ville” (“hagsville”, i.e., an extremely ugly woman). Therefore, I queried the COCA for occurrences of all the common nouns ending in “-ville” in order to monitor the latest trends in American English. Figure 4 displays the results obtained. The left column shows the occurrences in alphabetical order. The right column shows their distribution in different language varieties. In this case, it can be noted that “-ville” has only one occurrence in spoken conversation, and it is typically used in fiction and magazines.

Figure 4 Morphological items in the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English)

CORPUS OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ENGLISH

450 MILLION WORDS, 1990-2012 [DOWNLOAD ALL 190,000 TEXTS]

DISPLAY

SAVE LIST

NAME OF LIST

SEE CONTEXT: CLICK ON WORD (ALL SECTIONS), NUMBER (ONE SECTION), OR [CONTEXT] (SELECT) [HELP...]

LIST

CHART

KWIC

COMPARE

SEARCH STRING

WORD COLLOCATIONS

POS LIST

RANDOM

SECTION

SHOW

IGNORE

		CONTEXT	ALL	SPOKEN	FICTION	MAGAZINE	NEWSPAPER	ACADEMIC
1		AMATEURVILLE	2			2		
2		ANTVILLE	1		1			
3		AZZAVILLE	1			1		
4		BEAUTYSVILLE	1		1			
5		BIDONVILLE	1					1
6		BISTROVILLE	1				1	
7		CELEBRITYVILLE	1	1				
8		CHEVILLE	2		2			
9		CHUMPSVILLE	2		2			
10		CITYOFSNELLVILLE	1				1	
11		CLAYSVILLE	2			2		

YOUR SEARCH HISTORY

The second research question aims to analyse the similarities and differences in creative words with particular reference to sensitive subjects (e.g., references to sex, drugs, and violence). The aim is to observe whether the subjects mentioned above are manipulated in the translation in such a way as to produce a different image of youth culture in the English and the Italian film versions. For this purpose, I manually divided the creative words previously identified into a sub-sample of words that contain references to potentially disturbing themes and a qualitative analysis was done.

The investigation of creative words was then integrated with an analysis of overall translation trends in the TFC with regard to sensitive subjects, using the software *Wmatrix* (Rayson 2008), which offers the possibility to use the basic corpus analysis tools mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.1) also to analyse semantic concepts (the concordancer and keyness measure). *Wmatrix* is connected with the UCREL<sup>32</sup> Semantic Analysis System tagger (Rayson et al. 2004) which automatically tags texts for the semantic domains contained. The users can (a) use the concordancer to search for the words associated with the semantic domains of interest, (b) obtain a frequency list of the semantic domains contained, and (c) identify the key concepts that are distinctive of a corpus with respect to a reference corpus.

<sup>32</sup> UCREL = University Center for Computer Corpus Research on Language

Therefore, I performed an automatic semantic tagging of the English version of the TFC and used the concordancer to find all the words associated with the categories referring to sensitive topics, i.e., Relationship: Intimate/sexual (category S3.2)<sup>33</sup>, Cigarettes and drug (category F3), and Calm/Violent/Angry with a negative meaning (category E3-). I then interrogated my parallel corpus in the *Sketch Engine* using the concordancer to analyse translation solutions.<sup>34</sup> Figure 5 shows an example of concordances for the semantic category S3.2 in the movie MG1. As can be seen in the central column, there is a wide range of sexual references offering interesting data to be analysed, e.g., gender issues (e.g., homosexuals, lesbian) and teenage concerns (e.g., virginity).

Figure 5 Semantic concordance for the category S3.2: "Relationship: Intimate/sexual"

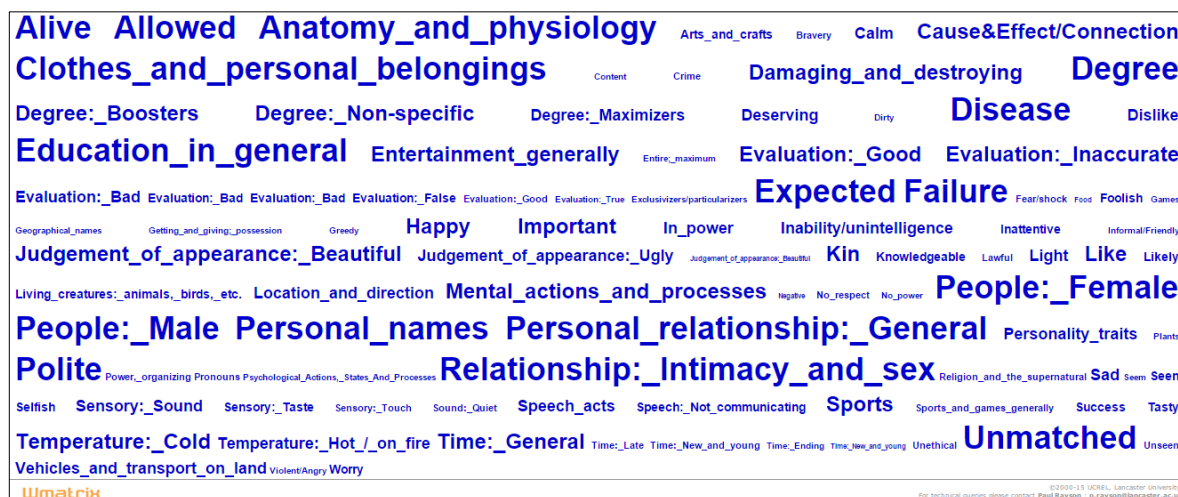
34 occurrences.			Extend context	
Man could fight the dinosaurs . And the	homosexuals	. Amen . But my family 's totally normal	1	More   Full
n't wan na sit there . Kristen Hadley 's	boyfriend	is gon na sit there . Hey , baby . He far	2	More   Full
want . This is Damian . He 's almost too	gay	to function . Nice to meet you . Nice wig	3	More   Full
thing , desperate wannabes , burn-outs ,	sexually	active band geeks , the greatest people y	4	More   Full
t like Aaron Samuels . That 's Regina 's	ex-boyfriend	. They went out for a year . Yeah , and t	5	More   Full
m for Shane Oman . Okay , irregardless .	Ex-boyfriends	are just off-limits to friends . I mean ,	6	More   Full
they 're going out . Wait . Jason 's not	going out with	Taylor . No . He can not blow you off lik	7	More   Full
. It 's urgent . Thank you . She 's not	going out with	anyone . Okay , that was so fetch . Mum !	8	More   Full
Hey . Hey , hey , hey ! How are my best	girlfriends	? Hey , Mrs. George . This is Cady . Hell	9	More   Full
y , Mrs. George . This is Cady . Hello ,	sweetheart	. Hi . Welcome to our home . Just want yo	10	More   Full
" Still true . Dawn Schweitzer is a fat	virgin	" Dawn Schweitzer is a fat virgin . " Sti	11	More   Full
a fat virgin " Dawn Schweitzer is a fat	virgin	. " Still half true . Amber D'Alessio mad	12	More   Full
hat kid Damian . Yeah . He 's almost too	gay	to function . That 's funny . Put that in	13	More   Full
u shopping ? No , I 'm just here with my	boyfriend	. Joking . Sometimes older people make jo	14	More   Full
not just say that . What ? He 's a good	kisser	. He 's your cousin . Yeah , but he 's my	15	More   Full
you wear your hair like that ? You hair	looks so sexy	pushed back . Cady , will you please tell	16	More   Full
Cady , will you please tell him his hair	looks sexy	pushed back . Regina was dangling Aaron i	17	More   Full
ld . But this was girl world . Your hair	looks sexy	pushed back . And in girl world , all the	18	More   Full
er . So then in eighth grade , I started	going out with	my first boyfriend , Kyle , who was total	19	More   Full
rade , I started going out with my first	boyfriend	, Kyle , who was totally gorgeous , but t	20	More   Full
t invite you , because I think you 're a	lesbian	. " I mean , I could n't have a lesbian a	21	More   Full
lesbian . " I mean , I could n't have a	lesbian	at my party . There are gon na be girls t	22	More   Full
thing-suits . I mean , right ? She was a	lesbian	. So then her mum called my mum and start	23	More   Full
ilent When I sneak in your door and make	love	to your woman on the bathroom floor . I d	24	More   Full
m ? I gave him everything . I was half a	virgin	when I met him . You wan na do something	25	More   Full
ron did n't immediately ask me to be his	girlfriend	. I mean , I know he was sad , but how mu	26	More   Full
y ? Really . Cady , I know that having a	boyfriend	may seem like the most important thing in	27	More   Full
The only guy that ever calls my house is	Randy	from Chase Visa . And you know why ? Beca	28	More   Full
u know what ? It 's not my fault you 're	in love	with me or something ! What ? Oh , no she	29	More   Full
is Ian , dyke " That 's original . " Too	gay	to function " ? Hey ! That 's only okay w	30	More   Full
that book that I 'm lying about being a	virgin	because I use superjumbo tampons . But I	31	More   Full
iend Caddy . She made out with Regina 's	boyfriend	and then convinced him to break up with h	32	More   Full
s it 's probably because I 've got a big	lesbian	crush on you . Suck on that ! Janis ! Jan	33	More   Full
			34	More   Full

<sup>33</sup> Concordances are obtained by entering the alphanumerical tags determined by the system, a complete list of which can be retrieved at <http://stig.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix3/semtags.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Parallel corpora cannot be created in *Wmatrix*.

In the next chapter, the results relating to the research questions are illustrated. Before doing so, I show here the key semantic domains contained the English section of the TFC with the aim to give an overall sketch of the corpus under analysis (see Fig. 6).

Figure 6 Semantic cloud for the TFC (vs. BNC)



The key concepts were detected with the *Wmatrix* semantic cloud generator, which visualizes what semantic domains occur in statistically significant higher or lower frequencies compared to the BNC (*British National Corpus*), which was assumed as a reference corpus.<sup>35</sup> *Wmatrix* calculates the log-likelihood statistic for each semantic tag in the TFC, which determines its relative frequency difference compared to the reference corpus. The semantic cloud displays in a larger font size the tags with higher log-likelihood measures than the others, which appear in smaller font sizes instead. Based on this method, the semantic cloud in Figure 6 shows that the TFC is rich in situational contexts connected with peer conversations. In fact, categories such as “general personal relationship”, “relationship of intimacy and sex”, and “education in general” are among the most significant. Particularly, sexual relationships turn out to be more significant than general relationships, with a log-likelihood of 260.91 compared to 133.65.

<sup>35</sup> I am aware that a comparison between an American English-based corpus and a British English-based corpus is not exactly ‘like-with-like’. However, for the purpose of this comparison, the linguistic differences between the varieties of English are not relevant since the focus is on semantic domains. Moreover, as mentioned in 2.4.1, even keyness measures identified with a reference corpus that has little relation with the one under scrutiny can be plausible (Scott 2009).

From a socio-cultural point of view, this datum offers quantitative evidence of the extent to which sex is exploited in the film industry targeted at teenagers. The semantic cloud also shows interesting data from a linguistic point of view, where particularly significant categories are “boosters” and “maximizers”. This means that scriptwriters typically construct the speech style of teenagers by means of linguistic strategies of amplification, which are also among the typical features of teen talk in spontaneous conversation (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.1). By clicking on each category, the semantic cloud system retrieves all the words related to that category. In this case, “boosters” and “maximizers” predominantly contain adverbs such as “so”, “really”, “very”, “totally”, and “completely”. The next chapter also examines whether this amplification strategy is reproduced in the Italian versions with particular reference to language creativity (i.e., whether creativity is reproduced with compensation strategies or it is normalized with standard language forms).



## **Chapter 4**

### **Analysis: focus on linguistic strategies**

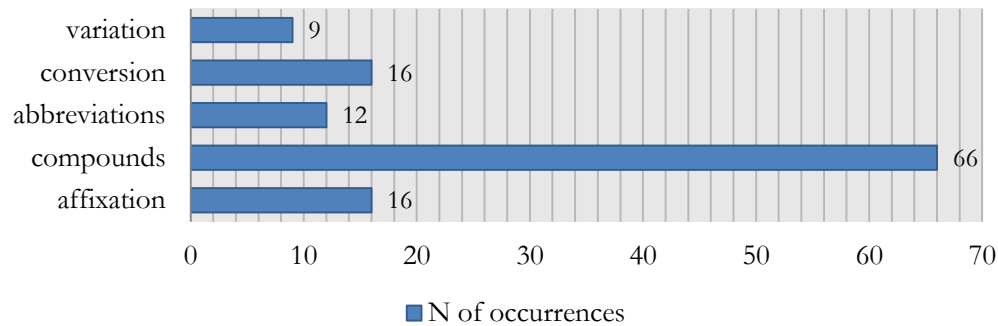
The previous chapter described the criteria used to compile the corpus and the methodology selected to investigate hapaxes from a translational perspective. This chapter presents the results of the analysis carried out contrastively between the English and the Italian versions of the movies with a focus on the linguistic strategies adopted in the translations. Section 4.1 is devoted to the description and discussion of the results obtained. First, hapaxes are described in relation to formal and functional features (4.1.1). Subsequently, the trends in the strategies adopted to translate hapaxes are illustrated according to two macro-categories: normalization and compensation strategies (4.1.2). Section 4.2 offers some final considerations as a wrap-up of the results obtained in this chapter.

#### **4.1. Results and discussion**

##### **4.1.1. Forms and functions**

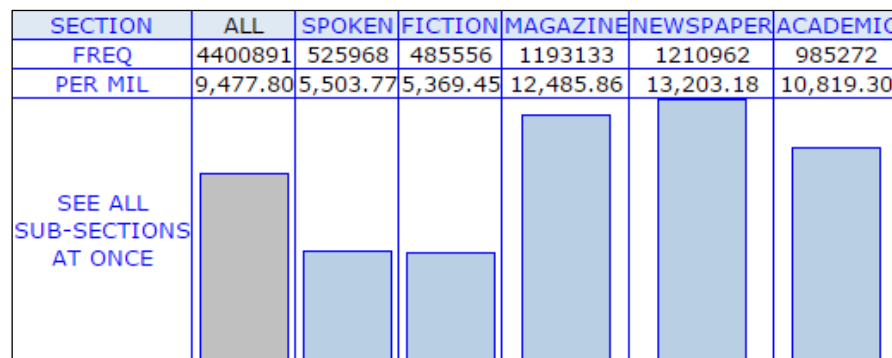
As mentioned in the previous chapters, hapaxes in the present study are words not listed in the OED. On the basis of this definition, after the removal of duplicates, a total of 119 different hapaxes were found in the TFC. A complete list of the items and their meanings is provided in the Appendix (Table 1). To verify the identification of hapaxes in the TFC, the list of 119 items distinguished according to the previously described procedure was submitted to a native speaker of American English. Subsequently, hapaxes were classified into five categories according to the morphological processes with which they are formed, as described in Chapter 1 (section 1.3): affixation, compounding, abbreviations, conversion, and variation. Their numbers of occurrence in the TFC are displayed in chart 1.

Chart 1 Occurrences of hapaxes in the TFC according to morphological processes



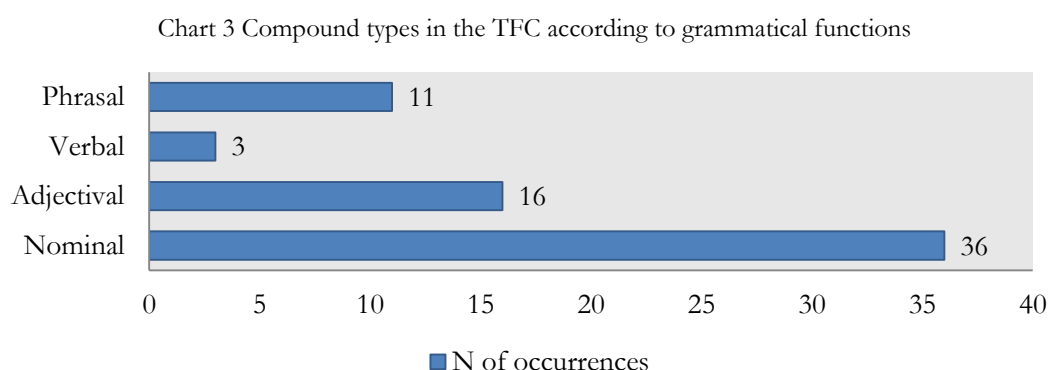
As can be seen from the chart, compounds account for more than half of the hapaxes (N=66). Lower occurrences were found for other morphological processes including, in descending order, affixation (N=16), conversion (N=16), abbreviation (N=12), and variation (N=9). The high occurrence of compounds can primarily be related to the need for film language to be economic and concise due to the time and space constraints imposed by the cinematic medium (Taylor 1999; Kozloff 2000; Chaume 2004; Pavesi 2005; Bednarek 2010; Baños 2014). In this respect, film language shares common features with written varieties of language such as magazines and newspapers where space constraints are also of paramount importance. In fact, a search of hyphenated words conducted in the COCA revealed a frequency of approximately between 12,000 and 13,000 tokens/million in magazine and newspaper writing versus approximately 5,500 in spoken conversation (see chart 2).<sup>36</sup>

Chart 2 Compounds in the COCA



<sup>36</sup> Due to the large size of the corpus, unwanted items such as hyphenated numerals (e.g., “twenty-four”) or spellings (e.g., “R-E-S-P-E-C-T”) were not removed.

It should also be born in mind, however, that the striking imbalance between the number of compounds and the other morphological mechanisms in the TFC may be partly due to the inclusive definition of compounds adopted in the present study, which is based on a continuum from prototypical compounds to syntactic constructions, as mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.3 (Dressler 2005). Thanks to this broad definition of compounds, a potentially interesting trend could be nevertheless identified. As can be seen from chart 3, the TFC compound sample is quite varied in terms of typology including not only nominal compounds but also phrasal, verbal, and adjectival compounds. Particularly, if a comparison is made between charts 1 and 3, it can be noted that the number of phrasal compounds (N= 11) exceeds the number of variations (N=9) and nearly equals the number of affixes (N=16), abbreviations (N=12), and conversions (N=16). The relatively similar figures for phrasal compounds and non-compound mechanisms can be related to the fact that phrasal compounds best express complex concepts concisely without resorting to subordinate clauses which would be more time- and space- consuming in film language.



Phrasal compounds are among the most creative features of hapaxes in the TFC, as in most cases they exhibit long structures with the first component made up of three or more than three items (e.g., “don’t-even-think-about-it group”, “I’m-so-perky-I-might-shake-my-tube-tops cutesy cars”, “like-more-than-a-friend like”). From a functional point of view, phrasal compounds in the TFC include cases where the first component expresses the speaker’s affective stance towards the object or person represented in the second component. For example, the protagonist in the movie TEN asks his friend which teen subculture his girlfriend belongs to, with the intention to find out about her styles and tastes in order to woo her (“What group is she in?”). His friend replies with the phrasal compound “the don’t-even-

think-about-it group!” where the first component (“don’t-even-think-about-it”) expresses the speaker’s negative feelings towards the people represented in the second component (“group”).

In other cases, phrasal compounds create a verbal play between the constituents of the compound and the co-text. In the dialogue in ex. 1 drawn from the movie TC, the protagonist explains in her own words the difference between the verb “like” when used to express sexual attraction as opposed to feelings of friendship.

(1)

MASSIE: Who do you like?

CLAIRE: Eh... I like a lot of people. I like my parents, my friends...

MASSIE: Not just “like.” “Like”, *like, like-more-than-a-friend like*.

[...]

CLAIRE: Well, I guess I don’t really know anyone. Okay, there was this skateboard guy, Chris.

He’s got shaggy blond hair, deep blue eyes, [...]

The scriptwriters’ creativity in forming compounds reaches its utmost level in the movie MG2 where hyphens become part of the speech uttered by the speaker. The protagonist uses the following expression to indicate what she would become after one week in Los Angeles, the famous American city where models and celebrity stars are most active: “You know, one week in LA and I’ll be *a bikini-model-hyphen-reality-star-hyphen-awesome*”.<sup>37</sup> In this case, the scriptwriters’ metalinguistic awareness of the function of hyphenation is evident, i.e., hyphens signal that the constituents form a semantically unitary concept (Bisetto 2004). In the example mentioned above, hyphenation indicates that the character’s future identity will be a hybrid between a bikini model, a reality star, and an awesome woman.

Even in this case, a search of the word “hyphen” in the COCA reveals higher frequencies in written language compared to spoken discourse (a frequency of 0.23 tokens/million in spoken language compared to 1.16 in writing, the latter made up of 0.13 in fiction, 0.19 in magazines,

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<sup>37</sup> Although grammatically incorrect, here the adjective “awesome” is used quite atypically as a noun. In fact, elsewhere in the movie Mandi’s social network page is shown where she writes the following message referring to herself again as “Awesome”: “Don’t mess with Awesome”.

0.13 in newspapers, and 0.71 in academic texts<sup>38</sup>). Particularly, it can be noted that frivolous conversations such as the one drawn from MG2 are far removed from being the only subjects where this peculiar use of hyphenation occurs in contemporary American English. As can be seen in examples (2) and (3) drawn from the COCA, socio-cultural identities and gender issues are among the recurrent topics.

(2)

SEABROOK: One of your most recent posts is about encountering a man who decided he was going to drop the *hyphen* in the word African-American. Is he dropping African as well? Tell me about this man.

Ms TRICE: Well, absolutely. I met him over the weekend at a big celebration at a local Chicago suburb had celebrating its diversity. And he said to me that he was going to drop the *hyphen* and the qualifier and become simply American. In the past, he felt like he kind of sat on the fringes of American culture and with America having such a tortured past with race relations, he said he really never felt fully a part of the fabric.

(COCA spoken discourse sub-corpus, 2008, “How Will the Election Affect U.S. Race Relations?”, *TalkNat*)

(3)

Underscoring Tavares' point, Umeeta Sadarangani tells of transcending her isolation from American feminists, including gay feminists, when she found a group of South Asian queer women in Chicago; by situating herself “on the *hyphen*” of her multiple identities Sadarangani was able to forge relationships with other feminist and Asian communities.

(COCA Academic writing sub-corpus, 2000 October, “Intersections: Global Feminisms, American Studies”, *American Studies International*)

In example 2, the expression “to drop the *hyphen* in the word African-American” refers to the positive reaction of a citizen feeling that, after president Obama’s election, the concepts of being African and being American become a single one without the need for graphic symbols

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<sup>38</sup> The figure 0.71 for academic texts also includes some irrelevant uses of the word “hyphen” in technical explanations of symbolic conventions used in writing such as the notation of rhythm in songbooks (e.g., “The lengthening of the value of a quarter note is indicated with a *hyphen* after the numeral, and a zero represents a rest”).

which keep them united. In example 3, the expression “being ‘on the *hyphen*’ of her multiple identities” refers to the speaker’s feelings of belonging to diverse social cultures.

Returning to the TFC, the presence of a good proportion of phrasal compounds is not the only peculiarity of the TFC compound sample. Other creative features include the presence of double derivational processes, reduplicative compounds, and blends. Double derivational processes occur when cases of grammatical conversion occur within a compound. This phenomenon is extremely varied in terms of categories, including, for example, phrasal verbs converted into nouns or adjectives (“burn-outs”, “disco-dancing”), nouns converted into verbs (“out-gay oneself”), and nouns converted into past participles (“slut-faced”).

Reduplicative compounds exhibit alliterative or rhyming patterns, mostly with the function of making a mockery of the listener. For example, a girl named Abby in the movie MG2 is referred to as “Abby-Scabby” after a prank where she spills her meal on her face (see Fig. 7). In other cases, reduplicatives are simply used with a naming function. For example, the yearly school dance in the movie MG is called “the Spring-Fling”.

Figure 7 Visual reference for the hapax “Abby-Scabby”



Blending compounds have the same functions as reduplicatives. In some cases, they serve to make a mockery of the listener. A case in point is “fugly” (“fucking” + “ugly”), used by the characters in the movie MG1 to indicate someone with a horrible appearance. In other cases, they have a naming function. For example, “Glambition” (“glamour” + “ambition”) in the movie TC is the name given by the protagonists to a set of cosmetics that they produce at home in order to put them on the market and become famous.

After compounds, the category of affixes ranked second in the TFC in terms of frequency (N=16). In this class, both affixes and obligatorily bound roots<sup>39</sup> are included. The affixes found in the TFC are often attached to items whose grammatical function is converted into another. For example, the suffix “-ish” is attached to the nominal base “Teen Vogue” (the name of a teen-targeted fashion magazine), whose output is the adjective “teenvogueish” (i.e., ‘in line with the fashion trends illustrated in the magazine *Teen Vogue*'). This is used by the protagonist in the movie TC as an expression of self-identify, i.e., she implicitly declares herself as a follower of the fashion do’s and don’ts imposed in the above-mentioned magazine. An even more creative hapax formed by affixation is “hyperhypochondriac” used in the movie MG2. The adjective “hypochondriac” is intensified though the Latin prefix “hyper-”, which creates an oxymoron with “hypo-”, indicating an excessive anxiety about one’s health.

Obligatorily bound roots include the intensifiers “-ville”, “-fest”, and participial forms such as “-challenged”. An example of hapaxes formed with “-ville” is “hagsville” (i.e., ‘an extremely ugly woman’), used by a boy in the movie CLU to express a negative evaluation on a female character. Hapaxes formed with “-fest” include, for example, “caloriefest”, used in the movie CLU to indicate a time when girls eat a large amount of caloric food to get over their love troubles. Hapaxes ending with “-challenged” are formed in analogy with standard expressions listed in the OED such as “physically-challenged”, clearly with an ironical function. An extremely creative case is “ensemble-y-challenged”, where the suffix “-y” is added to the noun “ensemble”, whose output is the idiosyncratic adverb “ensemblly”. The adverb is then combined with “-challenged” as an insult to indicate that the listener is incapable of harmonizing her clothes. The distinctive feature of this hapax is that the speaker pauses before uttering “-y”, which leads to believe that the suffix is separated from the root by a hyphen. Subtitles also reproduce orthographically this feature.

Similarly to compounds, affixation in the TFC also shares similarities with written varieties of language. In fact, a search of words ending in “-ville”, “-fest” and “-challenged” in the COCA shows considerably higher frequencies in magazine and newspaper writing compared

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<sup>39</sup> In the sense of Bauer et al. (2013), who indicate affix-like elements that are more semantically loaded than affixes. These include elements of neoclassical origin such as “neuro-” (‘pertaining to the nervous system or brain’), which is more semantically loaded than the affix “re-” (‘again’), and elements such as “-holic” and “-gate”, originally used in “alcoholic” and “Watergate” and then exploited for forming new words with similar meanings (“workaholic”, i.e., somebody who works a lot or “Irangate”, i.e., a political scandal found in Iran).

to spoken language. Particularly, the COCA sub-corpora of spoken discourse only contain 9 out of 75 words formed with “-ville”, 12 out of 233 words formed with “-fest”, and 5 out of 36 words formed with the “-ly-challenged”<sup>40</sup>.

After compounds and affixation, the third category in descending order of frequency consists of hapaxes formed via conversion processes (N=15). However, this class is actually much larger as in many cases conversion is exploited in combination with other morphological processes such as affixation and compounding, as mentioned in the previous paragraphs (e.g., “burn-outs”, “out-gayed”, “ensemble-y-challenged”). A wide range of grammatical categories undergo conversion in the TFC. Proper nouns, for example, often become common nouns. A case in point is the movie CLU, where the female noun “Betty” indicates any beautiful kind woman (“to be a betty”). Proper nouns also become verbs. For example, in the movie TC the names of popular social networks such as “Myspace” and “IM” are converted to verbs indicating the act of sending messages through those social networks (“I tried *to myspace* you last night, but it didn’t go through”; “Dylan said *you IM’d her*”).

The creativity of conversions reaches its highest level with the idiosyncratic use of words such as “loser” and “bitch” in the movie TC. As can be seen in the dialogue in (4), these words become the derogatory nicknames of the languages spoken by the listeners, according to the speakers’ points of view:

(4)

Layne: Hey, Mass. There is an empty seat here if you wanna sit with me, you know?

[...]

Massie: The only place where I wanna sit is with my friends. I wouldn’t be caught dead sitting with you. I don’t even like you.

Layne: God, you really are bitch.

Massie: Sorry, no comprende. I don’t speak *Loser*.

Layne: No. Hablas *Bitch*.

The fourth morphological category in terms of frequency consists of abbreviations (N=11). The majority of the hapaxes in this class are formed by clipping, while only a few are

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<sup>40</sup> Unwanted items such as “vaudeville”, “fest”, and “really challenged” were removed.



acronyms. Clippings are often exploited with the aim to give an informal tone to technical terms including tools used by lawyers (“depos” ← “depositions”), geographical places (“Val” ← “Sun Valley”), phone calls (“four-way” ← “four-way call”), and roles in the school system (“freshies” ← “freshmen”). While the full forms of clipped hapaxes are never specified in the movies, acronyms are preceded or followed by a language exchange where their meanings are clarified often triggering humorous sketches.<sup>41</sup> An example is the dialogue in (5) occurring in the movie MG2 during a rugby match among girls. Here, Chastity’s misunderstanding of the acronym “D&D” is in line with her characterization as a shallow person whose main hobby is to flirt with boys.

(5)

[Time-out]

Mandi: Damn it, we're tied. I swear, if you let that psycho Jo near me, I will end your social lives.

Time for *D&D*.

Chastity: *Dirty dancing?*

Mandi: Yeah, Chastity, dirty dancing. No! “*Down and dirty*”, okay? *Down and dirty*. Let's get them. Go!

[Mandi’s team starts playing offensively]

The last category of morphological processes in the TFC consists of hapaxes formed via variation. This class includes modifications on the syllabic structures of the characters’ names and surnames in such a way that they connote the opinions of the speaker towards that character. For example, the girls in the movie TC often refer to the cutest boy in the school named Chris Abeley by modifying his surname as “*Babey*”, which contains the affectionate form of address “babe”. In the same vein, a girl named Layne Abeley in the same film is referred to as “*Lame Abeley*” stressing the speaker’s negative feelings towards her.

The creativity in hapaxes formed via variation reaches a climax when a girl in the movie TC modifies the initial syllables of the adjective “hilarious” in such a way that it sounds like “*Claire*”, the name of a girl she hates (“*clairious*”). Therefore, every time she uses this adjective, she recalls her opinion of Claire as a hilarious person (due to her oddity in clothing styles and personality). Other cases of variations have less clear motivations. Examples include

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<sup>41</sup> Exceptions are highly transparent acronyms such as “A-holes” ← “assholes”.

“thang” ← “thing”, “byotch” ← “bitch”, and “for suresies” ← “for sure”. According to *The Urban Dictionary*, those who use these unusual pronunciations are identified as trendy people by mainstream teenagers.

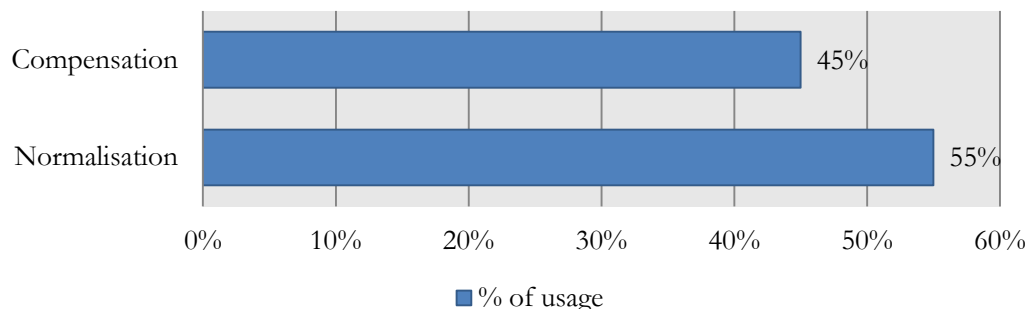
#### 4.1.2. Translations strategies

The previous section described the hapaxes contained in the original versions of the movies. In this section, the strategies adopted for their translations are examined. The analysis is based on the cognitive stylistics approach dealt with in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.1), according to which the aim of the translation process is to reproduce the cognitive effect achieved in the original version (Boase-Beier 2004, 2011). As far as hapaxes are concerned, in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.1) it was assumed that the cognitive effect is to amuse the viewers by means of some kind of foregrounding effect, i.e., the use of words, sounds, or phrases that are perceived as ‘different’ from the surrounding co-text (McIntyre and Jeffries 2010).

For this purpose, translation strategies in the TFC were distinguished into normalization and compensation. Normalization strategies are used when the hapax is translated with words and expressions pertaining to language uses perceived as conventional. In this case, no linguistic items are foregrounded in the translated version, and thus creativity is neutralized. Contrarily, compensation strategies are used when the hapax is translated with sounds, words, or phrases perceived as different from conventional uses. In this case, the foregrounding effect is achieved in the translated version, and thus creativity is maintained.

As can be seen in chart 4, an analysis of translation strategies in the TFC reveals that the majority of hapaxes are normalized (55%). Therefore, the creative effect achieved in the original versions tends to be lost in the translated versions. However, the proportion of hapaxes translated with compensation strategies is not insignificant (45%). This makes the TFC an interesting sample of data for the purpose of the present study, which, as previously mentioned, aims to explore examples of both compensation and normalization strategies.

Chart 4 Trends in the translation of hapaxes in the TFC

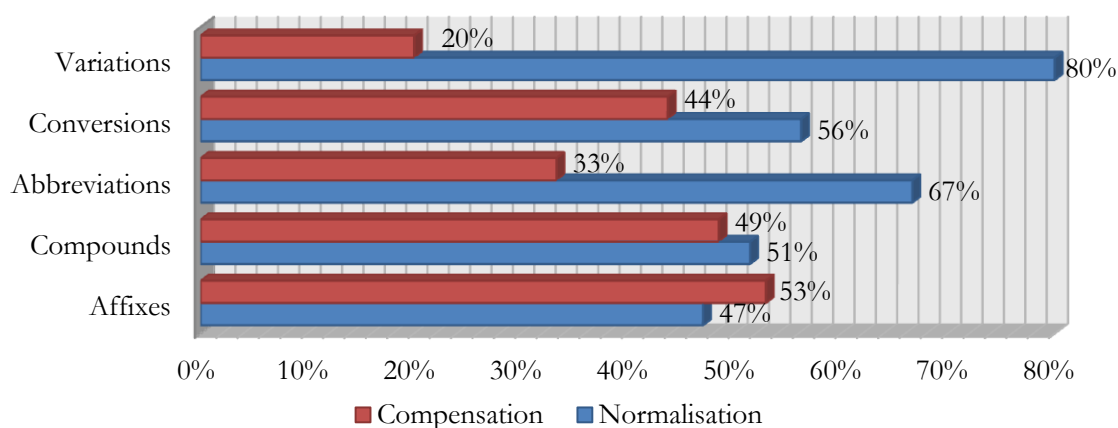


It may also be interesting to investigate the distribution of compensation and normalization strategies according to the morphological processes with which hapaxes are formed and discover potential trends. As can be seen from chart 5,<sup>42</sup> the most striking imbalance between the number of compensation and normalization strategies concerns hapaxes formed via variation and abbreviation. Compensation strategies only make up 20% of variations and 33% of abbreviations. Therefore, the creative effect achieved by the large majority of hapaxes formed with these morphological processes is neutralized in the translated versions. Quite a significant disproportion is also found in conversion processes. Even in these cases, normalization strategies are predominant (56%), even though with lower figures compared to variations and abbreviations. Relatively balanced results were obtained for compounds and affixes. In these cases, the difference between the number of compensation and normalization strategies is minimal. Normalization strategies are slightly predominant in compounds (51%), while in affixation it is compensation strategies that show a higher percentage (53%).

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<sup>42</sup> Differently from the calculation made in chart 1, the total number of hapaxes considered here is 123. This figure is motivated as follows. Three hapaxes have more than one occurrence in TFC (i.e., “Spring Fling”, “Mathletes”, and “loadies”). In some parts of the movies, normalization strategies were used. In others, they were translated with compensation strategies. For the purposes of this study, it was decided to count them as two different hapaxes.

Chart 5 Trends in the translation of hapaxes in the TFC according to morphological processes



The following sub-sections provide examples of both normalization and compensation strategies for each of the morphological categories mentioned above.<sup>43</sup> As mentioned in the Introduction, the present analysis aims to be descriptive rather than prescriptive in nature. Therefore, examples of translation strategies are offered with the aim to be sources of inspiration for translators.

#### A. Variation

As mentioned in the previous section, only a small proportion of hapaxes formed via variation are translated with compensation strategies (20%). These are the hapaxes such as “thang” and “byotch”, which exhibit an unusual pronunciation of the corresponding standard words (“thing” and “bitch”). According to *The Urban Dictionary*, this special pronunciation is a convention established among teenagers as a marker of self-identity, i.e., the teenagers who use it are considered as trendy and ‘cool’ by the others.<sup>44</sup> The Italian translators resorted to different solutions, shown in (1) and (2).

<sup>43</sup> For a complete list of compensation and normalization strategies, see the Appendix (Tables 2-3).

<sup>44</sup> Particularly, the former item originates in African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a language variety often used as a distinctive speech style by the teenagers who participate to hip hop culture (Morgan 2001; Bucholtz 2011). As Morgan (2001: 187) claims in her article devoted to the significance of AAVE from an ideological point of view, “at Hip Hop’s core is the commitment and vision of youth who are agitated, motivated, and willing to confront complex and powerful institutions and practices to improve the world”.

(1)

GRETCHEN	Come check it out, Cady. It's our 'burn-book'. See, we cut out girls' pictures from the yearbook, and then we wrote comments.	Guarda, Cady. È il nostro 'libro rosa'. Ritagliamo le foto di altre ragazze dagli annuari, poi scriviamo dei commenti.
<Book>	<Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> .>	<Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> .>
KAREN	"Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> ."	"Trang Pak è una grezzissima <i>strilonza</i> ".

(2)

KEVIN	We're gonna look so kick-ass in these [their dresses] when we roll into Spring Fling [the school dance].	Stiamo da paura. Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa.
CADY	Oh, no, I'm not going.	Ah, no. Io non ci vengo.
BOY 1	What?	Cosa?
KEVIN	Cady, this is your night. Don't let the haters stop you from doing your <i>thang</i> .	Cady, è la tua serata. Non puoi farti fregare la <i>situation</i> .

In example 1, a novel word is invented by exploiting the same morphological process as in the original version, i.e., manipulating the syllables of an existing word. In fact, the syllabic structure of the taboo word *stronza* (the closest Italian equivalent to “bitch”) is modified in such a way that a playful sound pattern is created (*strilonza*). In example 2, a different solution is adopted, i.e., a borrowing from English. The Anglicism “situation” can quite creatively reproduce the function of “thang” related to the characterization of the speakers as trendy persons (*The Urban Dictionary*). In fact, as can be deduced from the contributions in the recent volume on the worldwide diffusion of English slang edited by Coleman (2014) and particularly the article by Mattiello (2014), the use of the English language in many Western youth cultures is associated with ideas of globalization, and thus trendiness. Particularly, on my intuition as a native speaker, the word “situation” is widely used in Italian informal conversations due to its passé-partout meaning as a vague word and its structural similarity with its Italian equivalent *situazione* (“situation”).

The large sample of variation forms which are instead treated with neutralization strategies (80%) include those whose function is to express the speaker’s affective stance towards the person mentioned. While in the English versions the names “Chris Abeley” and “Layne Abeley” are modified into “Chris *Babeley*” and “*Lame* Abeley” to express the speaker’s positive

or negative feelings towards them, the names remain intact in the Italian version, and thus the creative effect is lost in translation.

A neutralization of creativity also occurs in the translation of the original adjective “clairious”, coined as a variation on “Claire”, the girl so much hated by the speaker, on the model of “hilarious” (see ex. 3).

(3)

DYLAN	[Claire is sitting alone] You guys, I feel bad. Maybe we could pull up a chair?	Ragazze, da un lato mi dispiace. Potremmo anche invitarla.
DYLAN	[Silence. Then laughing]	[Silenzio. Poi risata]
MASSIE	That was <i>clairious</i> .	<i>Ci avevo quasi creduto.</i>

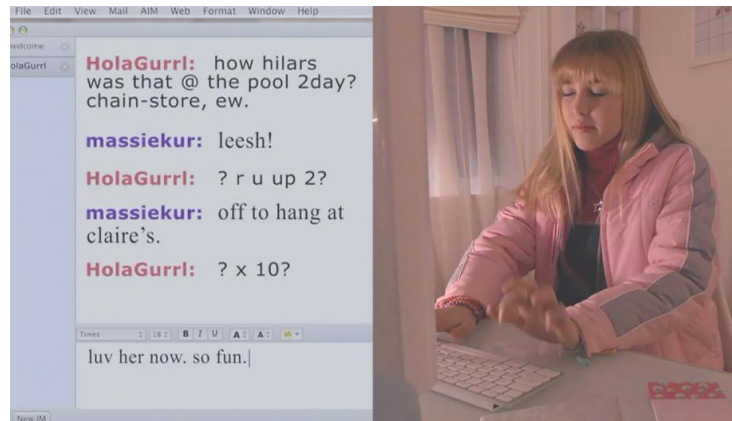
As can be seen in (3), no attempts are made to reproduce the ironical variation. In its place, the standard expression *ci avevo quasi creduto* is used (‘I almost believed you’). This expression lacks creative features, yet it reproduces the pragmatic meaning of the original version. In fact, *ci avevo quasi creduto* is linked to the previous turns, where Dylan suggested inviting Claire to join her and her friends but, after a brief moment of silence, she laughs, implicitly revealing that it was only a joke. Since the scene is shot in medium close-up, there are also good reasons to hypothesize that the selection of the Italian solution is linked to the need for lip synchronization, i.e., both “clairious” and *creduto* exhibit similar phonetic sounds such as the velar plosive in initial position followed by medium and close vowels.

Normalization strategies are especially used in correspondence with text and chat messages that appear on screen, mostly characterized by creative orthographic forms, as traditionally occurs in spontaneous language (see Maybin 2006; North 2006, 2007; Goddard 2011). In the movie TC, where text and chat messages are used most extensively, creative forms tend to be toned down through standard expressions. An example is “ur in for a laff” (the latter word being a variation of “laugh”) which is translated with the standard expression *stai per farti quattro risate* (‘you are about to have some laughs’).

Normalization strategies for text and chat messages in the movie TC are not restricted to the morphological process of variation, but rather also affect other word-formation mechanisms such as abbreviations. An example of a chat message appearing on screen is shown in Figure 8. As can be seen, a wide range of creative forms are used such as “hilars” (an

abbreviation for “hilarious”), “2day” (‘today’ exploiting the homophones “to”/“two”), “? r u up 2?” (‘what are you up to?’ exploiting the homophones “are”/“R” and “to”/“two”), and “? x 10” (‘question mark per ten times’, indicating that the speaker is shocked at the interlocutor’s previous message).

Figure 8 Language creativity in chat messages



In the movie TC, chat messages appear on screen and, subsequently, they are read out loud by the dubbing actors who give their voices to the characters who send the messages in the movie. The speech uttered by the dubbing actor in correspondence with the message shown in Fig. 8 is provided in (4) together with its back translation in parentheses.

(4)

ALICIA: Oggi è stato divertente in piscina. Grandi magazzini? Bleah.

(‘We had fun today at the pool. Chain-store? Bleah.’)

MASSIE: Leesh!

(‘Leesh!’)

ALICIA: Che combini?

(‘What are you up to?’)

MASSIE: Sto per andare da Claire.

(‘I’m about to go to Claire’s.’)

ALICIA: Che cosa?

(‘What?’)

MASSIE: Ora la adoro. È simpatica.

(‘I adore her now. She is nice.’)

As can be seen, creativity is neutralized using standard words and expressions. “How *hilaris* was today”, for example, is translated with the ordinary expression *è stato divertente* (‘we had fun today’). A similar flattening effect is achieved in the case of “? x 10”, which becomes the conventional *che cosa?* (‘What?’). An exception is “? r u up 2?”, translated with the informal *che combini?*, which quite faithfully corresponds to the English expression “What are you up to?”.

## B. Abbreviation

As far as abbreviations are concerned, only a very limited sample of hapaxes is translated with compensation strategies (33%). Trying to generalize as much as possible on this nevertheless limited sample of data, two main compensation solutions can be observed: (i) the use of abbreviations as in the original version, and (ii) the use of diminutive suffixes.

Abbreviations are used in Italian when in the original version of the movies the full form of the abbreviated hapax is clarified in the following turns. An example is the acronym “D&D” used in the dialogue in (1) drawn from the movie MG2. In this scene, the speakers are playing a rugby match.

(1)

MANDI	[Time-out] Damn it, we're tied. I swear, if you let that psycho Jo near me, I will end your social lives. Time for <i>D&amp;D</i> .	[Time-out] Accidenti. Siamo pari. Lasciate che quella psicopatica di Jo mi si avvicini e siete socialmente finite. È l'ora del GS.
CHASTITY	<i>Dirty dancing?</i>	Mh! Di <i>giochetti scabrosi</i> ?
MANDI	Yeah, Chastity, “dirty dancing.” No! “ <i>Down and dirty</i> ”, okay? Down and dirty. Let's get them. Go! [Mandi's team starts playing offensively]	Certo, Chastity, <i>giochetti scabrosi</i> . No! Vuol dire “ <i>giocare sporco</i> ”. Okay? Giocare sporco! Andiamo! Forza! [Iniziano a giocare in modo offensivo]

Mandi uses “D&D” to indicate the offensive strategy with which she wants her team to play from that moment onwards. In fact, “D&D” is commonly used in English with the meaning of “Down and Dirty”. Chastity, who is portrayed as a very shallow character in the movie,



misunderstands what the acronym stands for. In her opinion, the full form of “D&D” is “Dirty Dancing”. In the following turn, Mandi clarifies that the full form of “D&D” is instead “Down and Dirty”. In the Italian version, the translators invented an acronym which is unknown in Italian and has a similar meaning to “D&D”, i.e., *GS* ← *Giocare Sporco* (‘to play offensively’). This is misunderstood by Chastity as *Giochetti Scabrosi* (‘indecent games’). As a result, the humorous sketch of the original version and Chastity’s characterization as a shallow person are maintained.

A similar compensation strategy is used in the movie TC when translating the acronym *MLA* (see ex. 2).

(2)

MASSIE	There’s a reason I was <i>MLA</i> yesterday.	C’è un motivo per cui ieri ero <i>PDA</i> .
DYLAN	<i>MLA</i> ?	<i>PDA</i> ?
MASSIE	“ <i>Missing in Armani</i> ”. I was being asked out on a date.	“ <i>Privata di Armani</i> ”. Qualcuno mi ha invitato ad uscire.
ALICIA	By a boy?	Un maschio, immagino?
MASSIE	As opposed to who? Yes, a boy. A Briarwood boy.	Altrimenti chi? Un ragazzo. Un maschietto della Briarwood.

In English, *MLA* (‘Missing In Action’) is used in military jargon with the meaning “missing after a battle”. Although listed in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, it was considered a hapax because it is used in a creative way. In fact, although maintaining the meaning “missing in action”, its full form in the movie is instead “Missing In Armani”, a variation of the idiom “Missing In Action” due to the fact that the speaker is a fashion-addicted girl. The creative effect is reproduced in Italian by inventing the acronym *PDA* as an abbreviation of “Privata Di Armani” (‘deprived of Armani’) which maintains the connection with the world of fashion.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, another type of compensation strategy used for abbreviations is the use of diminutive suffixes. This occurs, for example, in the translation of the clipping “freshies” (← “freshmen”), used in the movie MG2 as a derogatory term of address for first year high school students. In the movie, “freshies” is located in a directive speech act uttered by Mandi to some younger schoolmates who are sitting at the table where she usually sits in the school cafeteria (MANDI: “Lost much, little *freshies*? Scram!”). In the Italian version, the creativity of the original version is reproduced by adding the diminutive

suffix *-ine* to *novelle* ('novices'), whose output is *Perso qualcosa, novelline? Sparite!* ('Lost something, little novices? Disappear!'). It should be pointed out, however, that while creativity is reproduced from a formal point of view, the cultural load of the original version is lost. The word "freshies" specifically indicates first year students, who are characterized by a series of stereotypical behaviours such as sitting at a random empty table in the school cafeteria without realizing that there is a tacit agreement in the school on the allocation of tables, generally established by the "seniors" (students in their final year).<sup>45</sup>

While the translation solutions mentioned so far manage to reproduce the creative effect as in the original version to some extent, the large majority of hapaxes formed via abbreviation are translated with normalization strategies (67%). A case in point is the translation of abbreviations when used to give an informal tone to technical words. In the dialogue in (3) drawn from CLU, "depos" as an abbreviation of "depositions" is used by Josh to refer to the tools used by his dad, who is working as a lawyer all night. Standard words and expressions are instead used in Italian. The creative effect achieved in the original version is significantly reduced as the Italian translators opt for the standard word *deposizioni* ('depositions'). The reduction of the creative effect continues across the entire speech event since expressions such as *facciamogli una sorpresa* ('let's surprise him') and *è un'idea squisita da parte nostra* ('it's a wonderful idea on our part') appear as quite unnatural and less creative than the non-standard form *dope* ('cool') used in the original version.

(3)

CHER	[...] It's not like he's going to sleep or anything.	[...] Non sarà ancora andato a letto.
JOSH	No, not if they're going to finish those <i>depos</i> .	Starà combattendo con quelle <i>deposizioni</i> .
CHER	Hey, you know what would be so dope? If we got some really delicious take-out. I bet they haven't eaten all night.	Facciamogli una sorpresa. Andiamo a comprare un bel po' di stuzzichini. Non avranno mangiato niente per cena.
JOSH	That would be pretty dope of us. Let's do it.	Sì, è un'idea squisita da parte nostra. Sì, facciamolo.

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<sup>45</sup> For further information on the stereotypical characterization of freshmen in high schools, see <http://www.seventeen.com/life/school/a24286/signs-youre-a-high-school-freshman/>.

Another example of normalization strategies worthy of mention is the extremely creative hapax “A-what-A” used by one of the characters in the movie CLU as a vague word to refer to the clothing brand name “Alaia” (Cher: “This is an Alaia”. Man 1: “An *A-what-A*?”). In the Italian version, the dialogue is translated in a very conventional way: Cher: “Questo è di Alaia”. (‘This is by Alaia’) Man 1: “Di chi è?” (‘By who is it?’). Similarly, even taboo words such as “A-holes” are normalized. This hapax, an acronym for “assholes”, is used in the movie MG1 with reference to the people elected as the school queen and king (“These *A-holes* will represent you for a full calendar year”). The translators resort to its closest equivalent *stronzi* (*Questi stronzi vi rappresenteranno per tutto l’anno*, ‘These assholes will represent you for the whole year’).

### C. Conversion

The hapaxes formed via conversion translated through compensation strategies make up 44% of the sample. Trying to generalize as much as possible, two main compensation solutions can be observed: (i) the use of conversion mechanisms as in the original version, and (ii) the use of semantic metaphors.

The use of a novel word formed through conversion as in the original version is exemplified in (1).

(1)

CHRISTIAN	Uh, where’s Tai?	Dov’è Tai?
CHER	Oh, she met some random guys at the Foot Locker and escorted them right over there. [Close-up on Tai talking to some boys] I don’t know where she meets these <i>barneys</i> ...	Sta con certi tipi che ha incontrato in un negozio di sport. [Primo piano di Tai che parla con alcuni ragazzi] Eccola laggiù che tiene banco. <i>I più mostri</i> sono amici suoi.

The word “barneys” derives from the proper noun “Barney” converted to a common noun to indicate any unattractive man (the boys with whom Tai is talking, in this case). In the Italian version, the translator coined a hapax by changing the grammatical class of an existing word, i.e., the noun *mostri* (‘monsters’) is turned into a superlative adjective (*i più mostri*, ‘the most monsters’). The semantic content of the original hapax is not altered, as both “barneys” and *i più mostri* denote someone with an ugly physical appearance. It can also be noted how the

informality conveyed by the deictic “these” is reproduced in Italian through a marked word order, i.e., differently from conventional uses of language, the possessive “suoi” (‘her’) follows a noun (*amici*, ‘friends’).

A similar solution is used in (2). In this scene, Claire has just been hit by Chris, who was skateboarding too fast. While he is helping her stand up, she is struck by his beauty.

(2)

CHRIS	Are you sure you’re okay?	Sicura di star bene?
CLAIRE	I’m sure.	Altroché.
CHRIS	I’m Chris Abeley. [smiling]	Sono Chris Abeley. [sorridente]
CLAIRE	I’m Claire... [blushing]	Io sono Claire... [arrossisce]
	Something.	Non importa.
CHRIS	Nice to meet you, Claire	Piacere di conoscerti, Claire
	<i>Something.</i>	<i>Non-importa.</i>

Due to embarrassment, Claire cannot come up with her surname, and thus she answers vaguely with “something”. Chris converts the pronoun “something” to a proper noun as if it were Claire’s surname (“Claire Something”). The Italian translators resorted to the discourse marker *non importa* (‘it doesn’t matter’) which has the function of signalling a change in topic, similarly to the English “whatever”. The creative effect of the original version is reproduced in Italian by converting *non importa* to a compound proper noun (*Claire Non-importa*, ‘Claire It-doesn’t-matter’).

A similar creative solution worthy of mention is shown in (3), where “loser” and “bitch” are converted to proper nouns as if they were the names of the languages spoken by the listeners, clearly as insults. In the same vein, the Italian translators turned the adjectives *sfigato* (‘loser’) and *idiota* (‘idiot’) into nouns by exploiting the suffix *-ese*, in analogy with words such as *francese* (‘French’), *svedese* (‘Swedish’), or *norvegese* (‘Norwegian’).

(3)

MASSIE	Sorry, no comprende. I don’t speak <i>Loser</i> .	Sorry, no comprende. Io non parlo lo <i>sfigatese</i> .
LAYNE	No. Hablas <i>Bitch</i> .	No. Hablas l’ <i>idiotese</i> .

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, in addition to conversion mechanisms, semantic metaphors are also used as a compensation strategy. This is exemplified by the translation of

the hapax “Plastics”, used in the movie MG2 as a nickname given to the social clique made up of the most popular girls in the school. The adjective “plastic” (‘that seems artificial, not sincere’) is converted to a plural noun which encodes the features of the characters in question. In fact, the girls who belong to this clique are portrayed as extremely shallow characters whose conversations only revolve around love and fashion, and whose only quality is beauty. These features are combined with a coherent visual characterization consisting of trendy clothes and hairstyles, as well as self-proud facial expressions (see Fig. 9).

Figure 9 Visual representation of the hapax “Plastics”



In line with these characterization strategies, the Italian translators resorted to *le Barbie* (‘the Barbies’). The creative effect is achieved on a semantic level, i.e., the metaphorical association of the BARBIE DOLL concept with the SHALLOW concept due to their common property of only having beauty as a good quality, clearly in an ironical way.

In addition to the compensation strategies described so far, a wide range of normalization strategies can also be exemplified where the creative effect of the original version is reduced by means of standard words and expressions. A case in point is the translation of the leave-taking formula “I’m audi?”, used in the movie CLU when the protagonists want to leave quickly from an unpleasant situation. The formula is not listed in standard lexicographic sources such as *The Oxford English Dictionary*, while according to *The Urban Dictionary* it derives from the name of the car brand “Audi”. Its pragmatic meaning may be due to the fact that those who used to drive the car model Audi5000 complained that it had a sort of unintended acceleration (*The Urban Dictionary*). In the Italian version, the creative effect is lost as the translators resort to expressions belonging to standard Italian, i.e., *si è fatto tardi* (‘it’s getting late’) and *adesso vado* (‘I’m going now’).

A similar flattening effect in terms of creativity is achieved in the translation of the agreement formula *me three*, one of the most original cases of grammatical conversion in the TFC (see ex. 4).

(4)

MASSIE	Please, I'm not gonna be caught dead at a party thrown by anyone under the age of fifteen. It's worse than wearing Crocs.	Per cortesia. Non mi faccio vedere neanche svenuta a un (party) organizzato da chi ha meno di quindici anni. È tipo andare in giro con i sandali.
[...] KRISTEN	Forget it. I'm out.	Scordatevelo. Io mi chiamo fuori.
ALICIA	Me too.	Anch'io.
DYLAN	<i>Me three.</i>	<i>Anch'io.</i>

In this scene, Alicia and Dylan agree with Massie's idea of not going to a party. The numeral "three" is converted to an adverb in relation to a verbal play with "too", a homophone of "two". The pun is neutralized in Italian, where the standard formula *anch'io* ('me too') is repeated across the turns.

#### D. Compounds

The translation of compounds is relatively balanced between compensation and normalization strategies (49% vs. 51%). Three main types of compensation strategies can be identified: (i) the use of Italian compounds, (ii) the use of affixes, and (iii) paraphrases of the compound where the creative effect is achieved on a semantic level.

Italian compounds are mostly used to translate phrasal and blending compounds. Examples of phrasal compounds are provided in (1)-(3). In example 1 drawn from the movie MG2, Jo is describing the social cliques in her school. The one she is referring to here is made up of cheerleaders, who are dancing next to some cars (see Fig. 10). In example 2 drawn from TEN, a student named Kat raises her hand during a lesson in class and the teacher allows her to

speak. In example 3 drawn from TEN, Cameron asks Michael what social clique a girl named Bianca belongs to.

(1)		
JO	[close-up on cheerleaders jiggling about next to Maggione cars]	
	The <i>I'm-so-perky-I-might-shake-off-my-tube-tops cutesy cars.</i>	<i>Le macchine sono-così-carina-e impertinente-che-potrei-anche-levarmi-il-top.</i>
(2)		
TEACHER	[as Kat raises her hand] Yes, Miss <i>I-have-an-opinion-about-everything?</i>	<i>Sì, Signorina Ho-un'-opinione-su-tutto?</i>
(3)		
CAMERON	What group is she in?	Di che gruppo è?
MICHEAL	The <i>don't-even-think-about-it group.</i> That's Bianca Stratford. A sophomore.	<i>Di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio.</i> Bianca Stratford. È un fagiolo.

Figure 10 Visual representation of the hapax “I'm-so-perky-I-might-shake-off-my-tube-tops cutesy cars”



In all cases, the phrasal constituents of the compounds in the original versions express the speaker's disapproving feelings towards the person represented in the other constituent. The translators create Italian phrasal compounds with similar functions as in the original version (*Le macchine sono-così-carina-e-impertinente-che-potrei-anche-levarmi-il-top*, “The I'm-so-cute-and-naughty-

that-I-could-even-take-off-my-top cars'; *Signorina Ho-un'-opinione-su-tutto*, 'Miss I-have-an-opinion-about-everything'; *Di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio*, 'The don't-even-think-about-it one').<sup>46</sup>

Examples of blending compounds are found in the movies MG1 and TC. A case in point is "Mathletes" ("mathematics" + "athletes") which becomes *Matleti* (*matematica*, 'mathematics' + *atleti* 'athletes') to indicate the name of a school club where students participate in maths challenges. Similarly, "fugly" ('fucking' + 'ugly') is translated as *stroia*, which results from the combination of two Italian taboo words. Another example is "Glambition" ('glamour' + 'ambition'), used as a name for a set of cosmetics produced and sold by the protagonists in the movie TC. The compound is left untranslated in the Italian version.

The second strategy with which compounds are translated is the use of affixes. An example is *caffeinomani* ('maniacs of coffee'), used in the movie TEN as a translation solution to the compound "coffee kids", which indicates a clique of students who spend most of their school day idling about at the coffee vending machine. In this case, the suffix "-mane" ('maniac') is attached to the noun "coffee" ('coffee'), and thus creatively reproduces the lifestyle of these teenagers (to be addicted to coffee, figuratively indicating an idle attitude at school).

A similar example is *intellettualoide*, used in the same movie as a translation solution to the adjectival compound "Drakkar Noir-wearing" in the expression "a Drakkar Noir-wearing dexter with a boner" used by a girl to disapprovingly describe the boys who usually attend Prom parties in American high schools. According to *The Urban Dictionary*, the word "dexter" results from the conversion of the proper noun "Dexter", which indicates any sexually attractive man. The cheap fragrance called Drakkar Noir is also conventionally associated with ideas of attractiveness (*The Urban Dictionary*). In the Italian translation, this expression is rendered as *intellettualoidi*, formed by the noun *intellettuali* ('intellectuals') + the suffix *-oidi* ('similar to'). Although the creative effect is reproduced from a formal point of view thanks to the suffix *-oidi*, the sexual innuendo is extremely toned down as the reference to male erection in the original version ("boner") is substituted with a reference to studying habits (*intellettualoidi*).

The third strategy with which compounds are translated in Italian consists in paraphrasing the compounds and achieving a creative effect on a semantic level. This is done, for example,

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<sup>46</sup> In the former hapax, the sexual innuendo of the adjective "perky" related to breast shape is toned down, and a more neutral term is used (*carina*, 'cute').



through an accumulation of informal expressions or by using idioms in unconventional ways. The accumulation of highly informal words is exemplified by *checca persa* ('wasted fag'), used in the movie CLU as a translation solution to "cake-boy", i.e., a disapproving expression indicating homosexual characters. An example of idioms used unconventionally is *allarme rosso*, an idiom corresponding to "red alert", used in the movie CLU as a translation solution to the compound "crimson wave" ('a girl's period'). It can be hypothesized that the hapax "crimson wave" is coined in analogy to "Crimson Tide", the name of a famous adventure movie released in the USA in the Nineties and distributed in Italy as *Allarme Rosso* ('Red Alert'). The central themes in the movies are war and blood, which would justify the semantic analogy with women's periods in the movie CLU.

The translation solutions described so far somewhat manage to reproduce the creative effect achieved in the original version to some extent. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, a significant proportion of compounds undergo normalization (53%). The typologies of compounds translated with this strategy are quite varied, which makes it difficult to draw generalizations. It can be noted, however, that a category which regularly undergoes normalization is made up of verbal compounds. Examples are provided in (4) and (5) drawn from the movie MG1.

(4)

CADY'S FATHER	[...] I don't know, maybe we <i>mainstream-schooled</i> you too soon. Maybe you should come back and be home-schooled again for a while.	[...] Magari <i>ti abbiamo mandato a scuola</i> troppo presto, non so... Forse dovresti ricominciare a studiare a casa.
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(5)

DAMIAN	She always looks fierce. She always wins Spring Fling Queen.	Se la tira da morire. Vince sempre il titolo di reginetta di primavera.
JANIS	Who cares?	E a chi gliene frega?

DAMIAN	I care. Every year the seniors throw this dance for the underclassmen called “The Spring Fling.” And whomsoever is elected Spring Fling king and queen automatically becomes head of the student activities committee. And since I am an active member of the student activities committee, I would say, yeah, I care.	A me. Le senior danno una festa per quelli degli altri anni, la festa di primavera, e chi è eletto re o regina praticamente diventa il capo del comitato delle attività studentesche. E visto che io sono un attivo membro del comitato delle attività studentesche, direi di sì, che mi frega.
JANIS	Damian, <i>you’ve truly out-gay’d yourself.</i>	Cazzo, Damian, <i>hai davvero superato te stesso</i> stavolta.

In example 4, the creativity of the verbal compound “mainstream-school” formed in analogy to “to home-school” is normalized with a paraphrases using standard words (*ti abbiamo mandato a scuola*, ‘we sent you to school’). In this case, the opposition between the concept of home-schooling and that of going to classes is lost. A paraphrases is also used in example 5 as a translation solution to the verbal compound “to out-gay oneself” (*hai davvero superato te stesso*, ‘you’ve done better than ever’). Literally, this expression means that the speaker has just displayed an exaggerated gay behaviour, i.e., organizing school dances and being interested in the elections for the Prom queen are indeed topics generally discussed among girls. In the Italian version, the creative effect is neutralized. The only exception might be the use of a swearword at the beginning of the utterance, but it can be considered a rather simplistic solution to translate creative language.

Before moving to affixation, the next and last category of hapaxes described in this section, two examples of normalization strategies concerning phrasal compounds are worth showing (examples 6 and 7) so that a striking difference can be perceived with the phrasal compounds translated with compensation strategies as discussed at the beginning of this section.

(6)

MANDI	[...] You know, one week in LA and I’ll be a <i>bikini-model-hyphen-reality-star-hyphen-Awesome</i> . <sup>47</sup>	[...] Datemi una settimana a Los Angeles e sarò <i>una modella di bikini e la celebrità di ogni reality!</i>
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<sup>47</sup> See footnote 33.

(7)

MASSIE  
CLAIRE

Who do you like?  
Eh... I like a lot of people.  
I like my parents, my friends...  
Not just “like.” “Like”, like, *like-*  
*more-than-a-friend like.*

Chi ti piace?  
Un sacco di persone.  
I miei genitori, i miei amici...  
Non in quel senso. *C'è qualcuno*  
*che ti fa battere il cuore?*

In both cases, the translators neutralize the creative effect achieved in the original versions. In example 5, where hyphens are uttered by the speaker, the translators resorted to noun phrases followed by prepositional phrases using standard words and expressions (*una modella di bikini e la celebrità di ogni realtà!*, ‘a model of bikinis and the celebrity of any reality’). In example 6, a verbal play is created between “like” as a verb and “like” as a discourse marker. The scriptwriter’s ‘metalinguistic awareness’ is neutralized by reformulating the whole sentence in a very conventional way (*Non in quel senso. C'è qualcuno che ti fa battere il cuore?*, ‘Not in that sense. Is there anyone who makes your heart beat?’).

#### E. Affixation

Similarly to compounds, the translation of affixes is also relatively balanced between compensation and normalization strategies (47% vs. 53%). Four main types of compensation strategies are used in Italian: (i) affixes, (ii) anglicized structures, (iii) unusual collocations, and (iv) discourse reformulation.

The use of affixes as in the original version is exemplified in (1). In this scene, the narrator is describing one of the protagonists in the movie MG2.

(1)

NARRATOR

[close-up on Hope spraying  
disinfectant all around her]

And Hope Plotkin, *hyper-*  
*hypochondriac*, who believed that  
germs led to ugliness and  
ugliness led to death.

E Hope Plotkin,  
*megasuperipocondriaca*, convinta  
che i germi causino la bruttezza  
e la bruttezza causi la morte.

The hapax “hyper-hypochondriac” is formed by attaching the prefix “hyper-” to “hypochondriac” to indicate Hope’s state of exaggerated anxiety about her health. An creative

effect is achieved through the oxymoronic combination of “hyper-” (‘more than normal’) and “hypo-” (‘under’). Irony is also conveyed by the fact that “hyper-” is typically used in medical jargon, which makes Hope’s anxiety seem quite like a serious disease. In the Italian version, an accumulation of prefixes is used (*mega + super*). Although the oxymoron between “hyper-” and “hypo-” is lost, an extremely informal tone is given to the medical term *ipocondria* (‘hypochondria’).

Another example of Italian affixes is the word *i fattoni* (roughly, ‘the stoned’) used in the movie CLU as a translation solution to “loadies” to indicate a clique of teenagers who make use of marijuana and are keen on skateboarding (see fig. 11). The word is formed by converting the verb *fare* (‘to do’) to an adjective and adding the suffix *-oni* (‘big’). The creative effect of the original version is reproduced much more faithfully in this solution compared to another occurrence of “loadies” in the same movie, which is instead translated with the standard word *i drogati* (‘the drugged’) without any other element in the co-text that can compensate for the loss of creativity.

Figure 11 Visual reference for the hapax “loadies”



Anglicized structures, the second translation solution to affixes, are found in the movie TC (see example 2).

(2)

MASSIE  
ALICIA

Eww! What are you wearing?  
What are YOU wearing? I  
thought we were going all  
Teenvogueish today.

Bleah! Che ti sei messa?  
Che ti sei messa tu! Dovevi  
vestirti Teen Vogue style.

In this dialogue, the adjective “Teenvogueish” (“Teen Vogue” + “-ish”) is used to indicate that the speaker is dressed up according to the fashion styles suggested in a magazine called *Teen Vogue*. The translators reproduce the creative effect of the original version by using the Anglicism *Teen Vogue style* in the place of its Italian corresponding syntactic structure *in stile Teen Vogue* (‘in the style of *Teen Vogue*’).

With reference to the third translation solution to affixes, unusual collocations, a case in point is “hagsville” (“hags” + “-ville”, ‘an extremely ugly woman’) used by a character in the movie CLU to comment negatively on the physical appearance of a girl. The informal suffix “-ville” functions as an intensifier boosting the evaluation. In the Italian version, an unusual collocation is also used formed by *cozza* (literally “mussel” figuratively meaning ‘ugly’) and the adjective *multipla* (‘multiple’).

The fourth translation solution to affixes, i.e., discourse reformulation, is instead used for one of the most creative hapaxes formed via affixation (see ex 3).

(3)

TAI	[Pointing to Amber] Cher, ain't that the same dress that you was wearing yesterday?	Cher, quello non è il vestito che portavi tu ieri?
CHER to AMBER	Say, Ambular?	Ambertuccia?
AMBER	Hi.	Ciao!
CHER	Was that you've been going through my laundry?	Hai frugato nella mia cesta dei panni sporchi?
AMBER	As if! Like I would really wear something from Judy's.	Che spiritosa. E poi ti sembro il tipo da indossare certi straccetti col fisico che ho?
CHER	Do you prefer “fashion victim” or “ensemble-y-challenged”?	Devo avere degli scampoli di carta igienica. Ti ci viene un cappottino.
AMBER	Aargh! [leaves]	Ah!

In this scene, the hapax “ensemble-y-challenged” is used by Cher as an insult to Amber indicating that her way of dressing is terrible. In fact, the hapax is formed in analogy to compound words indicating disabilities such as “physically challenged”. An extremely creative feature is the conversion of the noun “ensemble” into an adverb by the addition of the suffix “-y”. In the Italian version, the analogy to expressions indicating disabilities is avoided. However, the translators reformulate discourse in such a way that the loss of formal creativity

is compensated by a high degree of irony: *Devo avere degli scampoli di carta igienica. Ti ci viene un cappottino* ('I might have some toilet paper remnants. You can make a coat out of it.').

#### 4.2. Conclusions

In this chapter, the forms and functions of the hapaxes used in the English versions of the TFC were described, and the strategies adopted in their translations were analysed and discussed. The hapaxes identified in the corpus are formed with a wide range of morphological mechanisms including compounding, affixation, conversion, and variation. Among these, the occurrence of compounds is considerably predominant. Particularly, the proportion of phrasal compounds is quantitatively similar to the proportion of non-compound processes (affixes, abbreviations, and so on). These results may indicate that, with regard to morphology, film language shares common features with written varieties of language such as magazine and newspaper writing where compounds are used extensively to express complex concepts economically and concisely. Further similarities with written language also concern the use of suffixes such as “-ville”, “-fest” and “-challenged” which are considerably frequent in magazine and newspaper writing. These results support the claims made by scholars such as Chaume and Baños (2009: section 2) concerning the nature of film dialogue as a form of “prefabricated orality” where linguistic choices are carefully planned in advance rather than being created on-the-spot.

As far as translation is concerned, a cognitive stylistics approach was adopted, according to which the aim of the translation is to reproduce in the target version the same cognitive effects achieved in the original version (Boase-Beier 2004, 2011). It was assumed that the cognitive effect of hapaxes is to provide pleasure and amusement to the viewers, who perceive that a linguistic feature is foregrounded with respect to the co-text, i.e., a word, sound, or phrase is perceived as ‘different’ from conventional uses of language (Lehrer 2003; Jeffries and McIntyre 2010). For this reason, translation strategies were distinguished between compensation and normalization: in the former, unconventional language forms are used; in the latter, standard words and expressions occur.

The results of a contrastive analysis conducted on the original and translated versions of the TFC reveal that a slight majority of hapaxes are translated with normalization strategies, and

thus their creative effect is mostly neutralized, particularly in the case of words formed via variation and abbreviation (56%). This result is not interpreted as an indicator of a general lack of amusement on the part of the viewers when watching the whole movies. In fact, translation studies have long acknowledged that a stylistic effect can be reproduced in another place in the target text (among others, Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002). In the TFC, for example, humour may have been intensified elsewhere in the movies, which would compensate for the loss of the creative effect when translating hapaxes. However, this is beyond the purpose of the present study, which is instead aimed at raising awareness of the presence of hapaxes as elements that can provide pleasure and amusement to viewers if translated creatively. It is with this intention that examples of both compensation and normalization strategies were offered, which can serve as sources of inspiration for translators. Particularly, more attention may be devoted to the presence of mechanisms such as variation and abbreviation, whose creative potentials tend to be lost in the translations.

From a review of the compensation strategies adopted in the TFC, it can be noted that the creative effects achieved by hapaxes in the original versions were reproduced with the following strategies in the target versions: (i) the invention of a new word by means of the same morphological process as in the original version, (ii) the invention of a new word with other morphological mechanisms (affixes, for example, were used quite extensively), (iii) the invention of a new word by means of anglicized structures, (iv) the use of unusual collocations, (v) the use of idioms with unconventional meanings, (vi) an accumulation of informal terms, and (vii) a reformulation of the sentence by creating humour on different contents compared to the original versions. These strategies may serve as reference points to translators in order to provide creative solutions to hapaxes.

Translation strategies were also analysed in relation to the different morphological processes with which hapaxes are formed. Some translational trends were identified for each word-formation process. It was observed, for example, that compounds tend to be translated by either exploiting the same morphological mechanism as in the original version (i.e., using Italian compounds), or resorting to the morphological process of affixation. The samples of data for each word-formation process are too limited in size to reach generalized conclusions. It would be interesting to widen the corpus in order to provide quantitative data on translation

trends for each word-formation process. These data might lead to observations on the presence of translation universals on morphology.



## Chapter 5

### Analysis: focus on socio-cultural issues

In the previous chapter, the translation of hapaxes was dealt with from a formal point of view. Several patterns were identified as translation solutions reproducing in the target versions the creative effects achieved by hapaxes in the original versions, e.g., the use of unconventional collocations and informal expressions. This chapter investigates the translation of hapaxes from a different perspective. The focus is instead on the socio-cultural meanings encoded in the formal patterns identified in the previous chapter, which contribute to constructing a portrayal of youth culture. In fact, numerous hapaxes contain references to potentially disturbing subjects such as sexual references, drug consumption, and violence. Therefore, an analysis of the strategies adopted in their translations may offer insights into the models of individual and group identity construction to which adolescents are exposed and to which they tend to conform (Ferro and Sardo 2008; Driscoll 2011).

Section 5.1 is devoted to the description and discussion of the results obtained from a contrastive analysis of the original and translated versions. In section 5.1.1, hapaxes are described in relation to the socio-cultural meanings conveyed. In section 5.1.2, the strategies adopted in the translations of hapaxes are examined according to two parameters: mitigation and explicitation. The references to potentially disturbing subjects are toned down in mitigation, while they are maintained in explicitation. The strategies adopted are also discussed in relation to film censorship and legislation regarding minors in the USA and Italy. Section 5.2 offers some final considerations as a wrap-up of the results obtained in this chapter.

#### 5.1. Results and discussion

##### 5.1.1. Socio-cultural themes encoded in hapaxes

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.3), translation is never neutral, as it always implies that the translator takes decisions on how to transmit the socio-cultural values embedded in language (Lefevere 1992; Hermans 1999). Translation strategies contribute to forming or reinforcing the readers' ideas of those values, which makes translators comparable to creative

artists and politicians for their power to influence and shape culture (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). Within this framework, the translation of hapaxes is not limited to the reproduction of creative effects from a formal point of view, as illustrated in the previous chapter. Since creativity is an act of subjectivity, translating hapaxes also entails decisions on how to re-write that subjectivity from a socio-cultural point of view.

Based on these assumptions, hapaxes with a socio-cultural relevance were selected from the sample of items analysed in the previous chapter (N=19). Specifically, the selected hapaxes contain references to sensitive subjects such as sexual intercourse, gender identity, and drug consumption. Most of these are combined with strong language.

The hapaxes pertaining to sexual references mostly have the function of insulting the addressee, e.g., “slut-faced”, “skunk-bitch”, “skeeze”. Others ironically refer to the sexual activities actually performed by the addressee, e.g., “boinkfest”, “make-out spots”. Finally, in some cases references to gender identity are made. This is the case of words referring to homosexual characters, clearly as insults, e.g., “cake-boy”, “friend-of-Dorothy”, “to out-gay oneself”. Sexual references are not limited to hapaxes, but are rather a leitmotiv in the dialogues among teenagers across all the films. In some scenes, the characters are briefly shown while kissing or fondling, even though never with scenes of nudity. Not surprisingly, it can be noted that visual references to sex are predominant in the movies released in recent years (MG1, MG2) compared to those released in past decades (CLU, TEN). This may be interpreted as an indicator of a higher degree of licentiousness in moral codes in the Twenty-first century with respect to the Nineties.

The hapaxes pertaining to drug consumption have the function of naming cliques of teenagers who often make use of marijuana, e.g., “loadies”, “burn-outs”. Visual images and bodily actions play a major role, as the characters referred to as “loadies” or “burn-outs” are often shown while acting in bizarre ways, clearly as a consequence of their consuming drugs. In the movie CLU, for example, a character named Travis suddenly attempts to escape the classroom through the window. Similarly, in the movie MG2 a girl laughs compulsively while staring at a fork in the school cafeteria. References to drug consumption are not limited to hapaxes. Drugs and actions related to them such as cocaine, crack, and drug dealers are also mentioned in the movies, even though used ironically and with no visual references.

### 5.1.2. Translation strategies adopted

The presence of the sensitive subjects described in the previous section is consistent with the nature of the movies included in the TFC, rated by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) as not suitable to general audiences. The MPAA is a committee in charge of the supervision of motion pictures, home video, and television industry in the USA, providing information to parents for monitoring the vision of audiovisual products on the part of children. Film distributors and producers may submit their films to the MPAA and have them rated according to the categories listed in Table 5.<sup>48</sup>

Table 5 Film rating system in the USA according to the MPAA

Rating	Meaning
General Audiences (G)	Contains nothing that would offend parents for viewing by children
Parental Guidance Suggested (PG)	May contain some material parents might not like for their young children
Parents strongly cautioned (PG-13)	Some material may be inappropriate for pre-teenagers
Restricted (R)	Contains some adult material. Parents are urged to learn more about the film before taking their young children with them
No one 17 and under admitted (NC-17)	Clearly adult. Children are not admitted.

As far as the TFC is concerned, the movies TEN, CLU, MG1, and MG2 (the former produced by Touchstone Pictures, and the others by Paramount) were certified as unsuitable to under 13; TC (produced by Alloy Entertainment) was rated as suitable to all but with parental guidance.

In Italy, movies can be broadcast publicly provided a certification called *nullaosta* is released by the Ministry of Italian Performing Arts in accordance with the Revision Commission (law 161/62).<sup>49</sup> Before being allowed to circulate within the country, a movie is categorized as one of the following options:

- Suitable for all;
- Unsuitable for under 14;

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<sup>48</sup> See the MPAA website: <http://www.mpa.org/film-ratings/>, last accessed December 2015.

<sup>49</sup> For the original file, see: [http://www.aesvi.it/cms/attach/ricerca\\_su\\_censura\\_cinematografica\\_alcool\\_e\\_tabacchi.pdf](http://www.aesvi.it/cms/attach/ricerca_su_censura_cinematografica_alcool_e_tabacchi.pdf), last accessed December 2015.

- Unsuitable for under 18;
- Unsuitable for all.

The producers or distributors who want to obtain a more favourable classification can modify the movie and submit it again to the Commission, e.g., by cutting scenes or reformulating dialogues.

The movies included in the TFC were released in DVD format and, subsequently, broadcast on television.<sup>50</sup> There are some contradictions between the certifications applied in the Italian TV versions and the English DVD versions. Table 6 displays the typologies of certification attributed to the movies. The red cells indicate that the movie is rated as unsuitable to general audiences (e.g., unsuitable to under 13). The yellow cells indicate that the movie is suitable to all but with parental guidance. The green cells indicate that the move is suitable to all.

Table 6 US vs. Italian parental guidance certifications for the movies in the TFC

Film	American DVD versions	Italian version - <i>SKY</i>	Italian version - <i>MTV</i>	Italian version - <i>Mediaset</i>
CLU			-	-
TEN			-	-
MG1				-
TC		-	-	
MG2			-	-

As can be seen from the table, the movies TEN, CLU, and MG2 have the same certifications as the original versions (unsuitable to general audiences). The movies TC and MG1 are provided with a different certification with respect to the US versions. TC is suitable to all but with parental guidance in the USA, whereas it is suitable to all in Italy (*Mediaset* channel). MG1 is unsuitable to the under 13 in the USA, whereas it is suitable to all in Italy (*MTV* channel).

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.3), a tendency was identified among Italian dubbing translators operating in the Seventies to toning down potentially disturbing subjects and diluting taboo words in teen movies (Zanotti 2012). It was hypothesized that the purpose is “to make the films acceptable to both the board of censors and the Italian audience, while at the same time making them more palatable for the local market in order to ensure large

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<sup>50</sup> Distributors are Universal Pictures Italia for CLU, MG1, and MG1, Buena Vista International for TEN, and Warner Home Video for TC.

profits” (Zanotti 2012: 366). A contrastive analysis conducted on the original and translated versions of the TFC revealed a different trend, as in these cases the language is rarely toned down. References to sex, drugs, and violence are mostly maintained, often combining with strong language. Charts 6-7 display the trends in the translation of hapaxes according to two strategies: mitigation and retention. The references to potentially disturbing topics or the use of taboo words are toned down with mitigation, while in retention they are maintained with the same intensity as in the original version.

Chart 6 Translation trends for sensitive subjects in the TFC hapaxes

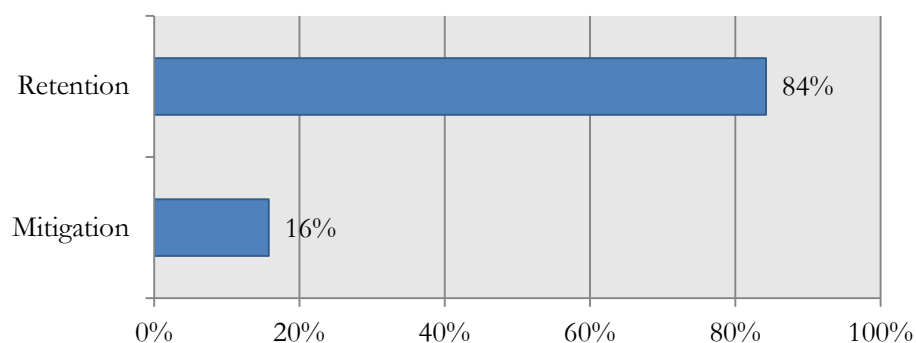
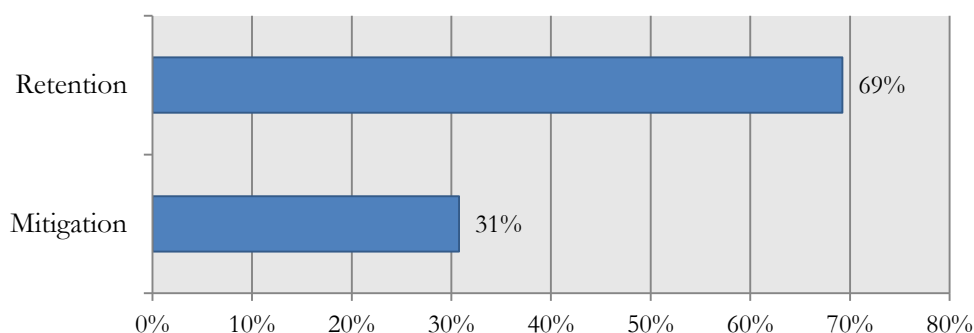


Chart 7 Translation trends for strong language in the TFC hapaxes



As can be seen from the charts, references to potentially disturbing subjects are maintained in the translation of the large majority of hapaxes (84%), whereas they are toned down in only 16% of them. Moreover, most of the hapaxes include strong language (69%), which is toned down in only 31% of cases.

The tendency towards the explicitation of sensitive subjects is not limited to the translation of hapaxes. By means of the methodology described in chapter 3 based on the semantic annotation of the movies, it can be noted that retention is a privileged strategy in the overall corpus when sensitive subjects are dealt with. In what follows, examples of translation strategies are provided for each of the following subjects:

- A. Sexual references;
- B. Gender identity;
- C. Drug consumption;
- D. Violence.

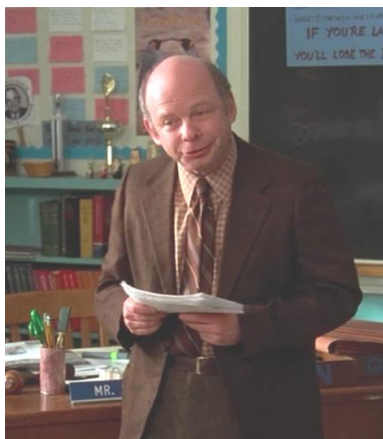
#### A. Sexual references

The dialogue in (1) exemplifies how sexual references are translated with retention strategies. In this scene drawn from the movie CLU, Cher and Dionne are commenting on their teacher, Mr Hall, who is portrayed as a loner in the movie (see Fig. 12). Their goal is to find a girlfriend for him in order to make him happier, and thus increase his propensity for giving good marks to his students.

(1)

CHER	<p>[close-up on Mr Hall walking by himself]</p> <p>Here's the four one one on Mister Hall. He's single, he's fourty-seven, and he earns minor ducats for a thankless job. <i>What that man needs is a good healthy boinkfest.</i></p>	<p>Servizio informazioni sul Signor Hall. Single, quarantasette anni, guadagna quattro soldi per un lavoro infame. <i>Conclusione: avrebbe bisogno di farsi una sana scopata.</i></p>
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Figure 12 Visual characterization of Mr Hall related to the hapax “boinkfest”



In this case, the reference to sexual intercourse is maintained through an explicit rendering of the source text, i.e., the use of an Italian taboo word indicating the physical activity of sex (*una sana scopata*, ‘a healthy fuck’).

A tendency towards retention in the translation of sexual references is not limited to hapaxes. An analysis of other words in the corpus pertaining to the semantic category S3.2 (Intimate/sexual)<sup>51</sup> reveals that phrases such as “sleeping with someone” or “having sex with someone” are translated with literal renderings, while mitigation strategies are rarely used. In some cases, references to obscenities are even added in the Italian versions. An example is provided in (2) drawn from the movie MG1, rated as unsuitable to the under 13 in the USA and broadcast in Italy as suitable to all. In this dialogue, Regina helps Cady dismiss a boy named Jason who has been bothering her.

(2)

REGINA	<i>Do you wanna have sex with him?</i>	<i>Te lo vuoi scopare per caso?</i>
CADY	No, thank you.	No, grazie.
REGINA to JASON	Good. So it's settled. So you can go shave your back now. Bye, Jason.	Bene, ora è tutto chiaro. Puoi tornare sul tuo albero allora. Addio, Jason.

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 3 (section 3.3) for more information on corpus annotation.

Here the expression “do you wanna have sex with him” is rendered with a more vulgar solution (*te lo vuoi scopare?*, ‘do you want to fuck him?’). The solutions in (1) and (2) definitely clash with those analysed by Zanotti (2012) in teen movies released in the Seventies, where references to sexual intercourse were mostly subject to mitigation strategies. In *American Graffiti* (1973), for example, taboo expressions such as “screw around” were translated as *limonare* (‘kissing’), and the act of having sex was not even mentioned (Zanotti 2012: 357).

The dialogue in (3) exemplifies one of the few cases where mitigation strategies are used in the TFC when sexual references occur. In this scene, Chastity is blaming her friend, Mandi, for having informed the school principal of the places in the school building where she usually swaps intimacies with her boyfriend.

- (3)
- |          |   |  |
|----------|---|--|
| CHASTITY | How could you do that?  | Come hai potuto farlo?   |
| MANDI    | Do what?  | Fare cosa?   |
| CHASTITY | <i>Rat out all of my make-out-spots!</i> You're the only one I told, Mandi. | <i>Spifferare tutti i miei luoghi di pomicio!</i><br>L'avevo detto solo a te, Mandi. |

In this case, the reference to the character’s sexual activity (“make-out-spots”) is translated with an expression that is similar to the original version, as it is not sexually strong (*luoghi di pomicio*, ‘the places of the make-out’). Surprisingly, this solution devoid of vulgar language is used in the movie MG2 rated as suitable to children with parental guidance, whereas vulgar language is instead used in MG1 rated as suitable to general audiences.

Strikingly different choices from those adopted by translators in the Seventies also concern the theme of virginity. While Zanotti (2012) found that allusions to virginity are kept as implicit as possible in the dubbed versions of movies such as *Grease* (1978), markedly explicit solutions are instead used in the TFC. In the movie MG1, for example, rated as suitable to all in Italy, the status of girls as virgins is mentioned as a weak point similarly to physical traits such as obesity (see ex. 4).

- (4)
- |       |                                  |  |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|
| KAREN | Dawn Schweitzer is a fat virgin. | Dawn Schweitzer è una grassa verginella. |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|



In the Italian version, the derogatory connotation of being a virgin is maintained with the same degree of retention, i.e., *Dawn Schweitzer è una grassa verginella* ('Dawn Schweitzer is a fat virgin').

Another difference with the findings emerged from the studies of filmic teen talk in the Seventies concerns the relationship between rough language and gender roles. While in the dubbed versions of movies such as *Grease* (1978) the girls' rough language is often toned down (Zanotti 2009), in the TFC most girls tend to be linguistically unrestrained (see ex. 5).

(5)

REGINA	<i>This girl is the nastiest skunk-bitch I've ever met. Do not trust her. She is a fugly slut!</i>	<i>Questa ragazza è la più schifosa, stronza, puttana che abbia mai conosciuto. Non vi fidate di lei. È una grandissima stroia.</i>
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Taboo words and overt references to the girls' sexual activity are translated with extremely explicit solutions resorting to Italian taboo words (*stronza*, 'bitch', *puttana* 'whore', *troia* 'whore'). It should be reminded that the movie MG1 is rated as suitable to all in Italy.

## B. Gender identity

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.1), an analysis carried out by Ranzato (2012) on Twenty-first-century TV series revealed that the references to homosexuality tend to be omitted or altered in series such as *Six Feet Under*, in favour of a view of life where heterosexuality is still a dominant value. Moreover, Ranzato (2012) and Sandrelli (2016) noted that the range of lexical expressions used in the Italian versions to refer to homosexuality is less varied than in English. This was interpreted as an indicator of the fact that the acceptance of homosexuality as an ordinary phenomenon has evolved more slowly in the Italian culture:

The lack of an Italian vocabulary that is rich in homosexual terms of common usage is an objective obstacle for the translator, and it also reveals to what extent issues related to homosexuality are still closeted in Italy and struggle to come out into the open in their own speaking terms (Ranzato 2012: 382).

In the TFC, the references to gender identity are mostly maintained in the Italian versions. The only exception is the hapax "to out-gay oneself", which is among the most creative hapaxes in

the corpus. As it can be deduced from the dialogue in ex. 6, “to out-gay oneself” means that the character displays exaggeratedly stereotyped gay behaviours (i.e., he is talking about school dances, as girls usually do).

(6)

DAMIAN	Every year the seniors throw this dance for the underclassmen called “The Spring Fling.” And whomsoever is elected Spring Fling king and queen automatically becomes head of the student activities committee. And since I am an active member of the student activities committee, I would say, yeah, I care.	A me. Le senior danno una festa per quelli degli altri anni, la festa di primavera, e chi è eletto re o regina praticamente diventa il capo del comitato delle attività studentesche. E visto che io sono un attivo membro del comitato delle attività studentesche, direi di sì, che mi frega.
JANIS	Damian, <i>you've truly out-gay-ed yourself.</i>	Cazzo, Damian, <i>hai davvero superato te stesso stavolta.</i>

In the Italian version, no creative expressions are used and a very standard solution occurs (*hai davvero superato te stesso*, ‘you’ve done better than ever’). The lack of any attempts to reproduce the creativity of the original expression may be related to the assumption of Ranzato (2012) and Sandrelli (2016) that the Italian vocabulary is limited when dealing with homosexuality.

Another quite interesting dialogue was found in the movie CLU, where Murray is revealing to Cher that the boy she likes is gay (see ex. 7).

(7)

CHER	Dee, I almost had sex with him.	Ti rendi conto che stavo per andarci a letto insieme?
MURRAY	You almost had sex with who?	Con chi? Posso sapere?
CHER	Christian.	Christian.
DIONNE	[Murray laughs] What?	Perché ridi?
MURRAY	Yo, look! Are you bitches blind or something? Your man, Christian, is a <i>cake-boy!</i>	È pazzesco! Ma voi due per caso siete diventate cieche? Quel Christian è <i>una checca persa.</i>
CHER/DIONNE	A what?	Che cosa?
MURRAY	<i>He's a disco-dancing, Oscar Wilde-reading, Streisand ticket-holding friend-of-Dorothy...</i> You know what I'm saying?	<i>Balla la disco music, legge Oscar Wilde, va sempre ai concerti della Streisand e frequenta i bagni turchi.</i>
CHER	Uh huh. No way.	No, non è vero.
MURRAY	He's gay.	È gay.

CHER	Not even.	Ah, figurati.
MURRAY	Yes, even.	Figurati tu.

In this dialogue, several hapaxes are used as synonyms to “homosexual”. *Checca persa* pertains to common usage in Italian, roughly corresponding to “wasted fag”. *Balla la disco music* (‘he dances disco music’), *legge Oscar Wilde* (‘he reads Oscar Wilde’), and *va sempre ai concerti della Streisand* (‘he always goes to see Streisand’s concerts’) heavily rely on the source text as if they were literal calques. Particularly, culture-specific stereotypes are maintained such as the references to favourite celebrities among gays (i.e., Oscar Wilde and Barbra Streisand), which are not substituted with Italian cultural equivalents. It may be hypothesized that a sense of detachment is achieved towards homosexuality as a phenomenon pertaining to other cultures. Finally, *frequenta i bagni turchi* (‘he visits Turkish baths’) indicates the old-fashioned stereotype of the relationship between being homosexual and visiting Turkish baths. This may have been deliberately used to reproduce the old-fashioned flavour of the expression “friend-of-Dorothy”, which dates back to the Thirties.<sup>52</sup>

### C. Drug consumption

Similarly to sexual references and gender identity, drug consumption is another socio-cultural area where translation solutions tend towards retention, even in movies such as MG1 rated as suitable to all in Italy. Examples 8-10 show how hapaxes referring to drugs are maintained in the Italian versions. In these scenes, the speakers are referring to a social clique made up of teenagers who often smoke marijuana, i.e., the so-called “loadies” or “burn-outs”. Examples 8-9 are drawn from the movie CLU. Example 10 is drawn from MG1.

(8)

CHER	[pointing to boys wearing extra-large clothes, lying on the grass with guitars, skateboards and cigarettes] <i>Loadies</i> generally hang on the grassy knoll over there. Sometimes they come to class and say bonehead things, and	<i>I drogati</i> di solito si ritrovano sull'erba. Quando vengono in classe dicono talmente tante idiozie che ti fanno ridere,
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<sup>52</sup> Dorothy is the protagonist of the movie *The Wizard of Oz*. The actress who played Dorothy is Judy Garland, a favourite celebrity among gays.

	we all laugh, of course. But no respectable girl actually dates them.	ma le ragazze per bene non escono certo insieme a loro.
(9)		
TAI	Wow, a party!	Bello! C'è una festa.
CHER	It's in the Valley. The cops usually break them up in less than an hour, and it takes that long to get there.	Ah, è nella Valley. Di solito la polizia gli fa chiudere la bottega dopo neanche un'ora.
DIONNE	<i>And besides, it's just local loadies.</i>	<i>E poi ci vanno solamente quelli fumati.</i>
(10)		
JANIS	Here. [handing her a map] This map is gonna be your guide to North Shore. Now, where you sit in the cafeteria is crucial because you got everybody there. You got your freshmen, ROTC guys, preps, JV jocks, [...]	Tieni. Questa mappa sarà la tua guida a North Shore. Il posto dove ti siedi a mensa è cruciale perché ci sono tutti. Ci sono le matricole, i barramentari, i pre-universitari, i palestrati pompati, [...]
JANIS	[close-up on a girl staring at her fork while laughing compulsively] <i>burn-outs,</i>	<i>i fattoni,</i>

The reference to drug consumption is maintained with either very transparent expressions such as *i drogati* ('the drugged people') and *i fumati* ('the smoked people') or creative ones such as *i fattoni* ('the stoned people'). As can be seen in the comments provided in square brackets, close-ups are made on the teenagers in question while they behave in odd ways. Figure 13, for example, is the close-up appearing in correspondence with the dialogue in (10), where a 'burn-out' girl is laughing compulsively at the school cafeteria. The choice to maintain the references to drugs lets the viewers understand the reasons behind that odd behaviour (i.e., drug consumption).

Figure 13 Visual reference for the hapax “burn-outs”



References to drug consumption in the TFC are maintained in the translated versions even when no visual references are shown on screen. A case in point is the dialogue in (11) drawn from the movie MG1. In this scene, the speakers are discussing their plan to get a girl named Gretchen to reveal weak points about the life of a third person named Regina, whom they hate.

(11)

JANIS	<i>We gotta crack Gretchen Wieners. We crack Gretchen, and then we crack the lock on Regina's whole dirty history.</i>	Gretchen Wieners deve fare crac. Se Gretchen, and then <i>we crack the lock</i> on Gretchen <i>fa crack</i> , allora <i>fa crack</i> anche il lucchetto dei segreti di Regina.
DAMIAN	Say “ <i>crack</i> ” again...	Ripeti di nuovo “ <i>crac</i> ”...
JANIS	<i>Crack.</i>	<i>Crack.</i>
DAMIAN	[Nodding]	[Annuisce]
JANIS	All right, let’s reconvene tonight.	Va bene, rivediamoci stasera.

Here, the dialogue revolves around the homophones “crack” as a verb and “crack” as a noun, the former figuratively indicating the act of disclosing one’s secrets, and the latter indicating a type of drugs. When Damian asks Janis to “say ‘crack’ again”, he implicitly lets the viewers deduce that he likes the sound of that word, and thus he probably makes or wants to make use of that drug. In this case, no visual references to drug-related behaviours occur. Despite this, the Italian translators maintain the joke based on the same semantic contents as in the original versions.

#### D. Violence

Another linguistic category with socio-cultural relevance in the TFC is made up of references to violent behaviours, even though no examples are found in the sample of hapaxes. Similarly to the other semantic categories mentioned so far, mitigation is not the predominant strategy in the corpus. On several occasions, violent behaviours are translated with extremely explicit solutions. A case in point is ex. 12 drawn from the movie TC, where Massie is threatening to kill her friend, Claire, because the latter acted in a way she does not like. Naturally, violence is only mentioned in abstract terms, as no murders are committed in the movie.

(12)

MASSIE	Claire Lyons, <i>I'm gonna kill you!</i>	Claire Leoni, <i>domani ti strangolo!</i>
--------	--	---

In the Italian version, the reference to violence is translated very explicitly by resorting to the action of strangling (*domani ti strangolo*, “tomorrow I’ll strangle you”). Differently than in (12), no mitigation occurs in this case.

In the TFC, not only do the translators use explicit solutions, but they also add references to violence when these do not occur in the source text. A case in point is provided in (13) drawn from the movie MG1. In this scene, Kevin and his team have just won a maths challenge, and received new jackets as a prize. Proud of their prize, they are now heading to Spring Fling, the school party.

(13)

KEVIN	[looking to his jacket] We're gonna look so kick-ass in these when we roll into Spring Fling.	Stiamo da paura. <i>Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa.</i>
-------	--	---

In this case, an ironical reference to death is used in the translated version, although this is not used in the source text, i.e., *Stiamo da paura. Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa* (‘We look so cool. We’ll make them all die at the party!’). An even more controversial addition of violent language is provided in (14) drawn from the movie TC, rated as suitable to all in Italy. The speakers are

the most popular girls in the school, and they are singing a song with the purpose to criticize a girl they hate.

(14)

POPULAR GIRLS		
[making a L with the fingers of one hand]	Loser, loser,	Lutto, lutto,
POPULAR GIRLS		
[making a L with the fingers of both the hands]	double loser,	doppio lutto,
POPULAR GIRLS		
[making a W with the fingers of their hands]	whatever,	c'è
POPULAR GIRLS		
[raising a hand with the palm facing the viewers]	as if,	una foto
POPULAR GIRLS		
[making a gesture as if they were framing their faces]	get the picture,	sulla lapide, è la
POPULAR GIRLS		
[tossing their hair over the shoulder]	duh!	tua!

The song is made up of trendy expressions typically used among young people (“loser”, “double loser”, “Whatever”, “As if”, “Get the picture”, “Duh”). Each one is uttered while making a related gesture, as indicated in square brackets (see, for example, Fig. 14).

Figure 14 Gesture related to “whatever” in TC



In the Italian version, the song becomes *lutto, lutto, doppio lutto, c'è una foto sulla lapide, è la tua!* (“Sorrow, sorrow, double sorrow. There is a photo on the gravestone. It’s yours!”). In order to achieve coherence between the verbal and visual items, a radically different content emerges compared to the original version. The words and formulas pertaining to teen speech are substituted with words and expressions concerning death and gravestones. *Lutto* (‘sorrow’) begins with the letter L, which justifies the L-gesture used for “loser”. Moreover, the idea of a

photo on the gravestone is supposed to justify the speakers' gesture of putting a frame around their faces.

### 5.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, the translation of creative words was analysed from a socio-cultural point of view. In fact, consistently with cultural approaches to translation, the semantic choices adopted in the translation of hapaxes play a central role in constructing images of the target culture (Lefevere 1992; Hermans 1999; Toury 1995 [2012]; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). The present study focuses on filmic teen speech, exemplifying how the translation of hapaxes produces insights into the portrayal of youth culture. For this purpose, the analysis focused on the hapaxes occurring in the TFC and containing references to potentially disturbing subjects such as sexual references, gender identity, drug consumption, and violence. These items were examined according to two types of translation strategies: mitigation and retention. References to sensitive subjects are toned down in mitigation, while they are maintained in retention.

A contrastive analysis of the source and target versions revealed that the large majority of hapaxes referring to sensitive subjects are translated via retention (84%) and the use of strong language is mostly maintained (69%). By means of a semantic annotation of the corpus (see chapter 3), the analysis of hapaxes was integrated with an analysis of further occurrences of sensitive topics in the corpus, in order to verify whether the trends identified for hapaxes are in line with the translation strategies adopted in the entire corpus. The tendency towards retention was confirmed. As a result, the language used in the movies comprised in the TFC contributes to producing an image of the youth as particularly licentious and unrestrained.

Examples of retention strategies were provided for the translation of several potentially disturbing topics, i.e., sexual references, gender identity, drug consumption, and violence. The translation solutions adopted in the TFC were compared to those analysed by Zanotti (2012) in a corpus of teen movies released in the Seventies, where mitigation strategies were markedly predominant. Striking differences particularly concern the category of sexual references, where a wide range of taboo words and overt allusions to sexual intercourse are exploited in the translated versions. Another semantic area where potentially interesting results emerged is violence among teenagers, as several references to violent behaviours were added in the Italian



versions, even though these did not occur in the original English version. These findings may be interesting for translators working with juvenile dialogue in order to bear in mind the importance of their choices when dealing with controversial topics, which may lead to potential behavioural influences and the creation of dangerous cognitive schemata.

According to Lefevere (1985), translational choices are often the result of the norms imposed by patronage rather than the sensitivity of translators as human beings. In the case of movies, patronage can be identified in the film industry consisting of producers and distributors acting on the basis of marketing strategies. It can easily be deduced that the ultimate purpose is to make their products palatable to the competent bodies in charge of supervision, and thus reach an audience that is as wide as possible. Within this framework, the tendency towards the mitigation of sensitive topics in the Seventies was interpreted by Zanotti (2012) as a choice catering for the relatively sober moral codes of the times.

Based on this discussion, the findings emerged from the analysis of language in the TFC were discussed in relation to the censorship certifications applied to the movies for establishing age restrictions on their vision. The age limitations imposed in the Italian TV versions are not always coherent with the ratings applied to the original American DVD versions. This is particularly the case of the movie MG1, permeated with taboo language, yet broadcast in the afternoon time band on *MTV Italia* channel. Similarly, the movie TC was rated as suitable for all under parental guidance in the USA, but suitable for all with no restrictions in Italy (broadcast on *Mediaset*). These facts contribute to highlighting how moral codes have changed with respect to past decades in Italy.

## **PART III**

### **A SURVEY OF VIEWER PERCEPTION**

## Chapter 6

### The perception test

In the previous chapters, the translation of language creativity used in movies was investigated from the point of view of the author. In this chapter, the analysis is carried out from a different perspective, i.e., the point of view of the audience. For this purpose, a questionnaire was administered to a sample of viewers in order to collect empirical information on how they react to the translation solutions analysed in the previous chapters.

As described in chapter 2, the research methodology based on viewer perception surveys has only recently been inaugurated in audiovisual translation studies with the aim to give a voice to the audience, whose opinions have largely been neglected by researchers so far (Chiaro and Antonini 2005, 2009; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Antonini 2008). Within this framework, viewer perception surveys function as customer satisfaction feedback on the translation service.

The need to investigate the opinions of the audience is not only advocated in the area of translation studies. As mentioned in chapter 1, its importance was also highlighted in the broader field of applied linguistics. Based on the assumption that the reactions of listeners are fundamental for the development of conversation, scholars such as Carter (2004) stressed the importance of examining not only the perspective of the speaker, but also that of the listener. This brings about a shift in the research focus from the *producer* towards the *receiver* in a language exchange.

Within this framework, this chapter describes the survey created for the present study. Section 6.1 describes the structure of the questionnaire including the materials used, the type of questions posed, and the modality with which the participants were recruited. Section 6.2 is devoted to the presentation and discussion of the results obtained. Section 6.3 offers some final considerations as a wrap-up of the chapter.

#### 6.1. Survey design and administration

The data on viewer perception were collected by means of an online questionnaire, a tool originally used by researchers such as Antonini and Chiaro (2005, 2009), the promoters of

viewer perception studies in audiovisual translation research (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2). According to the scholars, web technology rather than paper-based surveys makes the procedure less time-consuming and reduces the risk of human errors. The questionnaire was created with *Polldaddy*, an online software program developed for administering surveys in the area of marketing research.<sup>53</sup> An unlimited number of questions of many different typologies can be posed, e.g., open questions, multiple choices, rankings, and ratings. Moreover, *Polldaddy* allows the users to also upload media such as video clips. This function is suitable to audiovisual translation studies, as it is possible to show some scenes drawn from the movies of interest and pose questions about them.

The questionnaire which I created was entitled *Sondaggio sulla traduzione dei film* ('Survey on the translation of movies'), and it can be retrieved at the following link: <http://dottorato-unipi.polldaddy.com/s/sondaggio-sulla-traduzione-dei-film>. Since the movies comprised in the TFC are targeted at teenagers, it was decided that the participants in the survey should be adolescents. As mentioned in chapter 2, to date the studies on audience perception carried out in the Italian context only provide data on the adult population (over 18 years of age). This questionnaire may offer some information on the younger population.

As highlighted in the scholarly literature on questionnaire design, the method of survey administration is a fundamental step, and it should be guided by scientific principles (Boynton 2004). The criterion used in the present study is the selection of random participants attending three different types of schools in the Pisa area, i.e., *Liceo Linguistico*, IPSIA (*Istituto Professionale per l'Industria e l'Artigianato*), and *Scuola Media*. This choice is motivated by the intention to have a sample of respondents that may be representative of different profiles of teenagers in terms of socio-cultural features. The *Liceo* and IPSIA are attended by students from 14 to 18 years old. While the *Liceo* has a focus on foreign language learning, in relation to the students' ambitions of travelling and working abroad in the future, the IPSIA is centred on subjects such as mechanics and electronics, in relation to the students' ambitions of working in technical workshops. The *Scuola Media* is attended by pupils from 11 to 13 years old as part of compulsory education. In this case, teenagers' profiles are varied in terms of personal interests and lifestyles.

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<sup>53</sup> See [www.polldaddy.com](http://www.polldaddy.com).

The questionnaire was made up of four web pages structured as follows:

- Page 1: a short explanation of the aim of the questionnaire;
- Page 2: questions eliciting the participants' personal information;
- Page 3: questions eliciting the participants' preferences and habits when watching audiovisual products;
- Page 4: questions eliciting the participants' perception of the language used in the video-clips uploaded in the same page, i.e., brief scenes drawn from the movies comprised in the TFC.<sup>54</sup>

In the scholarly literature on questionnaire design, it was shown that if the survey looks appealing, response rates are likely to increase (Boynton 2004). Therefore, images and a colourful layout were used in order to enhance the participants' motivation to complete the survey. What follows is a detailed description of each page of the survey, starting from the first where the purpose of the questionnaire was explained. Since the survey was targeted at teenagers, technical terms traditionally used in linguistics were avoided, and a friendly, transparent vocabulary was used. As can be seen in Figure 15, the author introduced herself and presented the translation of movies as the main subject of the questionnaire, mentioning box office hits such as *Frozen* and the popular TV series *The Big Bang Theory* as examples that could be relevant to the participants' lives, and could thus attract their attention (Boynton 2004). Finally, the author informed the participants that the questionnaire was anonymous and that their responses would be precious contributions to her research project.

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<sup>54</sup> A primary source of inspiration for the development of this structure is the survey designed by Antonini and Chiaro (2005, 2009). As described in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.2), their survey began with a presentation of the research goals, followed by the collection of socio-demographic data, some questions on short video-clips uploaded on the same webpage, and the collection of data on the participants' habits and preferences when watching dubbed programs.

Figure 15 Viewer perception survey. First page

## Sondaggio sulla traduzione dei film

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Benvenuto/a!

Sono la Dott.ssa Debora Ciampi, lavoro all'Università di Pisa come dottoranda di ricerca in Linguistica e sono anche insegnante di Inglese nelle scuole superiori.

Come sai, molti dei film e telefilm che vedi nascono in inglese e vengono poi tradotti in italiano. Pensa, per esempio, a "Frozen" o a "The Big Bang Theory"! Sto facendo uno studio sulla qualità delle traduzioni e mi piacerebbe avere anche la tua opinione.

In questo sondaggio, breve e del tutto anonimo, ti farò alcune domande sulle tue abitudini, preferenze e impressioni sulla visione dei film. Le risposte saranno inserite nella mia tesi di dottorato e verranno utilizzate solo a scopo di ricerca.

Grazie per la preziosa collaborazione!




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Inizia il sondaggio

The second page of the questionnaire was devoted to the participants' personal information. As can be seen in Figure 16, there are two multiple-choice questions eliciting the type of school attended by the participants and their sex, followed by a yes/no question concerning their national origins.

Figure 16 Viewer perception survey. Second page

## Informazioni personali



**Q.1**    La tua scuola

- ☐ Scuola media
- ☐ Liceo
- ☐ Istituto professionale

**Q.2**    Sesso

- ☐ Femmina
- ☐ Maschio

**Q.3**    Sei di origine italiana?

- ☐ Sì
- ☐ No

The third page of the questionnaire was devoted to the participants' preferences and habits when watching audiovisual products. As Figure 17 shows, they were asked to select in a matrix the translation mode which they prefer when watching different genres such as movies, TV series, animated cartoons, documentaries, and musicals. Respondents could only choose one option per genre, choosing among Italian dubbing, subtitles in Italian, and subtitles in English. This question aimed to monitor the preferences for dubbing or subtitling among teenagers in an era when different translation modes can be accessed more easily than in the past, e.g., in

countries such as Italy where dubbing has long been predominant, TV channels such as *MTV* have recently begun broadcasting an increasing number of subtitled programmes.

The participants were also asked to answer a multiple-choice question eliciting the medium which they prefer for watching movies on the basis of five options: DVDs, Internet, TV channels, and cinema. The aim of this question was to assess to what extent teenagers are exposed to media such as the Internet or DVDs, where translated movies are often subject to little censorial intervention, as occurred with those analysed in chapter 5.

The results emerging from this section of the questionnaire could be cross-tabulated with those obtained in the first section of the survey, i.e., the participants' personal information. Potentially interesting trends might be, for example, the relationship between the participants' preferred modes of translation and their national origins, or between their preferred modes of translation and the type of school attended.

National origins might be relevant for monitoring the attitude of non-natives towards the Italian language when watching audiovisual products (i.e., their preference for either English or Italian translations). The type of school gives information about the participants' supposed command of the English language. It is of paramount importance to take this variable into account when monitoring teenagers' preferences for either dubbing or subtitling. As mentioned previously, the *Scuola media* is attended by 11-13-year-old pupils. Therefore, their mastery of the English language is presumably still limited to be able to appreciate subtitling. This may not be the case in secondary schools, where teenagers are older (14-18 years old). Particularly, a higher preference for translation modes involving the English language was expected from the students who attend the *Liceo*. The reason is that foreign language learning is the primary focus in the *Liceo Linguistico*, while it only has a secondary role in the *IPSLA*, which is instead centred on technical subjects.



Figure 17 Viewer perception survey. Third page

## Abitudini e preferenze



Q.4 Indica quale tipo di traduzione preferisci per vedere i programmi elencati sulla sinistra

	Doppiaggio in italiano	Sottotitoli in italiano	Sottotitoli in inglese
Film	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Telefilm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cartoni animati	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Documentari	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Musical	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q.5 Dove preferisci vedere i film?

- ☐ Sul DVD
- ☐ Su internet
- ☐ Sui canali TV
- ☐ Al cinema

Indietro

Continua

The fourth page of the questionnaire aimed to assess the reactions of the participants towards the translation solutions used in the movies comprised in the TFC and analysed in the previous chapters. Particularly, the aim was to assess to what extent the linguistic strategies used by the translators are perceived as *creative* by the viewers. Consistently with the cognitive stylistics approach to translation adopted in the present study (see Chapter 2), the term “creative” means that a linguistic strategy is perceived as *amusing* by the viewers.

It should be noted that to find a universally valid type of question to measure and assess the degree of creativity of linguistic items is quite controversial due to the subjective nature of creativity as a theoretical concept. In the present study, the participants were asked to watch brief scenes extracted from the movies comprised in the TFC and rank a set of elements contained in the video-clips from the most amusing to the least amusing. These elements include language and a series of distractors such as background music and clothing (see Fig. 18). For the purpose of the present study, it was assumed that if a participant ranked “language” first in scene X and second in scene Y, it meant that the language used in scene X was perceived as more creative than the language used in scene Y.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Distractors are key elements in neurolinguistic tests (Ahlsén 2006). Their role is to avoid that the respondents to the test consciously pay attention to the experimental stimulus, i.e., an independent variable of which the researcher intends to assess the effects on the participants’ behaviour (language, in this case). The purpose of the present test is not to assess whether language is more creative than background music or clothing. These elements are only used as reference points for assessing the degree of creativity of language.

Figure 18 Viewer perception survey. Fourth page

Q.7 Guarda il video e metti in ordine gli elementi qui sotto dal più divertente al meno divertente

Video



✚ Linguaggio (-"Di che gruppo è?" -"Di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio")

✚ Musica

✚ Vestiti

The scenes included in the questionnaire were chosen on the basis of two criteria. Firstly, the scenes containing hapaxes formed via morphological processes were selected, in line with the morphological focus of the present study. Secondly, the scenes containing references to potentially disturbing topics or strong language were excluded, as these elements might have influenced the participants' choices, shifting the focus from the morphological features of hapaxes towards their semantic meanings. The application of these two criteria led to the inclusion of the following categories:

- A. Italian hapaxes formed via phrasal compounding;
- B. Italian hapaxes formed via affixation.

In addition, two scenes containing standard words and expressions were also included, in order to find out whether the viewers had different reactions when hearing hapaxes or conventional language.

Two examples for each typology were included, for a total of six questions. The dialogues contained in the video-clips are reported in (1)-(6). Naturally, the language of the video-clips was Italian. In (1)-(6), the original English versions are only provided as reference points.

(1)

TEACHER to the class	I want you all to write your own version of this sonnet.	Scrivete ognuno una versione di questo sonetto.
TEACHER to KAT [as she raises her hand]	Yes, <i>Miss I-have-an-opinion-about-everything?</i>	Sì, <i>Signorina Ho-un'-opinione-su-tutto?</i>

(2)

CAMERON [on seeing Bianca]	Oh my God.	Oh, mio Dio.
BIANCA to CHASTITY	Hey.	Ciao.
CAMERON to MICHEAL	What group is she in?	Di che gruppo è?
MICHEAL	<i>The don't-even-think-about-it group.</i>	<i>Di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio.</i>

(3)

[In the school hallway]		
MICHEAL	Michael Eckman. I'm supposed to show you around.	Salve. Sono Micheal Eckman. Dovrei farti da guida.
CAMERON	Oh, hi. Thank God! You know, normally they send down one of those <i>audiovisual geeks</i> .	Oh, ciao. Grazie a Dio. Di solito mandano uno di queglii <i>intellettualoidi</i> degli audiovisivi.
MICHEAL	You know, I do. I know what you mean.	Sì, è vero. Capisco quello che vuoi dire.

(4)

In the school courtyard		
MICHEAL [pointing to boys drinking coffee]	To the left we have the <i>coffee kids</i> .	Sulla sinistra abbiamo <i>i caffeinomani</i> .

(5)

MICHEAL  
[pointing to white  
boys with  
dreadlocks and  
Jamaican berets]

These *delusionals* are the white  
rastas. They're big Marley fans.  
They think they're black. Semi-  
political, but mostly...

E gli *illusi* che vedi qui sono i rasta  
bianchi. Sono fan di Marley.  
Pensano di essere neri. Semi-  
politici, ma per la maggior parte...

(6)

BIANCA

Has the fact that you're  
completely *psycho-managed*  
escaped to your attention?

Il fatto che tu sia una *psicopatica*  
non ti dà il diritto di comportarti  
così!

As highlighted by Boynton (2004: 1372), "Questionnaires tend to fail because participants don't understand them, can't complete them, get bored or offended by them, or dislike how they look." Therefore, it is essential to pilot the survey on participants that are representative of the definitive sample. By doing so, potentially unclear elements can be adjusted. Based on this assumption, one student from each type of school was asked to answer the questionnaire before it was administered to the other teenagers.<sup>56</sup> No significant problems with question wording were identified. The next step was to ask these first participants to share the link to the survey with their schoolmates using the social network Whatsapp. The questionnaire remained open for about two weeks in February 2016.

## 6.2. The participants

A total of 59 teenagers participated in the survey. Chart 8 displays the results obtained in the section of the survey devoted to the participants' personal information. The sample of the respondents is relatively balanced in terms of the proportion between males and females, who respectively account for 56% and 44%. Due to the multicultural nature of today's Italian schools, 27% of the teenagers grew up in other countries. To survey which places the participants came from was not relevant to the purpose of the present study. To my

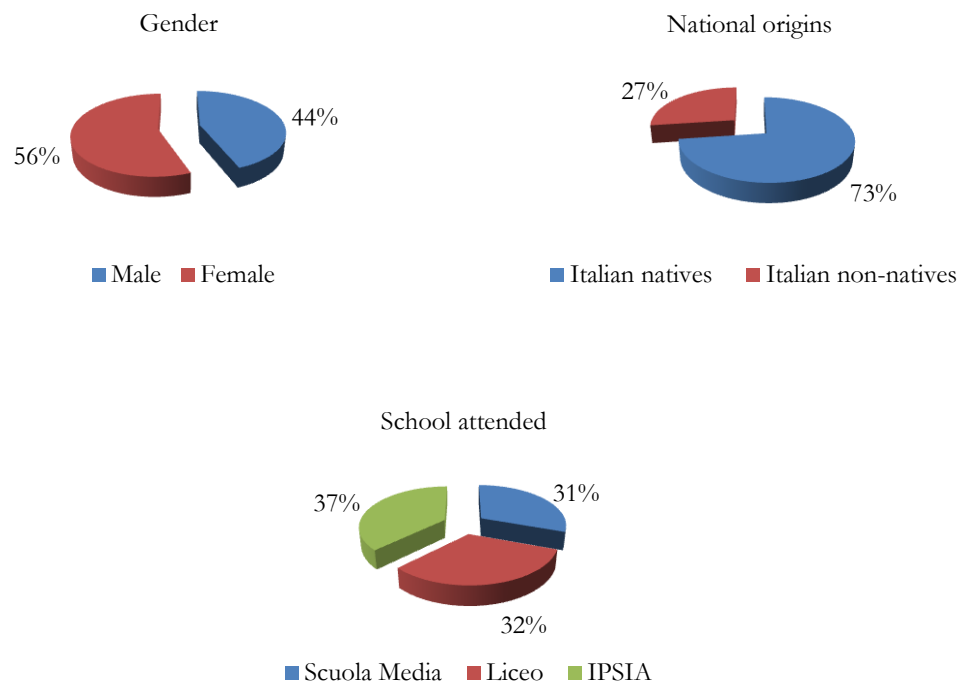
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<sup>56</sup> The teenagers who attend the IPSIA were recruited by the author, who is currently working at their school as a teacher. The teenagers who attend the other schools were recruited with the help of some colleagues of the author who are working as their teachers.

knowledge, no native speakers of English attend the schools where the survey was submitted, with the exception of some Philippine pupils from the *Scuola Media* who used to study in English-based schools before moving to Italy.

The participants are similarly distributed in the three schools. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents attend the IPSIA; 32% attend the *Scuola Media*; 31% attend the *Liceo Linguistico*. These educational profiles are representative of a varied sample in terms of age, life ambitions, and personal interests. As far as I learnt from an informal talk with the teenagers whom I asked to share the link with their schoolmates, the students from the *Liceo* are strongly oriented to moving abroad in the future, which is consistent with their choice to study in a secondary school focused on foreign language learning. Differently, most of the students from the IPSIA are strongly oriented to live and work in Italy, in line with their choice to study in a secondary school whose curriculum includes weeks of practical apprenticeship in Italian companies as mechanics, electricians, or workers in the fashion industry.

Chart 8 The participants: personal information



### 6.3. Results and discussion

In this section, the results obtained in the questionnaire on the following themes are presented:

- A. The participants' preferences and habits when watching audiovisual programmes;
- B. The participants' perception of the translation solutions used in the TFC.

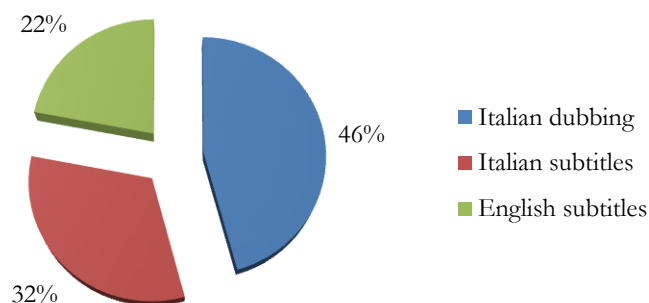
In the case (A), the results were also cross-tabulated with the participants' personal information collected in the first section of the questionnaire and dealt with in 6.2.

#### A. Preferences and habits when watching audiovisual programmes

As a first question, the respondents were asked to fill in a matrix where they had to select their preferred mode of translation for different audiovisual genres such as movies, TV series, cartoons, documentaries, and musicals. The translation modes which could be chosen were Italian dubbing, Italian subtitles, and English subtitles. Surprisingly, the totality of the participants selected the same mode of translation for all of the programmes, with no distinctions between one genre and another. There are good reasons to believe that these homogeneous answers may be due to the participants' haste in answering the question. As previously mentioned, the students were free to answer the questions voluntarily. Despite the quite large number of participants, the lack of a sense of authority in relation to the questionnaire may have caused quite a hasty attitude towards some of the questions.

As chart 9 shows, most of the participants declared that they prefer to watch audiovisual products if these are dubbed in Italian (46%). However, the number of teenagers who prefer subtitles is not insignificant: 32% have a preference for Italian subtitling and 22% prefer English subtitles. From a sum of these percentages, it can be noticed that the overall preference for subtitles even exceeds that for dubbing (54% vs. 46%).

Chart 9 Preferred translation modes when watching audiovisual programmes

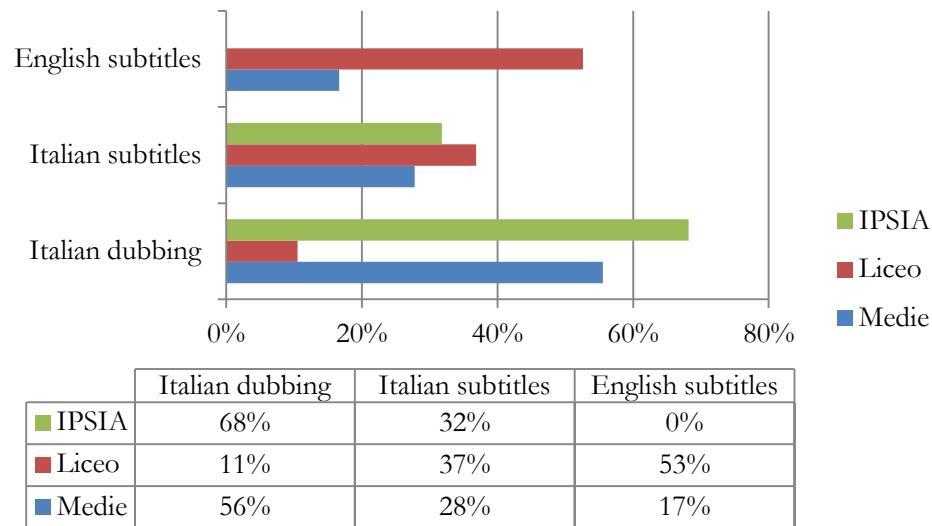


On the basis of these results, it may be hypothesized that the increasing availability of subtitled programmes on the Italian TV channels and the Internet in recent years may have favoured a positive acceptance of subtitles on the part of the new generations. This implies positive consequences on foreign language learning, as teenagers are or want to be exposed more frequently to the original movie soundtracks. However, the proportion of teenagers who do not feel at ease with subtitling is still quite considerable (46%). This counter-tendency indicates that a conservative attitude towards subtitling is still quite strong.

At this point, it was interesting to cross-tabulate the results for the preferred translation modes with the participants' personal data elicited in the first section of the survey, in order to delve into the motivations behind their preferences for either dubbing or subtitling. As chart 10 displays, most of the preferences for Italian dubbing came from the students who attend the IPSIA (68%) and the *Scuola media* (56%). Interestingly, none of the participants from the IPSIA expressed a preference for English subtitles, while most of the students from the *Liceo* did (53%). Surprisingly, some of the preferences for English subtitles also came from the *Scuola media* (17%).



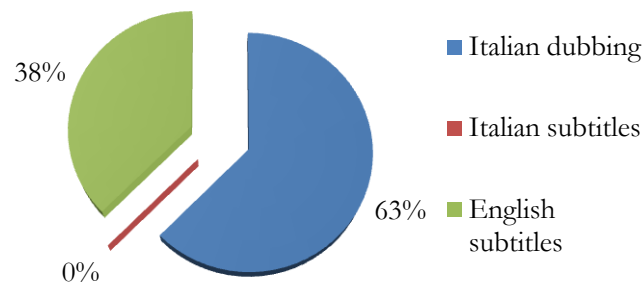
Chart 10 Preferred translation modes in relation to the type of school attended



As previously mentioned, I had some preliminary talks with the teenagers whom I asked to share the link to survey. During the talks, I informally elicited their opinions and comments on audiovisual translation. The students from the IPSIA particularly expressed a negative attitude towards English subtitles, as they argued that “it is too complicated” to make a meaning out of the plot while also trying to understand English subtitles. In other words, they argued that their cognitive effort is excessive, and this can be related to the assumption that their command of the English language is not advanced enough to be able to appreciate subtitles.

Conversely, the students from the *Liceo* affirmed that they like listening to the original movie soundtracks in order to be able to hear the actors’ English pronunciation and voice timbre. A positive attitude towards English subtitles also came from the *Scuola media*, where I was informed that some pupils of South Asian origins often watch programmes with Japanese soundtracks combined with English subtitles. This is likely to be the motivation behind the results obtained from the sample of teenagers who immigrated to Italy and therefore did not speak Italian as their first language. In fact, chart 11 shows that a good proportion of students who were not born in Italy have a preference for English subtitles (38%).

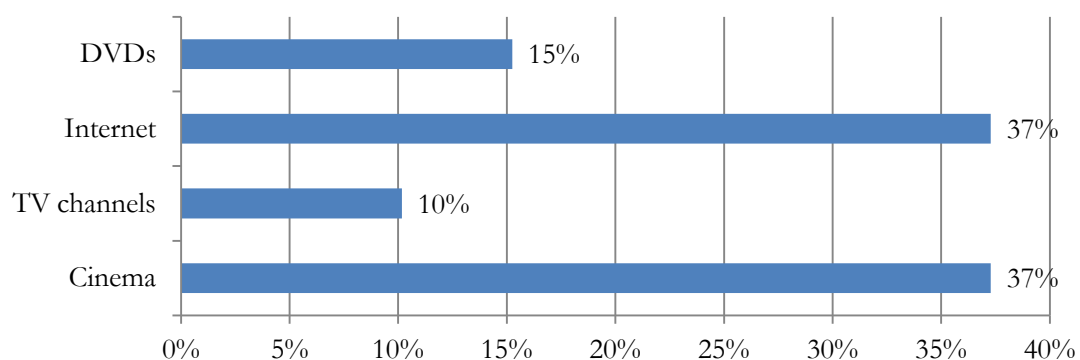
Chart 11 Preferred modes of translation in the sample of immigrated teenagers



In conclusion, it can be argued that the preference for dubbing or subtitling is relatively balanced among teenagers. This state of equilibrium is particularly significant in a country such as Italy where dubbing has long been the predominant translation mode. Particularly, the preference for dubbing or subtitling seems to be in line with the extent to which the teenagers are prone to internationalization. This feature seems to emerge from their educational careers and future job prospects, i.e., those whose plans are to live and work in Italy are quite conservative about dubbing, whereas those whose plan is moving abroad after school tend to appreciate subtitling (and thus original soundtracks).

Another question concerning the participants' preferences and habits aimed to identify the medium that is mostly used by teenagers for watching movies. As can be seen in chart 12, the majority of the respondents indicated a preference for the Internet and the cinema (both 37%). DVDs ranked third (15%), followed by TV channels which were only selected by 10% of the participants.

Chart 12 Preferred media for watching movies



These results indicate that teenagers are not only exposed to media such as the cinema, which undergo a strict censorial control and cannot avoid the application of certifications for parental guidance. High levels of exposure also concern other media such as the Internet, where the certifications for parental guidance can be easily avoided. Therefore, as was argued in the analysis of the TFC presented in chapter 5, translation choices have an extremely important role when dealing with sensitive subjects. In fact, movies can be powerful models for teenagers from the sociological, psychological, and linguistic points of view, and they can influence teenagers' cognitive, relational, and communicative growth.

#### B. The perception of the translation solutions used in the TFC

After eliciting the participants' preferences and habits when watching audiovisual products, the focus of the questionnaire shifted to language: the respondents were asked how they perceive the translation solutions used in the TFC. As previously mentioned, they had to watch some brief scenes drawn from the movies and rank a set of features contained in the video-clips from the most amusing to the least amusing. Among the features, there were language and a series of distractors such as background music and clothing. For the purposes of the present study, the position attributed by the participants to the feature "language" revealed the degree of amusement experienced by the participants when hearing the dialogue.<sup>57</sup> The results are collected in Table 7, which displays the values for the weighted rank, i.e., the average position attributed by the participants to the feature "language" with respect to the other elements. Different weighted ranks reveal different degrees of creativity, as perceived by the viewers. On a scale of 1 to 3, 1 encodes the highest perception of creativity and 3 encodes the lowest.

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<sup>57</sup> See footnote 52.

Table 7 Weighted rank values for the feature “language”

Linguistic item	Weighted rank
Phrasal compound A	1.33
Phrasal compound B	1.13
Affix A	1.72
Affix B	1.65
Conventional language A	2.63
Conventional language B	2.97

The results revealed that the Italian hapaxes formed via phrasal compounds mostly ranked first (i.e., *di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio*; *signorina ho-un’opinione-su-tutto*). This means that they were perceived as the most creative translation solutions among the ones contained in the questionnaire. Compounding is rarely used as a word-formation mechanism in Italian, and thus its unconventionality may have considerably amused the viewers. This may especially be related to the property of iconicity that is inherent in compounds, i.e., the similarity between their forms and meanings (the concatenation of a series of concepts).

After phrasal compounds, the hapaxes formed via affixation ranked second (*intellettualoidi*; *caffeinomani*). This means that they are indeed perceived as creative, but not as much as compounds. However, it can be noticed that the gap between the weighted rank values obtained for these items and those obtained for compounds is not large (e.g., 1.33 vs. 1.65). Repeating the questionnaire using different linguistic items would be necessary in order to assess whether affixation is actually a word-formation mechanism that is perceived as less creative than others, such as compounding where the property of iconicity is supposed to be stronger.

Finally, the translation solutions where conventional Italian language is used only ranked third (*gli illusi*; *una psicopatica*). Not surprisingly, the viewers were not particularly amused, since standard words and expressions were used.

These results may serve as empirical information on viewer perception, which can be taken into account by translators when dealing with language creativity. The viewers perceived a difference between the use of hapaxes and conventional language, and this can empirically validate the analysis carried out in chapter 5, where normalization and compensation strategies were distinguished. Moreover, phrasal compounds turned out to be extremely appreciated by the viewers, as they are able to produce a highly amusing cognitive effect.

## 6.4. Conclusions

This chapter presented the results of an online questionnaire administered to a sample of nearly 60 teenagers living in the Pisa area, with the aim to collect information on how they perceive the translation solutions used in the TFC, analysed in the previous chapters exclusively from the point of view of the author. These data were integrated with information on the viewers' preferences and habits when watching audiovisual products, in order to monitor contemporary trends concerning audiovisual translation in Italy.

The methodology based on viewer perception surveys can be framed within a recent approach to audiovisual translation studies which advocates the importance of customer satisfaction feedback on the translation service, implying a need to shift the research focus from scholars to the actual end-users of translated products (Antonini and Chiaro 2005, 2009; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Antonini 2008).

The structure of the questionnaire was described in details. In the first section, the participants' personal information was collected (school attended, sex, national origins). In the second section, their preferences and habits when watching audiovisual products were surveyed, i.e., their preferred translation mode (Italian dubbing, Italian subtitles, English subtitles) and their preferred medium (cinema, Internet, DVD, TV channels). In the third section, they were asked to watch some brief scenes drawn from the movies comprised in the TFC and order some features contained in the video-clips from the most amusing to the least amusing, i.e., language, clothing, and background music.

As far as translation modes are concerned, the results of the survey revealed quite a balanced preference between dubbing and subtitling. This indicates that, although the predominant translation mode in Italy has long been dubbing, today a significant proportion of teenagers also appreciate a different translation solution (i.e., subtitling). This preference may be due to the increasing number of subtitled products available on the Italian TV channels and the Internet.

Naturally, the exposure to the original English soundtracks can be beneficial to language learning in terms of listening and speaking skills. However, the survey revealed that a significant proportion of teenagers still adhere to dubbing. This sample consists particularly of the teenagers who attend secondary schools where language learning is not among the

principal subjects and whose future job perspectives do not explicitly involve travelling. This may indicate that conservative attitudes towards dubbing can be contextualized within a broader socio-economic framework where globalization, and thus the role of the English language as a *lingua franca*, still tends to be seen with suspicion in Italy.

Regarding the media with which teenagers often watch movies, the survey revealed that the Internet tops their preferences together with the cinema. On the Internet, there is the possibility to have easy access to a wide number of different movies, for which censorial interventions are not always guaranteed. Therefore, translation strategies for dealing with potentially disturbing subjects are of paramount importance because they contribute to depicting a certain image of the youth culture to which teenagers are exposed and to which they may tend to conform. An example was provided in the analysis carried out in chapter 5, where translation strategies created an image of adolescents as particularly transgressive.

Regarding the perception of the translation solutions used in the TFC, the viewers recognized that there is a difference in terms of creativity between hapaxes and conventional language, as was assumed in the analysis conducted in chapter 4. In particular, hapaxes formed via phrasal compounds were perceived as the most creative solutions, while affixes ranked second place. The higher degree of creativity acknowledged in phrasal compounds with respect to affixes may be related to their low occurrence in Italian, which makes them highly unconventional, and thus extremely amusing. It may be also hypothesized that phrasal compounds are perceived as more creative than affixes due to their iconicity, i.e., the similarity between their forms and meanings, which both result from the concatenation of a series of concepts.

These findings may be interesting for translators dealing with creative language in order to raise their awareness of the cognitive effects produced in the viewers' minds by different types of translation solutions. On the basis of this information, translators may adjust their choices and produce different types of effect, i.e., creating a dialogue that is more or less amusing to the viewers.

## Final considerations

The present study explored the strategies used to translate creative language in dubbed movies, emerging from a small parallel corpus of American movies and their Italian dubbed versions compiled by the author. The analysis was carried out on two levels, i.e., a formal perspective and a socio-cultural perspective. The formal perspective focused on the linguistic strategies adopted by translators to reproduce the same creative effects as in the original versions. The socio-cultural perspective focused on the potentially disturbing subjects encoded in creative language, e.g., references to sex, violence, and drug consumption. A survey was also carried out among a selected group of viewers to obtain empirical information on their opinions of the translation solutions used in the movies.

Since creativity may be seen as an elusive concept, several working definitions were established before proceeding with the analysis. Firstly, the definition of creativity provided by Carter (2004: 9) was adopted as a starting point, i.e., “a marked breaking or bending of the rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning”. Within this framework, related studies carried out in applied linguistics were reviewed, and the creative phenomena which can occur in speech were identified, i.e., the invention of new words, puns, the displacement of fixedness, self-repetition, and echoing (Tannen 1989; Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2004; Cook 1997, 2000; Crystal 1998; Carter 1999, 2004; Maybin and Swann 2006, 2007; Swann, Pope, and Carter 2011; Atkins and Carter 2012). Subsequently, attention was focused on the invention of new words, and several labels used in linguistics for referring to this phenomenon were discussed, e.g., neologisms, nonce-formations, hapax legomena, and slang. In the present study, the term “hapax legomena” was adopted to indicate words which are not listed in standard lexicographic sources such as *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

Hapaxes were described according to their formal and functional features. A classification of their morphological structures was articulated, drawing on the findings that emerged from theoretical studies carried out by scholars such as Bauer et al. (2013) and Mattiello (2013). The taxonomy includes both phenomena that have been traditionally studied such as affixation and compounding, and phenomena which have only recently received scholarly attention such as blends and reduplicatives, defined by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 36-41) as “extra-

grammatical” morphology because they lie outside the scope of grammar. Regarding the functional features of creativity, how hapaxes have an *underlying* function and an *immediate* function was highlighted. Their underlying function is to provide amusement to the listeners, who are engaged in a ‘game’ where they infer the meaning of the hapax through cues in the co-text and context (Leher 2003). Their immediate function is instead the contribution that the hapax provides to the illocutionary point of the utterance where it is located. The immediate functions of hapaxes are manifold and depend on situational contexts, e.g., the function of providing social closeness to the addressee by adding a tone of informality to the conversation.

From a translational point of view, it was argued that the aim of the translator is to reproduce in the target version the same cognitive effect achieved in the viewer’s mind in the original version. This assumption draws on a recent approach to translation based on the tenets of cognitive stylistics proposed by scholars such as Boase-Beier (2004, 2011). According to this approach, a similar foregrounding effect to that achieved in the original version should be produced in the target version, i.e., through the use of sounds, words, phrases, and/or clauses that are perceived as ‘different’ from the co-text.

It is on the basis of this assumption that the analysis of hapaxes in the TFC was carried out with a focus on formal features. The strategies used to translate hapaxes were distinguished into normalization and compensation. Normalization strategies neutralize the creative effect achieved in the original versions, as standard words and expressions are used. Compensation strategies reproduce the creative effect of the source version. The analysis of the TFC revealed that examples of compensation strategies are: (i) the invention of a new word by means of the same morphological process as in the original version, (ii) the invention of a new word with other morphological mechanisms (affixes, for example, were used quite extensively), (iii) the invention of a new word by means of anglicized structures, (iv) the use of unusual collocations, (v) the use of idioms with unconventional meanings, (vi) an accumulation of informal terms, and (vii) a reformulation of the sentence by creating humour with different contents compared to the original versions.

Formal features are only one concern in the translation of creativity. In addition to the reproduction of cognitive effects, another concern of the translator is how to deal with potentially disturbing subjects that may be encoded in hapaxes such as references to sex, violence, and drugs (in the case of teen speech). As argued extensively in translation studies,



the solutions adopted by translators when dealing with sensitive subjects affect the way the target culture is represented to viewers. In other words, the socio-cultural values of the source culture are generally filtered according to the ideological stances of the translator rooted in his/her mind as a member of the target culture (Lefevere 1992; Hermans 1999; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002).

In the analysis of hapaxes in the TFC, translation strategies were distinguished into mitigation and retention. Mitigation strategies tone down the potentially disturbing contents occurring in the original version. Retention strategies maintain sensitive subjects with the same intensity as in the original version instead. Several examples of both the strategies were provided in order to highlight the difference in the effects they produce, i.e., they lead to different images of youth culture. The tendency towards the mitigation of sensitive topics constructs an image of teenagers as restrained individuals. Differently, the predominance of retention strategies leads to a representation of teenagers as particularly transgressive. Translation choices are fundamental, in that audio-visual sources can provide the ideological models to which teenagers are exposed and to which they may tend to conform.

In addition to the findings that emerged from an analysis of hapaxes carried out from the author's point of view, some empirical information was provided on how viewers perceive the translation solutions adopted in the TFC. The aim was to give a voice to viewers, whose opinions have been recently regarded as essential customer satisfaction feedback on the translation service (Antonini and Chiaro 2005, 2009; Bucaria and Chiaro 2007; Antonini 2008). For this purpose, an online survey was created and administered to a sample of 13-19-year-old Italian teenagers, who were asked to indicate their perceived degree of amusement for several translation solutions adopted in the TFC.

The results revealed that the viewers recognized that there is a difference between the translation solutions where hapaxes or standard language are used. Particularly, hapaxes formed via phrasal compounding were perceived as more amusing than hapaxes formed via affixation. The reason may lie within their unconventionality in the Italian language, which makes the viewers perceive them as 'standing out' from the surrounding context. It was also

hypothesized that iconicity plays a major role, as it is stronger in phrasal compounds with respect to affixes.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to their perception of translation solutions, the teenagers' habits and preferences when watching movies were also elicited in the survey as additional information on the status of dubbing as a translation mode in the contemporary Italian scenario. The results revealed that preferences for dubbing or subtitling are quite balanced. This indicates a potential basis for a turning point in the use of translation modes in Italy, which has long been a country where dubbing was the predominant option. However, the road to an actual change in translation practices in Italy is still far away, as a considerable number of teenagers in the sample had a conservative attitude towards dubbing. In particular, the reluctance to rely on subtitling seems to be associated with a not particularly positive attitude towards globalization, and thus the use of English as a *lingua franca*, i.e., English as the language of a global community of viewers. In fact, the preferences for dubbing mostly came from the participants who are not particularly inclined to travel and work abroad, and thus do not particularly feel a sense of belonging to a globalized community of teenagers.

As previously mentioned, creativity may tend to be seen as quite a vague concept whose boundaries are blurred. For this reason, the methodology with which the analysis was carried out attempted to be as rigorous as possible through the use of working definitions, statistics, and corpus analysis tools. This is consistent with the assumptions of scholars such as McIntyre (forthc.) that objectivity is of paramount importance in a linguistic analysis in order to leave the analysis open to re-interpretation of other readers, as may occur in scientifically oriented studies. However, the attempt to achieve objectivity in the present study also involved some weak points, i.e., the subjectivity of creativity, the lack of automatic corpus tools to retrieve creative items, and the limited size of the corpus.

The subjective nature of creativity as a theoretical concept made it necessary for the author to distinguish the typologies of translation strategies on the basis of her intuition. Therefore, the statistics provided in the analysis are to be interpreted only very gingerly. It is for this

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<sup>58</sup> Iconicity refers to the similarity between the forms and meanings of phrasal compounds, i.e., a concatenation of concepts.

reason that the survey discussed in part III was undertaken, as a means to validate the analysis previously conducted exclusively from the author's point of view.

The creation of a parallel corpus definitely facilitated the contrastive analysis, as the translation-solution pairs of the hapaxes were juxtaposed in the software program *Sketch Engine*. However, manual procedures were continuously necessary due to the lack of corpus tools which are capable of retrieving creative items automatically. This may slightly weaken the objectivity of the methodology used in the study. For example, hapaxes were identified manually on the basis of their occurrence in *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Manual analysis was also necessary for finding potentially disturbing subjects in the TFC. The semantic annotation of the corpus only retrieves explicit references to the semantic categories of interest through concordances (e.g., all the sections of the corpus where the word "sex" is used). More subtle references had to be found manually, for example when sex was mentioned by allusions rather than the use of the word "sex".

Another limitation concerned the size of the corpus which consisted of nearly 100,000 running words in total. Since manual transcription was a fundamental stage in the present study, the creation of a wider corpus was not feasible in relation to the effort required by a single researcher. A larger corpus might lead to the identification of a wider range of translation solutions. Increasing the size of the corpus would be particularly worthwhile, as a wider sample of data could reveal interesting information about the influence of translation universals on morphology, i.e., the tendency towards the use of a specific translation strategy every time a specific morphological structure occurs (for example, the tendency to translating English compounds with Italian compounds).

Despite the issues discussed above, this study contributes to research on language creativity and translation from a descriptive rather prescriptive perspective. In fact, the ultimate and practical purpose of the present study is to serve as a source of inspiration for translators working with language creativity. It is for this purpose that a wide range of examples were provided of different translation solutions adopted in the movies by professionals in the field. No explicit judgments were offered on the adequacy of one solution with respect to another. Contrarily, language creativity was highlighted as a complex phenomenon involving different concerns which translators can take into account, i.e., the cognitive effect achieved by formal features, and the socio-cultural issues encoded in hapaxes.

## Appendix

Table 1 Glossary of hapaxes grouped by morphological process

<b>AFFIXATION</b>		
<b>HAPAX</b>	<b>MEANING IN THE TFC</b>	<b>FILM</b>
1. Ambular, n.	A diminutive for “Amber”, a girl hated by the speaker	CLU
2. anti-Plastics, n.	The name of a clique who hate the “Plastics”, a nickname for the most popular girls in the school	MG2
3. boinkfest, n.	A time when one has many sexual encounters	CLU
4. caloriefest, n.	A time when one eats a large amount of caloric food to get over her love troubles	CLU
5. candy-canegrams , n.	Candy canes with personalized messages attached	MG1
6. ensemble-y (challenged), adv.	Unable to dress up in such a way that clothes harmonize when worn together	CLU
7. grotsky, adv.	An intensifier that is synonym to “really”. Coined in imitation of Russian language for talking negatively about a Russian girl	MG1
8. hagsville, n.	A very ugly girl	CLU
9. hyperhypochondriac, adj.	Abnormally anxious about one’s health	MG2
10. loadies, n.	Teenagers who often make use of marijuana	CLU
11. mini-Mandi, n.	A girl who tries to imitate Mandi, the most popular girl in the school	MG2
12. Northshorecentric, n.	The name of “North Shore” high school social network	MG2
13. Nursestrom, n.	A nickname for the school lost-and-found office run by a nurse	TC
14. psycho-managed, adj.	Having a behaviour driven by one’s odd mental characteristics	TEN
15. Teenvogueish, adj.	A way of dressing that is in line with the styles suggested in the magazine “Teen Vogue”	TC
16. Unbloggable, adj.	Impossible to be written in a blog	TC
<b>COMPOUNDING</b>		
<b>HAPAX</b>	<b>MEANING IN THE TFC</b>	<b>FILM</b>
17. Abby-Scabby, n.	An offensive nickname given to a girl	MG2

	named Abby when her face was dirty with porridge	
18. angry-girl music, n.	A type of music sung by a female singer whose voice sounds like that of an angry person	TEN
19. ass-wound, n.	An extremely annoying person	MG1
20. beer-flavoured, adj.	An object which is loved by many people (as is beer )	TEN
21. (a) bikini-model-hyphen-reality-star-hyphen-awesome, n.	A successful woman in Los Angeles	MG2
22. Burn-book, n.	A book where girls write criticisms about other girls	MG1
23. burn-outs, n.	Teenagers who often make use of drugs	MG1
24. butt-crazy, adj.	Very excited about something	CLU
25. busy-busy, adj.	Having a great deal to do	MG2
26. cake-boy, n.	A homosexual boy	CLU
27. celebrity-tree, n.	A tree planted by a famous person as a public invitation to care for the environment	CLU
28. Chihuahua-shirt, n.	A shirt that is so tight that it resembles a Chihuahua dog	TC
29. coffee-kids, n.	Teenagers who spend most of their school days idling about at the coffee vending machine	TEN
30. couch-commando, n.	The act of choosing the TV channels one likes without asking the other people sitting with him/her on the couch in front of the TV	CLU
31. (to play the) creepy-little-brother-crushing-on-the-hot-neighbour angle, phrasal	To turn a situation at one's advantage by acting like a little brother in love with an attractive neighbour	TC
32. crimson-wave, n.	A girl's monthly period	CLU
33. (it looks like) designer-everything, n.	Something that has a cool appearance. Used for a city where everyone wears design clothes at school	TC
34. (the) don't-even-think-about-it group, phrasal	A clique with which one cannot come into contact	TEN
35. Drakkar Noir-wearing, adj.	Having the habit of wearing the fragrance by Drakkar Noir. Used to indicate a boy who has many girls	CLU
36. dry-swallow, v.	To take a pill without drinking water	MG1
37. (Joey) Eat-me (Donner), phrasal	An exclamation showing disapproval. Used as an expletive between the name and surname of a person hated	TEN

	by the speaker	
38. (a fashion) don't-even-think-about-it, phrasal.	A rule in fashion that should not be broken for any reason	TC
39. friend-of-Dorothy, n.	A homosexual person	CLU
40. fugly, adj.	Extremely ugly	MG1
41. Glambition, n.	The name of home-made cosmetics produced by some girls and sold to their school friends	TC
42. gossip-points, n.	Points that some girls gain if they reveal interesting gossips about other people	TC
43. Grool, adj.	Great, cool. Formed by “great” + “cool”.	MG1
44. Home-works, n.	The name of home-made cosmetics produced by the girls and sold to their school friends	TC
45. hump-day-treat, n	A drink prepared by a mother when her daughter’s friends are over in the middle of the week	MG1
46. (Miss) I-have-an-opinion-about-everything, phrasal	A girl who always says what she thinks	TEN
47. I'm-so-perky-I-might-shake-off-my-tube-tops cutesy cars, phrasal	Sexually attractive girls who own cool cars	MG2
48. Ivy-League-accepted, adj.	Strongly college-oriented high school students who have been accepted in high quality US colleges	TEN
49. Jo-jo, n.	A nickname given to Jo when talking disapprovingly about her	MG2
50. kangaroo-boy, n.	A boy who moved from Australia	TEN
51. (it's more) last-week (than...), adj.	Old-fashioned	TC
52. (Planet) Look-at-me-look at-me, phrasal	A planet where self-centred girls live	TEN
53. loqued-out, adj.	Cool, impressive	CLU
54. lunch-gang, n.	The boys and girls next to who one sits in the school cafeteria, a place where the boundaries between social cliques are strictly determined	MG2
55. mainstream-school, v.	To learn in a school classroom, as opposite to being home-schooled	MG1
56. make-out-spots, n.	The places in a school where couples swap intimacies	MG2
57. man-candy, n.	A homosexual boy	MG1
58. Mandi-vendetta, n.	A vengeance carried out in a manner that is typical of a girl named Mandi	MG2

59. Massie-chist, n.	A girl who tries to imitate Massie, the most popular girl in the school	TC
60. Mathletes, n.	The name of a club of students who participate to the annual maths competition. Formed by “maths” + “athletes”	MG1
61. monkey-boy, n.	A derogatory nickname for someone who is considered ugly	TC
62. monkey-freak, n.	A derogatory nickname for someone who is considered ugly	TC
63. like-more-than-a-friend like, phrasal	The use of the verb “like” when referring to someone by who one is sexually attracted	TC
64. no-bodily-fluids rule, phrasal	A rule that forbids people to publicly show their bodily fluids such as sweat	MG2
65. non-prison-movie type of way, phrasal	A way to say something that is different from the way it is said in prison movies	TEN
66. Oscar Wilde-reading, adj.	Having the habit of reading the works by Oscar Wilde. Used to describe homosexuals	CLU
67. out-gay (yourself), v.	To display exaggeratedly stereotyped gay behaviours	MG1
68. pants-dropping schedule, phrasal	Having the habit of dropping one’s pants and showing off one’s underwear	CLU
69. past-tense, adj.	Old-fashioned	MG2
70. rat-dog, n.	An offensive way of referring to a Chihuahua dog	MG2
71. screw-boy, n.	An offensive way of referring to a boy	TEN
72. scum-sucking, adj.	An offensive way of referring to a girl	MG1
73. skank-bitch, n.	An offensive way of referring to a girl	MG1
74. skeeze, adj.	An offensive way of referring to a girl. Formed by “skunk” + “sleeze”	MG1
75. slut-faced, adj.	An offensive way of referring to a girl	MG1
76. social-suicide, n.	An action that damages one’s social life in the school	MG1
77. something-on-others, n.	A vague term used for hair extensions	CLU
78. spank-bank, n.	A place in one’s mind where one stores the images of girls who are too beautiful for him to date, in order to	TEN

	retrieve them when dreaming of having sexual intercourse with someone.	
79. Spring-Fling, n.	The name of the annual dance where the school queen and king are proclaimed	MG1
80. Streisand ticket-holding, adj.	Having the habit of going to Barbara Streisand concerts. Used to describe homosexuals	CLU
81. tow-up, adj.	Very ugly	CLU
82. word-vomit, n.	A rant where some secrets are revealed	MG1
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>		
<b>HAPAX</b>	<b>MEANING IN THE TFC</b>	<b>FILM</b>
83. A-holes, n.	Short for “assholes”. Annoying people	MG1
84. A-what-A, n.	A vague term to name the clothing design “Alana”	CLU
85. BS, v.	Short for “bullshit”. To say something ridiculous or untrue.	CLU
86. depos, n.	Short for “depositions”. Pieces of evidence used by lawyers	CLU
87. Val, n.	Short for “Valley”. Sun Valley in California	CLU
88. fetch, adj.	Short for “fetching”. Very cool	MG1
89. freshies, n.	Short for “freshmen”. First grade high school students	MG2
90. D&D, adj.	Short for “down and dirty”. An offensive way to play rugby	MG2
91. MIA, adj.	Short for “missing in Armani”. Acronym for “missing in action”, but used among fashion-addicted girls	TC
92. hilars, adj.	Short for “hilarious”. Extremely amusing	TC
93. four-way, n.	Short for “four-way call”. A phone call where four people speak to each other.	TC
94. five-way, n.	Short for “five-way call”. A phone call where five people speak to each other.	TC
<b>CONVERSION</b>		
<b>HAPAX</b>	<b>MEANING IN THE TFC</b>	<b>FILM</b>
95. Awesome, n.	A nickname Mandi gives to herself	MG2
96. (to be) audi, adv	To leave quickly	CLU
97. baldwin, n.	A very ugly man	CLU
98. barney, n.	A very ugly man	CLU



99. betty, n.	A beautiful and kind woman	CLU
100.(hablas) Bitch, n.	The language spoken by a girl who is hated by the speaker	TC
101. delusionals, n.	White teenagers who imitate African-American rappers	TEN
102. dexter, n.	A sexually attractive boy	TEN
103. IM, v.	To write a message with the social network “IM”	TC
104. (speak) Loser	The name of the language spoken by a girl considered as a loser by the speaker	TC
105. (me) three, adv.	An expression with which a speaker agrees after someone said, “me too”.	TC
106. monet, n.	Someone who looks handsome when seen from far away, but turns out to be ugly when seen at a close distance	CLU
107. Myspace, v.	To write a message with the social network “Myspace”	TC
108. Plastics, n.	A derogatory nickname given to the most popular girls in the school who are characterized by a shallow personality	MG1;MG2
109. (Claire) Something, n.	A vague word for a surname	TC
110. tardy, n.	A late arrival at school	CLU
<b>VARIATION</b>		
<b>HAPAX</b>	<b>MEANING IN THE TFC</b>	<b>FILM</b>
111.Babeley, n.	The surname “Abeley” is pronounced similarly to “babe” (“an attractive person”). Used by a girl to refer to a good-looking boy named Chris Abeley	TC
112.byotch, n.	An offensive way of referring to a girl. Phonological manipulation of “bitch”	MG1
113.(chop chop) chop squared, exclam.	Hurry up	TC
114.clairious, adj.	Hilarious. Pronounced similarly to “Claire”. Used for facts related to Claire, a girl hated by the speaker	TC
115.laff, n.	The act of laughing. Phonological manipulation of “laugh” as appears in a chat message	TC
116.Lame (Abeley), n.	The name “Layne” is pronounced similarly to “lame” (“socially inept”).Used when talking about Layne, a girl hated by the speaker	TC

117.(Bogey) Lowenbrau, n.	The surname “Lowenstein” is pronounced similarly to “Lowenbrau”, the name of a popular beer. Used when talking about Bogey Lowenstein, a boy who organized a beer party	TEN
118.(for) suresies, adv.	Sure. Used to positively confirm a suggestion. Phonological manipulation of “for sure”	TC
119.thang, n.	Thing, i.e., an object or fact whose name is not specified. Phonological manipulation of “thing”.	MG1

Table 2 Compensation strategies for translating hapaxes

Affixes	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>1</p> <p>T: Wow, a party!</p> <p>C: It's in the Valley. The cops usually break them up in less than an hour, and it takes that long to get there.</p> <p>D: And besides, it's just local <i>loadies</i>.</p> <p>T: Do you guys think that Travis is gonna be there?</p> <p>C: Tai, I thought we moved on from there.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>T: Bello! C'è una festa.</p> <p>C: Ah, è nella Valley. Di solito la polizia gli fa chiudere la bottega dopo neanche un'ora.</p> <p>D: E poi ci vanno solamente <i>quelli fumati</i>.</p> <p>T: Voi pensate che ci andrà anche Travis a quella festa?</p> <p>Tesoro, stai avendo una ricaduta.</p>
<p>2-3</p> <p>T: Cher, ain't that the same dress that you was wearing yesterday?</p> <p>C: Say, <i>Ambular</i>?</p> <p>A: Hi.</p> <p>C: Was that you've been going through my laundry?</p> <p>A: As if! Like I would really wear something from Judy's.</p> <p>C: Do you prefer 'fashion victim' or '<i>ensemble-y-challenged</i>'?</p> <p>A: Aargh!</p>	<p>2-3</p> <p>T: Cher, quello non è il vestito che portavi tu ieri?</p> <p>C: <i>Ambertuccia</i>?</p> <p>A: Ciao!</p> <p>C: Hai frugato nella mia cesta dei panni sporchi?</p> <p>A: Che spiritosa. E poi ti sembra il tipo da indossare certi straccetti col fisico che ho?</p> <p>C: <i>Devo avere degli scampoli di carta igienica. Ti ci viene un cappottino.</i></p> <p>A: Ah!</p>
<p>4</p> <p>T: Do you think she's pretty?</p> <p>C: No, she's a full-on Monet.</p> <p>T: What's a "Monet"?</p> <p>C: It's like a painting, see? From far away, it's okay, but up close, it's a big old mess. Let's ask a guy.</p> <p>C: Christian, what do you think of Amber?</p> <p>CHR: <i>Hagsville</i>.</p> <p>C: See?</p>	<p>4</p> <p>T: Ti pare carina?</p> <p>C: No. Sembra un Monet.</p> <p>T: Che cos'è un "Monet"?</p> <p>C: Era un pittore. I suoi quadri da lontano sono anche belli, ma da vicino sono pieni di macchiette. Sentiamo un ragazzo.</p> <p>C: Christian, che cosa ne pensi di Amber?</p> <p>CHR: <i>Cozza multipla</i>.</p> <p>C: Visto?</p>
<p>5</p> <p>D [dressed like Santa Claus]: <i>Candy-canegrams</i>!</p> <p>T: Okay. Hurry up.</p> <p>D: Taylor Zimmerman? Two for you. Glenn Cocco? Four for you, Glenn Cocco. You go, Glenn Cocco.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>D: Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh! <i>Messaggi canditi</i>!</p> <p>T: Va bene. Sbrigati.</p> <p>D: Taylor Zimmerman? Due per te. Glenn Cocco? Quattro per te. Sei un mito, Glenn Cocco.</p>
<p>6</p> <p>At the school cafeteria, Claire wearing the lost-and-found luxury clothes.</p> <p>S to CL: Hey, cool top. I had the same one but I lost it.</p> <p>M to CL: Looks like somebody went</p>	<p>6</p> <p>S a CL: Fichissimo quel top. Ne ho perso uno tale e quale.</p> <p>M a CL: Qualcuno ha fatto shopping <i>da</i></p>

shopping at <i>Nursestrom's</i> today. [The lady who runs the lost-and-found office is called Nurse Adele.] Seven's, so three-years-ago.	<i>Adele Saint Laurent</i> . La Seven... È out da circa tre anni.
7 M: Eww! What are you wearing? A: What are you wearing? I thought we were going all <i>Teenvogueish</i> today.	7 M: Bleah! Che ti sei messa? A: Che ti sei messa tu! Dovevi vestirti <i>Teen Vogue style</i> .
8 J: At North Shore, they were called 'the Plastics' and Mandi Weatherly was the number one Plastic. She dotted her name with a signature heart above the I. Probably because she didn't actually possess that organ. Her two sidekicks were Chastity Mayer, who was stupid enough to hit a home-run with any boy willing to play. And Hope Plotkin, <i>hyper-hypochondriac</i> , who believed that germs led to ugliness and ugliness led to death.	8 J: Alla North Shore, le chiamavano 'le Barbie'. Mandi Weatherly era la Barbie numero uno. Firmava il suo nome con un cuoricino sopra la I, probabilmente perché sprovvista dell'organo in questione. I suoi inseparabili lacchè erano Chastity Mayer, così stupida da finire nel letto di qualsiasi ragazzo incontrasse. E Hope Plotkin, <i>meegasuperipocondriaca</i> , convinta che i germi causino la bruttezza e la bruttezza causi la morte.
9 J: You should know, my last BFF relationship crashed and burned. She became snobby and judgmental and used guys as pawns of warfare, which is saying a lot, considering it was fourth grade. A: Geez! Sounds like a <i>mini-Mandi</i> . But don't worry, we're nothing like that.	9 J: Vedi, con la mia ultima amica del cuore è stato un disastro. Diventò una snob spocchiosa e cominciò ad usare i maschi come arma. Notevole, considerando che eravamo in quarta elementare. A: Accidenti! Sembra <i>Mandi in miniatura</i> . Ma non preoccuparti, tra noi non è così.
<b>Compounds</b>	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
10 C: What class you going to? J: Actually, I'm going to a Tree People meeting. We might get Marky Mark to plant a celebrity-tree. C: How fabulous. Getting Marky Mark to take time from his busy <i>pants-dropping-schedule</i> to plant trees? Josh, why don't you just hire a gardener? C: You know, maybe Marky Mark wants to use his popularity for a good cause, make a contribution.	10 C: A che lezione devi andare? J: Veramente ho una riunione del comitato per la difesa degli alberi. Forse convinciamo Marky Mark a piantare l'albero delle celebrità. C: Sei commovente. Sottrarre Marky Mark <i>alla sua principale occupazione, scoprirsi il sedere</i> , per piantare un albero. Perché non ti trovi un bel giardiniere? J: Può darsi che Marky Mark voglia usare la sua popolarità a favore di una buona causa e dare il suo contributo.
11 M: Where you been all weekend? What's up?	11 M: Dove sei stata? A farti smalloppare in

<p>You jeepin' behind my back?  D: "Jeepin'?" "Jeepin'?"  M: "Jeepin'," "jeepin'."  D: No, but speaking of vehicular sex, perhaps you can explain how this cheap Kmart hair extension got into the back seat of your car.  M: I don't know where that came from. That looks like one of your stringy <i>something-on-others</i> you got up in your hair...  D: Excuse me. I do not wear polyester hair, okay? Unlike some people I know, like Shawanna.</p>	<p>qualche macchina?  D: "Smalloppare"? Ha detto "smalloppare"?  M: "Smalloppare", "smalloppare".  D: Ma visto che parliamo di sesso automobilistico, forse puoi spiegarmi che cos'è questo scalpo trovato sul sedile posteriore della tua macchina.  M: Giuro che te lo direi se lo sapessi. Sicura che non sia <i>una di quelle robe</i> che ti attacchi ogni tanto in testa?  D: No, carino! Io non porto treccine sintetiche, ok? Ma conosco chi le porta, tipo Shawanna.</p>
<p>12  MR H: Cher Horowitz, two tardies.  C: I object! Do you recall the dates of these alleged tardies?  MR H: One was last Monday.  C: Mister Hall, I was surfing the <i>crimson wave</i>. I had to haul ass to the ladies.  MR H: I assume you're referring to women's troubles, and so I'll let that one slide.  C: Thank you, Mister Hall.</p>	<p>12  MR H: Cher Horowitz, due ritardi in totale.  C: Obiezione! Ricorda le date di questi presunti ritardi?  MR H: Certo. Uno è stato lunedì scorso.  C: Signor Hall, avevo <i>un allarme rosso</i> in atto. Comporta dei problemi tecnici.  MR H: Presumo tu ti stia riferendo al ciclo mestruale. In questo caso, ti abbono un ritardo.  C: Grazie, Signor Hall.</p>
<p>13  C: Actually, going all the way is like a really big decision. I can't believe I was so capricious about it. Dee, I almost had sex with him.  M: You almost had sex with who?  C: Christian.  M: What? [laughs] Yo, look! Are you bitches blind or something? Your man, Christian, is a <i>cake-boy</i>!  C: A what?  M: He's a disco-dancing, Oscar Wilde-reading, Streisand ticket-holding friend-of-Dorothy... You know what I'm saying?  C: Uh huh. No way.  M: He's gay.</p>	<p>13  C: Effettivamente andare fino in fondo è una decisione importante. Sono stata troppo precipitosa. Dovevo aspettare. Ti rendi conto che stavo per andarci a letto insieme?  M: Con chi? Posso sapere?  C: Christian.  M: [ride]  C: Perché ridi?  M: È pazzesco! Ma voi due per caso siete diventate cieche? Quel Christian è una <i>checca persa</i>.  C: Che cosa?  M: Balla la (disco music), legge Oscar Wilde, va sempre ai concerti della Straisand e frequenta i bagni turchi.  C: No, non è vero.  M: È gay!</p>
<p>14  C: What would he want with Tai? She couldn't make him happy. Josh needs someone with imagination, someone to take care of him, someone to laugh at his jokes,</p>	<p>14  C: Ma cosa c'entra lui con Tai? Non lo farebbe mai felice. Josh ha bisogno di qualcuno che abbia fantasia, qualcuno che si prenda cura di lui, qualcuno che rida delle</p>

<p>in case he ever makes any. Then suddenly ... Oh my God. I love Josh! I am majorly, totally, <i>butt crazy</i> in love with Josh. But now I don't know how to act around him. I mean, ordinarily I would strut around in my cutest little outfits and send myself flowers and candy, but I couldn't do that stuff with Josh.</p>	<p>sue battute, nel caso ne faccia. Che altro dire? Oh mio Dio, sono innamorata di Josh! Sono <i>orrendamente, completamente, pazzamente</i> innamorata di Josh. Ma adesso non so come comportarmi quando c'è lui. In altri momenti della mia vita avrei sfoggiato il mio abito firmato, mi sarei mandata dei fiori, delle scatole di cioccolatini, ma ... questa roba non funzionava con lui.</p>
<p>15</p> <p>J: Here. This map is gonna be your guide to North Shore. Now, where you sit in the cafeteria is crucial because you got everybody there. You got your freshmen, ROTC guys, preps, JV jocks, Asian nerds, Varsity jocks, cool Asians, unfriendly black hotties, girls who eat their feelings, girls who don't eat anything, desperate wannabes, <i>burn-outs</i> [close-up on a girl staring at her fork while laughing compulsively], sexually active band geeks, the greatest people you will ever meet, and the worst. Beware of the Plastics.</p>	<p>15</p> <p>Tieni. Questa mappa sarà la tua guida a North Shore. Il posto dove ti siedi a mensa è cruciale perché ci sono tutti. Ci sono le matricole, i barramentari, i pre-universitari, i palestrati pompati, i secchioni asiatici, gli atleti semi-professionisti, gli asiatici fighi, le nere antipatiche, quelle che si strafogano, quelle che non mangiano, le soggette 'vorrei-ma-non-posso', <i>i fattoni</i>, i malati di sesso, i più strafichi che incontrerai mai, e le peggiori. Attenta alle Barbie.</p>
<p>16</p> <p>C: Regina seems sweet. J: Regina George is not sweet. She's a <i>scum-sucking</i> road whore! She ruined my life! D: She's fabulous, but she's evil.</p>	<p>16</p> <p>C: Regina sembra gentile. J: Regina George non è gentile, è una puttana, una stronza <i>ciuccia-cazzu</i>. Mi ha rovinato l'esistenza! D: È divina, ma è maligna.</p>
<p>17</p> <p>K: Hey. You're the Africa girl, right? C: Yeah. K: I'm Kevin Gnapoor, captain of the North Shore <i>Mathletes</i>. We participate in math challenges against other high schools in the state, and we can get twice as much funding if we've got a girl. So you should think about joining. MRS N: Oh, you'd be perfect for it. C: Yeah, definitely.</p>	<p>17</p> <p>K: Sei la ragazza dell'Africa, vero? C: Sì. K: Sono Kevin Gnapoor, sono il capitano dei <i>Matleti</i> del North Shore. Partecipiamo a sfide di matematica contro gli altri licei dello stato e otterremo il doppio dei fondi con una ragazza in squadra. Quindi perché non ti unisci a noi? MRS N: Sì, saresti perfetta. C: Sì, va benissimo.</p>
<p>18</p> <p>A: We're having a Halloween party at my friend Chris' tonight. You wanna come? C: Yeah, sure. A: Great. Here's where it is. It's a costume party. People get pretty into it. C: Okay. A: That flier admits one person only, so</p>	<p>18</p> <p>A: Stasera facciamo una festa per Halloween a casa di Chris. Vuoi venire? C: Sì, certo. A: Bene. Ecco l'indirizzo. È una festa in costume. Ci si veste in modo assurdo. C: Okay. A: Quell'invito vale solo per una persona</p>

<p>don't bring some other guy with you.  C: <i>Grool</i>. I meant to say "cool" and then I started to say "great."  A: Right. Well... Grool. See you tonight.</p>	<p>quindi non portare nessun ragazzo con te.  C: <i>Frico!</i> Cioè, volevo dire "fico", poi ho cominciato a dire "grazie".  A: Beh, allora... <i>Frico!</i> Ci vediamo stasera.</p>
<p>19  C: Slut! [on seeing R. kiss A.]  A to R: What are you doing? You broke up with me.  R: That's crazy. Why would I break up with you? You're so hot.  C: [running away] I had never felt this feeling before. I could hear my heartbeat in my ears. My stomach felt like it was going to fall out my butt. I had this lump in my throat like after you <i>dry-swallow</i> a big pill. I hated Regina. I hated her!</p>	<p>19  C: Oh! Puttana!  A ad R: Ma che fai? Mi hai mollato e mi baci?  R: È pazzesco. Perché dovrei mollarti? Sei così (sexy).  C: Non mi ero mai sentita così in vita mia. Sentivo che il cuore stava per scoppiarmi. Sembrava che lo stomaco mi cadesse nelle viscere e avevo un groppo in gola come <i>dopo aver ingoiato una pillolona senza acqua</i>. Odiavo Regina, la odiavo!</p>
<p>20  J: Look, she's not gonna get away with this again, okay? We're gonna do something.  C: We are?  J: Regina George is an evil dictator. Now, how do you overthrow a dictator? You cut off her resources. Regina would be nothing without her high status <i>man-candy</i>, technically good physique, and ignorant band of loyal followers. Now, Cady, if we want this to work, you are gonna have to keep hanging out with them like nothing is wrong. Can you do it?  C: I can do it.</p>	<p>20  J: Senti, questa volta non la passa liscia. Noi faremo qualcosa. Va bene?  C: Davvero?  J: Regina George è un dittatore spietato. Come si rovescia un dittatore? Si tagliano le sue risorse. Regina non sarebbe niente senza il suo <i>bambolotto di rappresentanza</i>, un fisico tecnicamente perfetto e un gruppo di deficienti fanatiche e ignoranti. Ora, Caddie, se noi vogliamo fermarle, tu dovrai continuare a frequentarle facendo finta di niente. Pensi di riuscirci?  C: Penso di riuscirci.</p>
<p>21  R: [writing on the Burn-book]: This girl is the nastiest skank-bitch I've ever met. Do not trust her. She is a <i>fugly</i> slut!</p>	<p>21  R: Questa ragazza è la più schifosa, stronza, puttana che abbia mai conosciuto. Non vi fidate di lei. È una grandissima <i>stroia</i>.</p>
<p>22  PRINCIPAL: Never in my fourteen years as an educator have I seen such behavior. And from young ladies. I got parents calling me on the phone asking, "Did someone get shot?". I ought to cancel your <i>Spring Fling</i>.  ALL: No!</p>	<p>22  PRESIDE: In quattordici anni che faccio questo lavoro non ho mai visto un simile comportamento. E da delle signorine. Abbiamo ricevuto telefonate da genitori che chiedevano se ci fosse stata una sparatoria. Dovrei cancellare la <i>Spring Fling</i>.</p>
<p>23  J: Everyone's obsessed with the freedom of</p>	<p>23  J: Tutti ossessionati dalla libertà che dà loro</p>

<p>their first car. It's an identity. Like the muscle cars who think they own the road and check out every passing vehicle. Smart cars who don't fit in. The <i>I'm-so-perky-I-might-shake-my-tube-tops cutesy cars</i>. [close-up cheerleaders dancing next to red Maggiolone cars]. And then there's the most dangerous vehicle on the road. The high performance, high maintenance sports cars. If they liked you, your life was all green lights.</p>	<p>la prima macchina. Ci si identificano addirittura. I bolidi supersportivi che si sentono i padroni della strada e squadrano tutti quelli che passano. Le Smart tutto cervello e niente muscoli. <i>Le macchine sono-così-carina-e impertinente-che-potrei-anche- levarmi-il-top</i>. E poi ci sono le macchine più pericolose in circolazione, quelle sportive di gran lusso, superaccessoriate. Se piaci a loro, la tua vita è un semaforo verde.</p>
<p>24</p> <p>At the school cafeteria J: In every school, students have their <i>lunch-gang</i> [close-up on different cliques sitting at different tables]. As my dad says, "your racer is only as good as your pit crew."</p>	<p>24</p> <p>In ogni scuola, gli studenti hanno il loro <i>gruppetto del pranzo</i>. Come dice mio padre, "un pilota vale solo quanto vale la sua squadra di supporto".</p>
<p>25</p> <p>M: Nicky, over here. I missed you. N: Hey, babe. M: Hey, have you been lifting weights? N: [being tongued by Mandi's Chihuahua called Coco Chanel] Oh, dude, your <i>rat-dog</i> just tongued me. M: Shut up, Nick. You'll hurt Coco Chanel's feelings.</p>	<p>25</p> <p>M: Nick, vieni qui! Mi sei mancato. N: Ciao, tesoro. M: Hey, ti sei allenato con i pesi! N: Che schifo! <i>Quel topo</i> mi ha leccato! M: Smettila. Così ferisci i sentimenti di Coco Chanel.</p>
<p>26</p> <p>J: Is that all you got? Going after my dad, you spoiled, narcissistic bitch! That's his job, not some play-toy for you! M: But it was so much fun. The way I figure it, no job, no income, no house, no <i>Jo Jo</i>. Right? J: I don't run away that easy. M: Get over yourself, man hands. You're just a passing phase. I'm here for the long run. J: Oh, yeah? Are you sure about that?</p>	<p>26</p> <p>J: Questo è il meglio che sai fare? Prendertela con mio padre, brutta narcisista presuntuosa! Quello è il suo lavoro, non uno dei tuoi stupidi giochetti! M: Ma è stato divertente. Per come la vedo io, niente lavoro, niente entrate, niente casa, niente <i>Jo Jo</i>. Giusto? J: Io non scappo così facilmente. M: Mettiti l'anima in pace, maschiaccio. Tu sei solo di passaggio, io resterò qui. J: Ah, sì? Ne sei proprio sicura?</p>
<p>27</p> <p>C: How could you do that? M: Do what? C: Rat out all of my <i>make-out-spots</i>! You're the only one I told, Mandi. Now, who's gonna do my homework and tell me I'm special?</p>	<p>27</p> <p>C: Come hai potuto farlo? M: Fare cosa? C: Spifferare tutti i <i>miei luoghi di pomicio</i>. L'avevo detto solo a te, Mandi. Chi mi farà i compiti e mi dirà che sono speciale ora?</p>
<p>28</p>	<p>28</p>



<p>M: So, what I'm about to tell you is gonna score me major <i>gossip-points</i>. Like Shelby Rexler did not chop her hair off to look more like Keira Knightley. She has head lice.</p> <p>ALL: Eww! Gross!</p> <p>M: I know. I say we bag the party. I'm not trading my Fr��deric Fekkai for Nix.</p> <p>D: But it's an eighth grade party and we're the only seventh graders invited.</p> <p>M: Please, I'm not gonna be caught dead at a party thrown by anyone under the age of fifteen. It's worse than wearing Crocs.</p> <p>D: Wait. Head lice and Crocs?</p> <p>K: No one's actually wearing Crocs, Dyl.</p> <p>M: Actually, I think Shelby has a pair, in orange.</p> <p>ALL: Eww!</p> <p>K: Forget it. I'm out.</p>	<p>M: Occhio, quello che sto per dirvi mi far�� guadagnare un miliardo di <i>punti-gossip</i>. La cara Shelby Rexler non si �� tagliata i capelli per assomigliare a Keira Knightley. Ha i pidocchi.</p> <p>TUTTE: Che orrore!</p> <p>M: Lo so, io bypasso il party. Cio��, non esiste che per un pidocchio rinuncio al mio taglio.</p> <p>D: Ma quella �� la terza media. Siamo le uniche nella seconda.</p> <p>M: Per cortesia. Non mi faccio vedere neanche svenuta a un party organizzato da chi ha meno di quindici anni. �� tipo andare in giro con i sandali.</p> <p>D: Aspetta. Sandali e pidocchi?</p> <p>K: Guarda che nessuno va in giro con i sandali.</p> <p>M: In realt�� credo che Shelby ne abbia un paio, color arancio.</p> <p>TUTTE: Bleah!</p> <p>D: Scordatevelo. Io mi chiamo fuori.</p>
<p>29</p> <p>M: You two know each other?</p> <p>D: From the mall. Claire's the one that had a great idea about the pants. When my mum was being a jerk to the tenth degree.</p> <p>C: And then Dylan's friends came out and started screaming about some guy.</p> <p>M: Yeah, and those are my friends, too. And FYI, that story's more <i>last-week</i> than white skinny jeans. Claire's the girl I told you about. The one living in my guest house. Because her parents can't afford anything else right now.</p>	<p>29</p> <p>M: Vi siete gi�� conosciute?</p> <p>D: Al centro commerciale. Claire ha avuto un'idea brillante per i pantaloni quando mia madre si stava comportando da idiota.</p> <p>C: E c'erano anche le amiche di Dylan che stavano prendendo in giro un tale.</p> <p>M: Sono anche amiche mie. E per tua norma e regola questa storia �� pi�� (<i>out</i>) dei jeans bianchi attillati. Claire �� la ragazza di cui ti ho parlato, quella che sta nella dependance perch�� i suoi genitori non possono concedersi nient'altro.</p>
<p>30</p> <p>K: Oh my God. Jenna Dressler's wearing her <i>Chihuahua-shirt</i> again.</p> <p>J [wearing a very tight shirt]: Hey, you guys. How's your winter break? Massie, I heard you have an NBF from Florida</p> <p>M: False. If I had a new best friend, she'd be here right now.</p>	<p>30</p> <p>K: Oh mio Dio, Jenna si �� rimessa la <i>camicietta ascellare</i>.</p> <p>J: Ciao! Le vacanze tutto bene? Massie, �� vero che hai una nuova amica venuta dalla Florida?</p> <p>M: Falso. Se avessi una nuova amica, sarebbe qui con noi.</p>
<p>31-32</p> <p>M: Anyways, we could make everything ourselves, all natural.</p>	<p>31-32</p> <p>M: Dicevo, potremmo farli con ingredienti naturali e commestibili.</p>

<p>D: And edible. When you get bored of the colour, you can eat it.</p> <p>A: I heart that.</p> <p>M: And we could sell that to the field trip to New York on Saturday. The whole class would be there.</p> <p>K: You guys, we need a great name.</p> <p>D: What about “<i>home-works</i>”? Because, we make it at home, and it works.</p> <p>M: “<i>Home-works</i>”? That makes us sound like losers who don’t have any friends and never go out like...</p> <p>C: How about “<i>Glambition</i>”?</p> <p>M: It’ll do, until I think of something better.</p> <p>K: Oh my God, we’re gonna be so rich!</p> <p>M: Oh, please. We already are.</p> <p>K: To Glambition!</p> <p>ALL: To Glambition!</p>	<p>D: Quando ti strofini un colore, te lo mangi.</p> <p>A: Sei un vulcano.</p> <p>M: Poi li venderemo durante la gita a New York. Ci sarà tutta la classe al completo.</p> <p>K: Adesso pensiamo al nome.</p> <p>D: “<i>Compiti dentro casa</i>”. Perché sono realizzati dentro casa e funzionano.</p> <p>M: “<i>Compiti per casa</i>”? Diamo l’idea di un gruppo di sfigate che non escono mai e non hanno amiche, come...</p> <p>C: A voi piace “<i>Glembition</i>”?</p> <p>M: Teniamolo finché non ne troverò un altro.</p> <p>K: Oh mio Dio, diventeremo tutte ricche!</p> <p>M: Oh, per cortesia, lo siamo già.</p> <p>K: A <i>Glembition</i>!</p> <p>TUTTE: A <i>Glembition</i>!</p>
<p>33</p> <p>In the schoolyard [close-up on boys drinking coffee] M to C: To the left we have the <i>coffee-kids</i>. COFFEE KID 1 [spilling his coffee as M bumps into him]: Oh! COFFEE KID 2: [drinking coffee] That was Costa Rican, butt-head! M to C: Don’t make any sudden moves around them.</p>	<p>33</p> <p>M a C: Sulla sinistra abbiamo <i>i caffeinomani</i>.</p> <p>CAFFAINOMANE 2: Quello era della Costa Rica, pezzo di deficiente! M a C: Non fare gesti improvvisi nei loro paraggi.</p>
<p>34-35</p> <p>A: What’s that?</p> <p>M: A letter to the Westlaw neighbourhood security. I’m thinking of filing a restraining order against that prepubescent <i>monkey-boy</i> living in my guest house.</p> <p>A: Why don’t you talk to your new BFF about it? After all, the <i>monkey-freak</i>’s her brother.</p> <p>M: Claire’s not my BFF.</p>	<p>34-35</p> <p>A: Che cos’è?</p> <p>M: Una lettera indirizzata alla ronda di quartiere. Un’ordinanza contro quello <i>sgorbio-scimmia</i> che abita nella mia dependance.</p> <p>A: Perché non ne discuti con la tua migliore amica? Lo <i>sgorbio-scimmia</i> è suo fratello.</p> <p>M: Claire non è la mia amica.</p>
<p>36</p> <p>C [on seeing B]: Oh my God. What group is she in?</p> <p>M: The <i>don’t-even-think-about-it</i> group. That’s Bianca Stratford. A sophomore.</p> <p>C: I burn. I pine. I perish.</p> <p>M: Of course you do. You know, she’s beautiful. And deep. I’m sure.</p>	<p>36</p> <p>C: Oh, mio Dio. Di che gruppo è?</p> <p>M: <i>Di quello non-ci-pensare-proprio</i>. Bianca Stratford. È un fagiolo.</p> <p>C: Io sono pazzo. Sto morendo per lei.</p> <p>M: È bellissima. E anche profonda, ne sono certo.</p>
<p>37</p>	<p>37</p>

<p>C [staring at B]: Man, look at her. Is she always so...</p> <p>M: Vapid?</p> <p>C: How can you say that? She's totally...</p> <p>M: Conceited?</p> <p>C: What are you talking about? There's more to her than you think. I mean, look... At the way... She smiles and... Look at her eyes, man. She's totally pure. I mean, you're missing... What's there.</p> <p>M: No, Cameron. No. What's there is a snotty little princess wearing a strategically planned sun-dress to make guys like us realize that we can never touch her, and guys like, uh, Joey realize that they want to. She, my friend, is what we'll spend the rest of our lives not having. Put her in the <i>spank-bank</i>. Move on.</p> <p>C: No, no. You're wrong about her. I mean, you know, uh, not about the spanking part. But the rest, you're wrong.</p>	<p>C: Amico, guardala. È sempre così...</p> <p>M: Scema?</p> <p>C: Non puoi dire una cosa così. Lei è una persona...</p> <p>M: Piena di sé?</p> <p>C: Ma di che parli? In lei c'è più di quanto tu credi. Voglio dire, guarda il modo in cui... Sorride, e... Guarda i suoi occhi. Lei... È totalmente pura. Sai una cosa? Tu non sai vedere quello che è in lei.</p> <p>M: No, no, no, Cameron, no. Il fatto è che lì c'è una principessina altezzosa che indossa un prendisole strategicamente pensato per far capire ai ragazzi come noi che non potremo mai toccarla, e ai ragazzi come Joey che invece possono farlo. Lei, amico, è quello che noi passeremo la nostra vita a non avere. Infilala nel <i>materiale da sega</i> e va avanti. Non ci pensare.</p> <p>C: No, no. Ti sbagli. Voglio dire, non per la storia delle seghe, ma per il resto hai torto.</p>
<p>38</p> <p>B: Can we focus on me for a second, please? I am the only girl in school who's not dating!</p> <p>DAD: Oh, no, you're not. Your sister doesn't date.</p> <p>K: And I don't intend to.</p> <p>DAD: And why is that again?</p> <p>K: Have you seen the unwashed miscreants that go to that school?</p> <p>B: Where did you come from? 'Planet Loser'?</p> <p>K: As opposed to 'Planet Look-at-me-Look-at-me'?</p> <p>DAD: Okay, here's how we solve this one. Old rule, out. New rule. Bianca can date...when she does.</p>	<p>38</p> <p>B: Possiamo concentrarci su di me un secondo per favore? Sono l'unica ragazza della scuola che non esce.</p> <p>PADRE: Oh, no. Anche tua sorella non esce.</p> <p>K: Né ho intenzione di farlo.</p> <p>PADRE: E si può sapere come mai?</p> <p>K: Hai mai visto i sudici screanzati che girano per la scuola?</p> <p>B: Ma tu da dove vieni? Dal pianeta dei perdenti?</p> <p>K: Certo non da <i>quello del guardatemi-guardatemi!</i></p> <p>PADRE: Va bene. Ecco come risolveremo la cosa. La vecchia regola è superata. Nuova regola. Bianca potrà uscire... Quando uscirà anche lei.</p>
<p>39</p> <p>B: Can't you just find a blind, deaf retard to take you to the movies so I can have just one date?</p> <p>K: I'm sorry. Looks like you'll just have to miss out on the witty repartee of <i>Joey Eat-me Donner</i>.</p> <p>B: Oh, you suck.</p>	<p>39</p> <p>B: Non potresti trovare qualche ritardato che ti porti al cinema così potrei uscire anch'io?</p> <p>K: Mi spiace. Mi sa che dovrai fare a meno della conversazione arguta di <i>Joey Mangia-meno-donne</i>.</p> <p>B: Fai schifo.</p>

<p>40</p> <p>MR M [as K raises her hand]: Yes, <i>Miss I-have-an-opinion-about-everything</i>?</p> <p>K: Do you want this in iambic pentameter?</p> <p>MR M: You're not going to fight me on this?</p> <p>K: No. I think it's a really good assignment.</p> <p>MR M: You're just messin' with me, aren't you?</p> <p>K: No. I'm really looking forward to writing it.</p>	<p>40</p> <p>MR M: Sì, Signorina <i>Ho-un'-opinione-su- tutto</i>?</p> <p>K: Lo vuole in pentametri giambici?</p> <p>MR M: Hai voglia di contestarmi?</p> <p>K: No, credo sia un ottimo tema.</p> <p>MR M: Stai cercando di confondermi.</p> <p>K: No, sono ansiosa di svolgerlo.</p>
<p>41</p> <p>K: Can you imagine who would go to that antiquated mating ritual? [Prom]</p> <p>M: I would. But I don't have a date.</p> <p>K: Do you really want to get all dressed up so some <i>Drakkar Noir-wearing</i> Dexter with a boner can feel you up while you're forced to listen to a band that by definition blows?</p> <p>M: All right. All right. We won't go. It's not like I've got a dress anyway.</p>	<p>41</p> <p>K: Ti puoi immaginare? Chi andrebbe a quell'antiquato rituale di accoppiamento?</p> <p>M: La qui presente. Ma non saprei con chi andarci.</p> <p>K: Vuoi davvero metterti in tiro perché qualche <i>intellettualoide</i> possa strofinarti contro il suo affare mentre sei costretta ad ascoltare un gruppo che fa schifo?</p> <p>M: Va bene, va bene, non ci andremo. E poi non è che per forza devo mettermi in tiro.</p>
<p>42</p> <p>M: The situation is, my man Cameron here has a major jones for Bianca Stratford</p> <p>P: What is it with this chick? She has <i>beer-flavoured</i> nipples?</p> <p>C: Hey!</p> <p>M: I think I speak correctly when I say that Cameron's love is pure. Purer than, say, Joey Donner's.</p>	<p>42</p> <p>M: Beh, noi... Vedi, il fatto è che il mio amico Cameron qui ha, come si dice, una cotta colossale per Bianca Stratford.</p> <p>P: Ma che ha questa ragazza? <i>I capezzoli al gusto di birra</i>?</p> <p>M: Ehi!</p> <p>P: Io credo di parlare correttamente dicendo che l'amore di Cameron è puro, più puro di quello per esempio di Joey Donner.</p>
Abbreviation	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>43</p> <p>R: Oh my God! I love your bracelet. Where did you get it?</p> <p>C: Oh, my mum made it for me.</p> <p>R: It's adorable.</p> <p>C: Oh, it's so <i>fetch</i>.</p> <p>R: What is "<i>fetch</i>"?</p> <p>C: Oh, it's, like, slang. From England.</p>	<p>43</p> <p>R: Mio Dio, adoro il tuo braccialetto. Dove l'hai preso?</p> <p>C: Me l'ha fatto mia madre.</p> <p>R: È adorabile.</p> <p>C: Sì. È così <i>sghicio</i>.</p> <p>R: Che vuol dire "<i>sghicio</i>"?</p> <p>C: "Fico". È una parola che voglio far tornare di moda.</p>
<p>44</p> <p>M to GIRLS sitting at her table: Lost much, little <i>freshies</i>? Scram. [GIRLS leave]</p>	<p>44</p> <p>M: Perso qualcosa, <i>novelline</i>? Sparite.</p>

<p>45</p> <p>[Rugby match. Time-out starts]</p> <p>M: Damn it, we're tied. I swear, if you let that psycho Jo near me, I will end your social lives. Time for <i>D&amp;D</i>.</p> <p>C: Dirty dancing?</p> <p>M: Yeah, Chastity, "dirty dancing."</p> <p>No! "Down and dirty", okay?</p> <p>Down and dirty. Let's get them. Go!</p> <p>[Mandi's team plays offensively]</p>	<p>45</p> <p>M: Accidenti. Siamo pari. Lasciate che quella psicopatica di Jo mi si avvicini e siete socialmente finite. È l'ora del <i>GS</i>.</p> <p>C: Mh! Di giochetti scabrosi?</p> <p>M: Certo, Chastity, giochetti scabrosi. No! Vuol dire "giocare sporco". Okay? Giocare sporco! Andiamo! Forza!</p>
<p>46</p> <p>C: Massie Block. I know who you are.</p> <p>M: Really?</p> <p>C: Sure. I used to come to your parents' charity auction practically every year.</p> <p>M: Uh, I wonder why we never met.</p> <p>C: I've been <i>MLA</i> the past couple of years, in a boarding school in Connecticut.</p> <p>M: Sounds cliché.</p> <p>C: Yeah, so is getting kicked out. That's why I'm back at Briarwood for high school.</p>	<p>46</p> <p>C: Massie Block. Lo so chi sei.</p> <p>M: Davvero?</p> <p>C: Sì. Ogni anno venivo all'asta di beneficenza organizzata dai tuoi.</p> <p>M: Eh, chissà perché non ci siamo mai visti.</p> <p>C: Perché per due anni sono stato <i>PDA</i> in un collegio nel Connecticut.</p> <p>M: Solito cliché.</p> <p>C: È come essere cacciati da scuola. Ma ora vado al liceo Briarwood.</p>
<b>Conversion</b>	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>47</p> <p>T: Oh, my God, Cher, look. He's going with Amber?</p> <p>C: No, he's probably just dancing with her.</p> <p>T: Do you think she's pretty?</p> <p>C: No, she's a full-on <i>monet</i>.</p> <p>T: What's a "<i>monet</i>"?</p> <p>C: It's like a painting, see? From far away, it's okay, but up close, it's a big old mess.</p>	<p>47</p> <p>T: Hai visto chi c'è? Adesso va con Amber?</p> <p>C: No, stanno soltanto ballando insieme.</p> <p>T: Ti pare carina?</p> <p>C: No. Sembra <i>un Monet</i>.</p> <p>T: Che cos'è un "<i>Monet</i>"?</p> <p>C: Era un pittore. I suoi quadri da lontano sono anche belli, ma da vicino sono pieni di macchiette.</p>
<p>48</p> <p>C: Uh, where's Tai?</p> <p>CHE: Oh, she met some random guys at the Foot Locker and escorted them right over there. I don't know where she meets these <i>barneys</i>...</p> <p>C: I have a question, all right?</p> <p>CHE: What?</p> <p>C: The jacket. Is it James Dean or Jason Priestly?</p> <p>CHE: Carpe diem. Okay, you looked hot in it.</p>	<p>48</p> <p>C: Dov'è Tai?</p> <p>CHE: Sta con certi tipi che ha incontrato in un negozio di sport. Eccola laggiù che tiene banco. <i>I più mostri</i> sono amici suoi.</p> <p>C: Devo farti una domanda. Sincera.</p> <p>CHE: Quale?</p> <p>C: Il giaccone fa più James Dean o Jason Priestly?</p> <p>CHE: Ma che te ne importa? Ti sta benissimo. Che vuoi di più?</p>
<p>49</p> <p>J: Of course all <i>the Plastics</i> are in the same</p>	<p>49</p> <p>J: Ma certo, tutte <i>le Barbie</i> fanno lo stesso</p>

gym class. C: Who are <i>the Plastics</i> ? D: They're teen royalty. If North Shore was "Us Weekly", they would always be on the cover.	corso di ginnastica. C: Chi sono <i>le Barbie</i> ? J: Le regine dei teenager. Se North Shore fosse "Cosmopolitan", sarebbero sempre in copertina.
50 CH [on seeing her blush]: Are you sure you're okay? CL: I'm sure. CH: I'm Chris Abeley. CL: I'm Claire... Something. CH: Nice to meet you, <i>Claire Something</i> .	50 CH: Sicura di star bene? CL: Altrochè. CH: Sono Chris Abeley. CL: Io sono Claire... Non importa. CH: Piacere di conoscerti, <i>Claire Non-importa</i> .
51-52 M: The only place where I wanna sit is with my friends. I wouldn't be caught dead sitting with you. I don't even like you. L: God, you really are bitch. M: Sorry, (no comprende). I don't speak <i>Loser</i> . L: No. Hablas <i>Bitch</i> .	51-52 M: L'unico posto dove voglio sedermi è con le mie amiche. Non mi metterei qui neanche morta. Non mi piaci nemmeno. L: Dio, sei proprio un'idiota. M: Sorry, (no comprende). Io non parlo <i>lo sfigatese</i> . L: No. Hablas <i>l'idiotesa</i> .
53 K: Can you imagine who would go to that antiquated mating ritual? [the Prom] M: I would. But I don't have a date. K: Do you really want to get all dressed up so some Drakkar Noir-wearing <i>dexter</i> with a boner can feel you up while you're forced to listen to a band that by definition blows? M: All right. All right. We won't go. It's not like I've got a dress anyway.	53 K: Ti puoi immaginare? Chi andrebbe a quell'antiquato rituale di accoppiamento? M: La qui presente. Ma non saprei con chi andarci. K: Vuoi davvero metterti in tiro perché qualche <i>intellettualoide</i> possa strofinarti contro il suo affare mentre sei costretta ad ascoltare un gruppo che fa schifo? M: Va bene, va bene, non ci andremo. E poi non è che per forza devo mettermi in tiro.
<b>Variation</b>	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
54 G: Come check it out, Cady. It's our 'burn-book'. See, we cut out girls' pictures from the year-book, and then we wrote comments. <Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> .> K: Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> . R: Still true.	54 G: Guarda, Cady. È il nostro "libro rosa". Ritagliamo le foto di altre ragazze dagli annuari, poi scriviamo dei commenti. <Trang Pak is a grotsky little <i>byotch</i> .> K: "Trang Pak è una grezzissima <i>strilonza</i> ". R: Ancora vero.
55 K: We're gonna look so kick-ass in these when we roll into Spring Fling. C: Oh, no, I'm not going.	55 K: Stiamo da paura. Li facciamo crepare tutti alla festa. C: Ah, no. Io non ci vengo.

<p>B: What?</p> <p>K: Cady, this is your night. Don't let the haters stop you from doing your <i>thang</i>.</p> <p>C: Did you just say “<i>thang</i>”?</p> <p>MS N: Cady, you don't have to punish yourself forever.</p> <p>C: But I'm grounded.</p> <p>MS N: You're already out.</p>	<p>B: Cosa?</p> <p>C: Cady, è la tua serata. Non puoi farti fregare la (<i>situation</i>).</p> <p>K: Come? La (<i>situation</i>)?</p> <p>MS N: Cady, non ti devi punire per sempre.</p> <p>C: Ma sono in punizione.</p> <p>MS N: Ormai sei uscita.</p>
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Table 3 Normalization strategies for hapaxes

Affixes	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>1</p> <p>[close-up on Mr H walking by himself and some teachers eating at the school cafeteria] C: Here's the four one one on Mister Hall. He's single, he's fourty-seven, and he earns minor ducats for a thankless job. What that man needs is a good healthy <i>boinkfest</i>. Unfortunately, there was a major babe drought in our school. The evil trolls from the math department were actually married ... And in the grand tradition of PE teachers, Miss Stoeger seemed to be same-sex oriented. Of course, there was always Miss Giest. Something told me not to discount Miss Giest</p>	<p>1</p> <p>C: Servizio informazioni sul Signor Hall. Single, quarantasette anni, guadagna quattro soldi per un lavoro infame. Conclusione: avrebbe bisogno di farsi <i>una sana scopata</i>. Purtroppo il corpo docente femminile era contro ogni tentazione. Le orchesse di matematica erano incredibilmente sposate... Come nella migliore tradizione delle insegnanti di educazione fisica, la Signorina Stoeger era un'abitante dell'isola di Lesbo. Però rimaneva sempre la Signorina Giest. C'era qualcosa che mi diceva di non sottovalutarla.</p>
<p>2</p> <p>C: Tai, how old are you? T: I'll be sixteen in May. C: My birthday is in April, and as someone older, can I please give you some advice? It is one thing to spark up a doobie and get laced at parties, but it is quite another to be fried all day. Do you see the distinction? T: Yeah. C [points to Travis and other boys wearing extra-large clothes and lying on the grass with guitars, skateboards and cigarettes]: <i>Loadies</i> generally hang on the grassy knoll over there. Sometimes they come to class and say bonehead things, and we all laugh, of course. But no respectable girl actually dates them.</p>	<p>2</p> <p>C: Senti, quanti anni hai? T: Ne compio sedici a maggio. C: Il mio compleanno è in aprile e quindi sono più vecchia. Posso darti un consiglio? Una cosa è farsi uno spinello a qualche festa e un'altra è essere sballati senza soluzione di continuità. Riesci a capire la differenza? T: Sì. C: <i>I drogati</i> di solito si ritrovano sull'erba. Quando vengono in classe dicono talmente tante idiozie che ti fanno ridere, ma le ragazze per bene non escono certo insieme a loro.</p>
<p>3</p> <p>D: You're too good for him. T [sighing]: If I'm too good for him, then how come I'm not with him? D: I've got an idea. Let's blow off seventh and eighth, go to the mall, have a <i>caloriefest</i> and see the new Christian Slater. T: Yes! Oh, you guys!</p>	<p>3</p> <p>D: Tu sei troppo per lui. T: Se merito tanto come dite, allora perché lui non mi vuole? D: Ho un'idea grandiosa. Saltiamo le ultime due ore, andiamo per negozi, <i>ci abbuffiamo di calorie</i> e vediamo l'ultimo film di Christian Slater. T: Sì! Oh, ragazze.</p>



<p>4</p> <p>B: Did you just maim Joey's car?</p> <p>K: Yeah. Looks like you're gonna have to take the bus.</p> <p>B: Has the fact that you're completely <i>psycho-managed</i> escaped to your attention? Daddy!</p>	<p>4</p> <p>B: Hai veramente danneggiato la macchina di Joey?</p> <p>K: Sì. Sembra che dovrai prendere l'autobus.</p> <p>B: Il fatto che tu sia <i>una psicopatica</i> non ti dà il diritto di comportarti così. Papà!</p>
<p>5</p> <p>G: Come check it out, Cady. It's our 'burn-book'. See, we cut out girls' pictures from the year-book, and then we wrote comments.</p> <p>&lt;Trang Pak is a <i>grotsky</i> little byotch.&gt;</p> <p>K: Trang Pak is a <i>grotsky</i> little byotch.</p> <p>R: Still true.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>G: Guarda, Cady. È il nostro "libro rosa". Ritagliamo le foto di altre ragazze dagli annuari, poi scriviamo dei commenti.</p> <p>&lt;Trang Pak is a <i>grotsky</i> little byotch.&gt;</p> <p>K: "Trang Pak è una <i>grezzissima</i> strilonza".</p> <p>R: Ancora vero.</p>
<p>6</p> <p>S: Hey, Mass! We missed you guys Saturday night. The party was completely <i>unbloggable</i> without you.</p> <p>M: I know.</p> <p>D: We heard you had some unexpected visitors.</p> <p>K: Oh my God. Jenna Dressler's wearing her Chihuahua-shirt again.</p> <p>JD: Hey, you guys. How's your winter break? Massie, I heard you have an NBF from Florida.</p>	<p>6</p> <p>S: Ci siete mancate sabato sera. Il mio (party) è stato quasi <i>irraccontabile</i> senza di voi.</p> <p>M: Lo so.</p> <p>S: Abbiamo saputo degli ospiti molesti salterini.</p> <p>M: Oh mio Dio, Jenna si è rimessa la camicetta ascellare.</p> <p>JD: Ciao! Le vacanze tutto bene? Massie, è vero che hai una nuova amica venuta dalla Florida?</p>
<p>7</p> <p>J: And we didn't just stop there. Abby, Quinn and I set out to disband the Plastics once and for all. We called ourselves "<i>the Anti-Plastics</i>". Not very original, but it got the point across. We gathered our forces. But as the Anti-Plastics grew, Mandi started recruiting for her side.</p>	<p>7</p> <p>J: E non ci fermammo lì. Abby, Quinn e io eravamo decise a sgominare le Barbie una volta per tutte. Ci chiamammo "<i>le Anti-Barbie</i>". Non molto originale, ma il messaggio era chiaro. Rafforzammo il nostro schieramento, ma con l'aumentare delle Anti-Barbie, anche Mandi incominciò a (XXX) nuove reclute.</p>
<p>8</p> <p>DAD: So, you heard from Abby?</p> <p>J: I've texted. Called. I tried her <i>NorthShoreCentric</i> page. No luck. That girl really hates my guts. But I can't blame her. I'm not sure why you don't hate me.</p> <p>DAD: Listen, kid, I'm not proud of what you did to Abby, but I know that you care about her. And you're certainly not a thief.</p> <p>J: At least someone believes me.</p>	<p>8</p> <p>PADRE: Jo, hai più sentito Abby?</p> <p>J: Le ho mandato degli sms, ho provato anche <i>sulla sua pagina sul sito</i> della scuola, ma niente. Deve odiarmi davvero con tutta se stessa. Ma non posso biasimarla. Perché non mi detesti anche tu?</p> <p>PADRE: Senti, tesoro, non sono fiero di quello che hai fatto a Abby, però so che ci tieni a lei e non sei una ladra.</p> <p>J: Almeno qualcuno mi crede.</p>
Compounds	

ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>9</p> <p>In the car, C driving.</p> <p>C: Did I show you the <i>loqued-out</i> jeep Daddy got me? It's got four wheel drive, dual side airbags and a monster sound system. I don't have a license yet, but I need something to learn on. [she runs over a potted plant on the pavement] Boy! That came out of nowhere!</p>	<p>9</p> <p>C: Questa è la <i>fantastica</i> jeep che mi ha regalato mio padre. Quattro ruote motrici, impianto airbag e uno stereo da paura. La patente ancora non ce l'ho, però ho bisogno di fare pratica. Certe piante spuntano fuori dal nulla!</p>
<p>10</p> <p>C: Shouldn't you go to school on the East Coast? I hear girls at NYU aren't at all particular.</p> <p>J: You're funny.</p> <p>C: Hey! God, you just got here and already you're playing <i>couch-commando</i>!</p> <p>J: Hey, in some parts of the universe, maybe not in Contempo Casual, but in some parts, it's considered cool to know what's going on in the world.</p> <p>C: Thank you, Josh. I so need lessons from you on how to be cool. Tell me that part about Kenny G again?</p>	<p>10</p> <p>C: Non dovevi andare a est? Le ragazze di New York fanno dei numeri a letto ...</p> <p>J: Molto divertente.</p> <p>C: Ehi! Sei appena arrivato e <i>fai già il padrone con il telecomando</i>?</p> <p>J: Senti, in alcune parti dell'universo, forse non nei negozi di abbigliamento che frequenti tu, è considerato civile informarsi su quello che accade nel mondo.</p> <p>C: Grazie, Josh. Le tue parole sono sempre di grande insegnamento per me. Sei già docente in noia e tediologia?</p>
<p>11</p> <p>C: What class you going to?</p> <p>J: Actually, I'm going to a Tree People meeting. We might get Marky Mark to plant a <i>celebrity-tree</i>.</p> <p>C: How fabulous. Getting Marky Mark to take time from his busy pants-dropping-schedule to plant trees? Josh, why don't you just hire a gardener?</p> <p>C: You know, maybe Marky Mark wants to use his popularity for a good cause, make a contribution.</p>	<p>11</p> <p>C: A che lezione devi andare?</p> <p>J: Veramente ho una riunione del comitato per la difesa degli alberi. Forse convinciamo Marky Mark a piantare <i>l'albero delle celebrità</i>.</p> <p>C: Sei commovente. Sottrarre Marky Mark alla sua principale occupazione, scoprirsi il sedere, per piantare un albero. Perché non ti trovi un bel giardiniere?</p> <p>J: Può darsi che Marky Mark voglia usare la sua popolarità a favore di una buona causa e dare il suo contributo.</p>
<p>12</p> <p>C: Dee, my mission is clear. Would you look at that girl? She is so adorably clueless. We've got to adopt her.</p> <p>D: Cher, she is <i>tow-up</i>. Our stock would plummet.</p> <p>C: Dee, don't you want to use your popularity for a good cause?</p> <p>D: No.</p> <p>C to T: Come here. Yeah, come here. Hang with us.</p>	<p>12</p> <p>C: Didi, la mia missione è chiara. Ah, è meravigliosamente inadeguata. Dobbiamo adottarla.</p> <p>D: Ma non la vedi? È <i>completamente da restaurare</i>. Le nostre quotazioni precipiteranno.</p> <p>C: Ma perché? Non vuoi usare la tua popolarità per una giusta causa?</p> <p>D: No.</p> <p>C a T: Vieni qua. Sì, tu. Vieni qua. Unisciti a noi.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">13-14-15</p> <p>C: Actually, going all the way is like a really big decision. I can't believe I was so capricious about it. Dee, I almost had sex with him.</p> <p>M: You almost had sex with who?</p> <p>C: Christian.</p> <p>M: What? [laughs] Yo, look! Are you bitches blind or something? Your man, Christian, is a cake-boy!</p> <p>C: A what?</p> <p>M: He's a disco-dancing, <i>Oscar Wilde-reading, Streisand ticket-holding friend-of-Dorothy...</i> You know what I'm saying?</p> <p>C: Uh huh. No way.</p> <p>M: He's gay.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">13-14-15</p> <p>C: Effettivamente andare fino in fondo è una decisione importante. Sono stata troppo precipitosa. Dovevo aspettare. Ti rendi conto che stavo per andarci a letto insieme?</p> <p>M: Con chi? Posso sapere?</p> <p>C: Christian.</p> <p>M: [ride]</p> <p>C: Perché ridi?</p> <p>M: È pazzesco! Ma voi due per caso siete diventate cieche? Quel Christian è una checca persa.</p> <p>C: Che cosa?</p> <p>M: <i>Balla la (disco music), legge Oscar Wilde, va sempre ai concerti della Straisand e frequenta i bagni turchi.</i></p> <p>C: No, non è vero.</p> <p>M: È gay!</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">16</p> <p>J: And that little one? That's Gretchen Wieners. She's totally rich because her dad invented Toaster Strudel. Gretchen Wieners knows everybody's business. She knows everything about everyone.</p> <p>D: That's why her hair is so big. It's full of secrets.</p> <p>J: And evil takes a human form in Regina George. Don't be fooled, because she may seem like your typical selfish, back-stabbing, <i>slut-faced</i> ho-bag. But in reality, she is so much more than that.</p> <p>D: She's the queen-bee. The star. Those other two are just her little workers. Regina George.</p> <p>J: How do I even begin to explain Regina George?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">16</p> <p>J: E quella nanetta lì è Gretchen Wieners. I soldi le escono dal culo perché suo padre ha inventato lo scalda-merendine. Gretchen Wieners sa i cazzi di tutti. Sa tutto sui cazzi di tutti.</p> <p>D: Per questo ha tutti quei capelli. Ha un segreto per ogni capello.</p> <p>J: E il male per eccellenza è Regina George. Non cascarci perché può sembrare la classica egoista, traditrice, <i>bastarda</i>, troia. Ma in realtà è molto peggio.</p> <p>D: Lei è l'ape regina, la (star), e quelle due sono le sue schiavette.</p> <p>J: Regina George. Come potrei anche solo iniziare a spiegare Regina George?</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">17-18</p> <p>D: She always looks fierce. She always wins Spring Fling Queen.</p> <p>J: Who cares?</p> <p>D: I care. Every year the seniors throw this dance for the underclassmen called "<i>The Spring Fling</i>." And whomsoever is elected Spring Fling king and queen automatically becomes head of the student activities committee. And since I am an active</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">17-18</p> <p>D: Se la tira da morire. Vince sempre il titolo di reginetta di primavera.</p> <p>J: E a chi gliene frega?</p> <p>D: A me. Le senior danno una festa per quelli degli altri anni, <i>la festa di primavera</i>, e chi è eletto re o regina praticamente diventa il capo del comitato delle attività studentesche. E visto che io sono un attivo membro del comitato delle attività</p>

<p>member of the student activities committee, I would say, yeah, I care. J: Damian, you've truly <i>out-gayed yourself</i>.</p>	<p>studentesche, direi di sì, che mi frega. J: Cazzo, Damian, <i>hai davvero superato te stesso</i> stavolta.</p>
<p>19 J: Is your muffin buttered? C: What? J: Would you like us to assign someone to butter your muffin? C: My what? R to C: Is he bothering you? R to J: Jason, why are you such a <i>skeeze</i>? J: I'm just being friendly.</p>	<p>19 J: Ti piace la banana? C: Cosa? J: Vuoi che ti faccia vedere la mia banana così decidi? C: Come scusa? J: Ti sta rompendo? C: Jason, perché sei così <i>schifoso</i>? J: Voglio solo fare amicizia.</p>
<p>20 K: So how do you like North Shore? C: It's good. I think I'm joining the Mathletes. G: No. No, no. R: You cannot do that. That is <i>social-suicide</i>. Damn, you are so lucky you have us to guide you.</p>	<p>20 K: Allora che te ne pare di North Shore? C: È okay. Mi iscriverò ai Matleti. K: No. No, no. R: No. Non puoi farlo. Sarebbe <i>un suicidio sociale</i>. Meno male che esci con noi che ti diamo delle dritte.</p>
<p>21 MUM: Welcome to our home. Just want you to know, if you need anything, don't be shy, okay? There are no rules in this house. I'm not like a regular mum. I'm a cool mum. Right, Regina? R: Please stop talking. MUM: Okay. I'm gonna make you girls a <i>bump-day-treat</i>.</p>	<p>22 MADRE: Benvenuta a casa nostra. Sappi che se ti serve qualcosa, qualsiasi cosa, non devi farti problemi. Okay? Non ci sono regole in questa casa. Io non sono una mamma come le altre. Io sono una mamma fichissima. Vero, Regina? R: Ti prego, lasciaci in pace. R: Ecco. Vado a prepararvi <i>una cosetta biologica</i>.</p>
<p>23 K: Oh my God, I remember this. [opens a pink book] R: I haven't looked at that in forever. G: G: Come check it out, Cady. It's our '<i>burn-book</i>'. See, we cut out girls' pictures from the year-book, and then we wrote comments. &lt;Trang Pak is a grotsky little byotch.&gt; K: Trang Pak is a grotsky little byotch. R: Still true.</p>	<p>23 K: Oh mio Dio, questo me lo ricordo. R: Non guardo quell'album da secoli. G: Guarda, Cady. È il nostro "<i>libro rosa</i>". Ritagliamo le foto di altre ragazze dagli annuari, poi scriviamo dei commenti. &lt;Trang Pak is a grotsky little byotch.&gt; K: "Trang Pak è una grezzissima strilonza". R: Ancora vero.</p>
<p>24 D: Will this minimize my pores? [takes a cream jar] J: No. J to C: Cady, you gotta steal that book.</p>	<p>24 D: Questa mi restringerà i pori. J: No. J a C: Cady, devi fregargli quel libro. C: Niente da fare.</p>

<p>C: No way!</p> <p>J: Oh, come on. We could publish it, and then everybody would see what an <i>ass-wound</i> she really is.</p> <p>C: I don't steal.</p> <p>J to D: That is for your feet. [points to the cream jar]</p> <p>J to C: Cady, there are two kinds of evil people. People who do evil stuff, and people who see evil stuff being done and don't try to stop it.</p>	<p>J: Dai, potremo pubblicarlo e allora tutti sapranno che <i>pezzo di merda</i> è in realtà.</p> <p>C: Io non rubo.</p> <p>J a D: È crema per piedi.</p> <p>C: Cady, ci sono due tipi di persone cattive. Persone che fanno cose cattive e persone che vedono fare cose cattive e non provano a impedirlo.</p>
<p>25</p> <p>C VO: I was a woman possessed. I spent about eighty percent of my time talking about Regina. And the other twenty percent of the time, I was praying for someone else to bring her up so I could talk about her more.</p> <p>C: She's not even that good-looking if you really look at her.</p> <p>J: I don't know. Now that's she's getting fatter, she's got pretty big jugs.</p> <p>C VO: I could hear people getting bored with me. But I couldn't stop. It just kept coming up like <i>word-vomit</i>.</p> <p>C: I have this theory, that if you cut all her hair off, she'd look like a British man.</p> <p>J: Yeah, I know. You told me that one before.</p> <p>C: Oh.</p>	<p>25</p> <p>C VO: Era come un'ossessione. Passavo l'ottanta per cento del tempo a parlare di Regina. E l'altro venti per cento pregavo che qualcuno parlasse di lei così potevo parlarne ancora.</p> <p>C: Non è neanche così carina, se la guardi bene.</p> <p>J: Non lo so. Ora che sta ingrassando, ha le tette belle grosse.</p> <p>C VO: La gente non ne poteva più di me, ma non riuscivo a fermarmi. Continuava a venirmi su un <i>vomito di parole</i>.</p> <p>C: Senti questa. Se le tagliassimo tutti i capelli, assomiglierebbe a un marine.</p> <p>J: Sì, me lo hai già detto prima.</p> <p>C: Ah.</p>
<p>26</p> <p>R [writing on the burn-book]: This girl is the nastiest <i>skank-bitch</i> I've ever met. Do not trust her. She is a fugly slut! [sticks a picture under the text]</p>	<p>26</p> <p>R: Questa ragazza è la più schifosa, <i>stronza</i>, <i>puttana</i> che abbia mai conosciuto. Non vi fidate di lei. È una grandissima stroia.</p>
<p>27</p> <p>C: Great. All my friends hate me, and now my mum hates me.</p> <p>DAD: Your mum does not hate you. She's afraid of you. I don't know, maybe we <i>mainstream-schooled</i> you too soon. Maybe you should come back and be home-schooled again for a while.</p> <p>C: No. Only thing worse than going back will be not going back.</p> <p>DAD: How bad's it gonna be tomorrow?</p> <p>C: Remember when we saw those lions</p>	<p>27</p> <p>C: Bene. Mi odiano tutte le mie amiche e ora mi odia anche mia madre.</p> <p>PADRE: No, tua madre non ti odia. Semmai è spaventata da te. Magari ti <i>abbiamo mandato a scuola</i> troppo presto, non so... Forse dovresti ricominciare a studiare a casa.</p> <p>C: No. Non tornarci per me sarebbe peggio che tornarci.</p> <p>PADRE: Sarà molto dura domani?</p> <p>C: Ti ricordi quando abbiamo visto quei leoni lottare per la carcassa del facocero?</p>

<p>fighting over the wart hog carcass? I'll be the wart hog. DAD: You're not a wart hog. You're a lion. Just focus on your studies for a little while.</p>	<p>Domani sarò il facocero. PADRE: Tu non sei il facocero, tu sei il leone. Devi solo concentrarti sullo studio.</p>
<p>28 C: Too bad you couldn't get the new Prada bag with the fringe. Would've totally matched her brown fur. M: Hello! Fringe is so out. And I'm at the top of the wait-list for the new patent leather Prada satchel. C: But you've already waited, like, six months for the fringe... M: Of course, Mandi. Fringe is so <i>past-tense</i>. "Vogue" says crimson is the new accessory and you're totally gonna rock that look. C: Oh, I know.</p>	<p>28 C: Peccato che non hai avuto la nuova Prada con la frangia. Era perfetta col suo pelo. M: Scherzi? Le frange sono (out). E sono in cima nella lista d'attesa per la nuova borsa di vernice di Prada. C: Ma hai già aspettato sei mesi per quella con la frangia... M: Oh, ma certo, Mandi. Le frange sono <i>così datate</i>. "Vogue" dice che il nuovo colore dell'accessorio è il cremisi. A te starà d'incanto! C: Ah, lo so.</p>
<p>29 M: God, Nick is just so nasty. I'm only dating him 'cause he's probably getting a full ride to UCLA. You know, one week in LA and I'll be a <i>bikini-model-hyphen-reality-star-hyphen-awesome</i>. G: I heard Amy Hall is totally into him. M: Oh, she wouldn't dare.</p>	<p>29 M: Eww! Nick è davvero disgustoso. Ci esco solo perché forse entrerà alla UCLA. Datemi una settimana a Los Angeles e sarò <i>una modella di bikini e la celebrità di ogni reality!</i> G: Ho saputo che Amy Hall è cotta di lui. M: Ah, non oserebbe mai.</p>
<p>30 At the school cafeteria N [after pushing Abby's head in her meal]: Oops! Sorry! [Everybody laughs] M: <i>Abby Scabby's</i> face looks as red and pussy as it did in seventh grade. Zit cream much? J VO: Mandi was creative, ruthless, unrelenting. I'd seen her kind before. H to A [handing her some toilet paper]: Need a napkin?</p>	<p>30 N: Oops! Scusa! M: Oh, è disgustoso. <i>Abby</i> ha la faccia rossa e piena di pustole come quando era in seconda media. Usa un po' di crema. J VO: Mandi era creativa, implacabile. Conoscevo bene il tipo. H a A: Vuoi un fazzoletto?</p>
<p>31 J VO: By the next day, I hoped everyone would have forgotten about my wardrobe malfunction, but it wasn't what I was expecting. Apparently, holding your head high after a <i>Mandi-vendetta</i> earned you points.</p>	<p>31 J VO: Il giorno seguente speravo che tutti si fossero scordati della mia agone improvvisata, ma a quanto pare, restare a testa alta dopo <i>una vendetta di Mandi</i> faceva guadagnare punti.</p>
<p>32 J VO: For Hope, who'd been a hypochondriac since contracting mono from a water fountain, we said goodbye to Mandi's</p>	<p>32 J VO: Per Hope, che era un'ipocondriaca da quando si era presa la mononucleosi da una fontanella, abolimmo <i>la regola di Mandi "mai emettere fluidi corporei"</i>.</p>

<p><i>no-bodily-fluids rule.</i>  [Everybody sneezes]  H: Oh my God! Oh my God! I'm gonna contract E coli!  C: Even worse. You have a zit.  H: I knew ugliness was contagious!</p>	<p>H: Oh, aiutatemi! Prenderò un'infezione!  C: Anche peggio. Hai un brufolo.  H: Oh, lo sapevo che la bruttezza era contagiosa!</p>
<p>33  DAD: Hey, kid. Lend me a hand. Jimmy gave me an extension on delivering the engine.  J: Sorry, Dad. I've got shopping with Quinn and a movie with Tyler, and I still have to make my campaign buttons. <i>Busy-busy!</i>  DAD: Busy-busy...</p>	<p>33  DAD: Ciao, piccola. Mi aiuti? Jimmy mi ha dato una proroga per il motore.  J: Scusa, papà. Devo andare con Quinn a fare shopping, andare al cinema con Tyler e fare i distintivi per la mia campagna. <i>Sono molto impegnata</i>, scusa!  DAD: Molto impegnata...</p>
<p>34  M to DOG [looking at Claire wearing overalls and an old jacket]: Bean, what's one step worse than a fashion-don't? <i>A fashion-don't-even-think-about-it.</i></p>	<p>34  M al CANE: Bean, che cosa c'è di peggio di una fuori moda? <i>Una che non ci pensa nemmeno.</i></p>
<p>35  C: Could we go shopping for the first day of school?  MUM: What about the clothes we bought before we left Florida?  C: T. J.Maxx isn't gonna cut it here, Mum. It's like <i>designer-everything</i>. Please, I just wanna fit in. I really want her to like me.  MUM: Honey, she's gonna like you because you're you, not because of what you wear.  C: All right, fine. I suppose we could use a new sweater or two. It's pretty cold up here.</p>	<p>35  C: Facciamo shopping prima che inizi la scuola?  MADRE: E i vestiti che abbiamo comprato prima di lasciare la Florida?  C: La roba dei negozi che abbiamo noi non serve. Qui <i>hanno tutto firmato</i>. Per favore, rendimi la vita facile, voglio cercare di piacerle.  MADRE: Tesoro, le piacerai per quello che sei, non per quello che indossi.  C: Okay, va bene. Un paio di maglioni ci saranno utili. Fa piuttosto freddo qui.</p>
<p>36  L: I'm Layne. Claire, right? Yeah, you're new around here. Word travels fast. Oh, oatmeal?  C: No, thanks. I'm trying to cut back.  L: One day here and you look like a pure <i>Massie-chist</i>. You guys friends?  C: Uh...Yeah, we kind of are.  L: I didn't realize that the 'pretty committee' was taking new applications for new members.</p>	<p>36  L: Mi chiamo Layne. Claire, vero? Sì, sei nuova. Le notizie viaggiano in fretta. Del porridge?  C: No, grazie. Sto cercando di smettere.  L: Un solo giorno e già ti vesti come <i>la perfetta Massie</i>. Siete amiche?  C: Mh...sì, in un certo senso.  L: Non sapevo che "la comitiva delle precise" accettasse domande per nuovi membri.</p>
<p>37  M: Okay, Claire, truth or dare?  C: Uh...Dare.</p>	<p>37  M: Tocca a te Claire. Verità o sfida?  C: Sfida.</p>

<p>M: Who do you like?</p> <p>C: Eh... I like a lot of people. I like my parents, my friends...</p> <p>M: Not just "like." "Like", like, <i>like-more-than-a-friend like</i>.</p> <p>C: I don't know.</p> <p>M: If you had to pick, someone here in Westchester.</p> <p>C: Well, I guess I don't really know anyone. Okay, there was this skateboard guy, Chris. He's got shaggy blond hair, deep blue eyes, scar above...</p>	<p>M: Chi ti piace?</p> <p>C: Un sacco di persone. I miei genitori, i miei amici...</p> <p>M: Non in quel senso. <i>C'è qualcuno che ti fa battere il cuore?</i></p> <p>C: Non lo so.</p> <p>M: Cerca di pensare a qualcuno qui a Westchester.</p> <p>C: Qui in realtà non conosco nessuno. okay. Mi sono scontrata con un ragazzo, Chris. È un incanto. Ha i capelli biondi arruffati, gli occhi blu e una cicatrice sul...</p>
<p>38</p> <p>C: Okay. Your turn.</p> <p>K: Okay. But you can't tell. You know how I'm always worried about my grades? It's not because I have strict parents. It's because I have poor parents. I'm on a scholarship at OCD.</p> <p>C: Oh my God times three! But you live in a Montador building.</p> <p>K: No. We live in an apartment building next door. You better not tell. Not Even for <i>gossip-points</i>. Massie, promise.</p>	<p>38</p> <p>C: Ora tocca a te.</p> <p>K: Okay. Ma non devi dirlo a nessuno. Lo vedi che mi preoccupa sempre per i voti? Non è solo perché ho dei genitori severi, ma è anche perché i miei sono poveri. Frequento l'OCD grazie a una borsa di studio.</p> <p>C: Oh mio Dio al cubo! Ma come? Vivi in un palazzo meraviglioso.</p> <p>K: No. Abitiamo in un condominio lì vicino. Non dirlo a nessuno. Neanche per avere <i>i punti-gossip</i>. Massie, prometti.</p>
<p>39</p> <p>[The neighbor is approaching her room]</p> <p>C: We have to do something. We can't stay under here all night. You have to go out there.</p> <p>T: No way.</p> <p>C: You can play <i>the creepy-little-brother-crushing-on-the-hot-neighbour angle</i>. Todd, I'm serious. Help!</p> <p>T: If I do this, you owe me big time.</p> <p>[The neighbour enters her room]</p>	<p>39</p> <p>C: Cerchiamo una scappatoia. Non possiamo stare qui tutta la notte. Ti devi sacrificare.</p> <p>T: Scordatelo.</p> <p>C: Passerai per <i>il fratello rompi-scatole che si è preso una cotta per la vicina</i>. Dico sul serio. Aiutami.</p> <p>T: Va bene, solo che dovrai farmi mille favori.</p>
<p>40</p> <p>PRINCIPAL: Patrick Verona. I see we're making our visits a weekly ritual.</p> <p>P: Only so we can have these moments together. Should I, uh, hit the lights?</p> <p>PRINCIPAL: Oh, very clever, <i>kangaroo-boy</i>. Says here you exposed yourself in the cafeteria?</p> <p>P: I was joking with the lunch-lady. It was a bratwurst.</p>	<p>40</p> <p>PRINCIPAL: Patrick Verona. Le nostre visite stanno diventando un rituale settimanale.</p> <p>P: È l'unica occasione per stare un po' insieme. Dovrei... Spegnerla la luce?</p> <p>PRINCIPAL: Oh, molto spiritoso, <i>complimenti</i>. Così ieri hai messo in mostra i tuoi genitali nella caffetteria?</p> <p>P: Scherzavo con la signora della mensa. Era</p>



PRINCIPAL: Bratwurst? Aren't we the optimist? Next time keep it in your pouch, okay? Scoot!	solo un würstel. PRINCIPAL: Un würstel? Non sarai un po' ottimista? La prossima volta lascialo nei pantaloni, okay? Fila!
41 M [pointing to well-dressed reading textbooks]: These are your future MBAs. We're all <i>Ivy League-accepted</i> . Yuppie greed is back, my friend. M to BOYS: Hey guys. How you doin'? [B stares angrily at M] BOY 1: Close it, Bogey! M to C: Yesterday I was their god. C: What happened? M: Bogey Lowenstein started a rumor that I buy my Izods at an outlet mall. C: So they kicked you out? M: Hostile take-over. But don't worry. He'll pay.	41 M: E, dunque, questi sono futuri manager. Tutti <i>accettati dalla Ivy League</i> . È tornata la passione per gli Yuppie, amico mio. M ai RAGAZZI: Ehi, ragazzi, come va? RAGAZZO 1: Lascia perdere, Bogey. M a C: Ero il loro idolo fino a ieri. C: Che è successo? M: Bogey Lowenstein ha messo in giro la voce che io... Avrei comprato gli Izods al centro commerciale. C: E ti hanno buttato fuori? M: Acquisizione ostile. Non ti preoccupare. Me la pagheranno. Da questa parte...
42 P: Pick you up Friday, then. K: Oh, right. Friday. Uh huh. P: Oh, the night I take you to places you've never been before. K: Like where? The Seven-Eleven on Broadway? Do you even know my name, <i>screw-boy</i> ? P: I know a lot more than you think. K: Doubtful. Very doubtful.	42 P: Ti vengo a prendere venerdì. K: Oh, giusto, venerdì. Ahah. P: Senti, ti porterò dove non sei mai stata. K: Dove per esempio? Allo spaccio sulla Broadway? Ma sai almeno il mio nome, <i>deficiente</i> ? P: So più cose di quanto tu creda. K: Difficile. Molto difficile.
43 P: So you two are gonna help me tame the wild beast? M: We'll do some research. We'll find out what she likes. We are your guys. C: And he means that in a strictly <i>non-prison-movie type of way</i> . M: Let's start here. Now, Friday night. Bogey Lowenstein is having a party. It's the perfect opportunity. P: Perfect opportunity for what? M: For you to take out Kat. P: I'll think about it.	43 P: Mi aiutereste ad addomesticare la belva feroce? M: Certamente. Noi faremo delle ricerche e scopriremo cosa le piace. Siamo i tuoi uomini. M: E questo va inteso <i>in senso strettamente collaborativo</i> , non fraintendere. C: Ah, cominciamo da qui. Allora, venerdì sera Bogey Lowenstein dà una grande festa. A mio modesto avviso, è l'occasione perfetta. P: L'occasione perfetta per cosa? M: Per portare fuori Kat. P: Ci penserò sopra.
44 C: Okay. First thing, Kat hates smokers. P: So you're telling me I'm a non-smoker?	44 C: D'accordo. Per prima cosa, Kat odia i fumatori.

<p>M: Yeah. Just for now.</p> <p>C: And there's another problem. Bianca said that Kat likes pretty guys.</p> <p>P: Are you telling me I'm not a pretty guy?</p> <p>M to C: He's very pretty! This is a gorgeous guy.</p> <p>M to P: C: I just wasn't sure. I didn't know. All right. Yeah. Okay. Here's this. Likes. Thai food, feminist prose, and <i>angry-girl-music</i> of the indie-rock persuasion. Here's a list of CDs that she has in her room.</p> <p>P: So I'm supposed to buy her some noodles and a book and sit around listening to chicks who can't play their instruments, right?</p> <p>M: Have you ever been to Club Skunk?</p> <p>C: Her favorite band is playing there tomorrow night.</p>	<p>P: Mi stai dicendo che... Non devo fumare?</p> <p>C: Sì, ma solo per ora.</p> <p>M: E c'è anche un altro problema. Bianca ha detto che a Kat piacciono i bei ragazzi.</p> <p>C: Vuoi dire che non sono un bel ragazzo?</p> <p>M a C: Ma come ti viene in mente? È un ragazzo fantastico.</p> <p>M a P: Sì, sei fantastico!</p> <p>C: D'accordo, sì, allora, ecco qui. Le piace: la cucina thailandese, la prosa femminista e <i>la musica delle ragazze arrabbiate</i> che si ispira al rock indipendente. Ecco una lista dei CD che ha nella sua stanza.</p> <p>P: Dovrei comprargli gli spaghetti, un libro e stare ad ascoltare delle ragazze che non sanno suonare?</p> <p>M: Sei mai stato al Club Skunk?</p> <p>C: Il suo gruppo preferito suona lì domani sera.</p>
Abbreviations	
<p>45</p> <p>ROBBER: Hand it over. Give me the phone. Okay. Bag, too. Come on! All right, now, uh, get down on the ground. Face down. Come on!</p> <p>C: Oh, no. You don't understand. This is an Alaia.</p> <p>ROBBER: An <i>A-what-a?</i></p> <p>C: It's like a totally important designer.</p> <p>ROBBER: And I will totally shoot you in the head. Get down!</p> <p>[C gets down]</p> <p>ROBBER: All right, uh, count to a hundred. Thank you.</p>	<p>45</p> <p>LADRO: Attacca. Dammi il telefono. Bene. Bene. Anche la borsetta. Veloce! Beh, adesso sdraiati giù a terra. Faccia a terra. Su, forza.</p> <p>C: No, no. Non è possibile. Questo è di Alaia.</p> <p>LADRO: <i>Di chi è?</i></p> <p>C: È un grande stilista. È molto famoso.</p> <p>LADRO: E io sono molto pazzo quindi sdraiati. Avanti!</p> <p>C: Bene. Bene, così. Adesso conta fino a ... centosette. Grazie.</p>
<p>46</p> <p>J: So you didn't want to make a night of it with the ring-a-ding kid?</p> <p>C: Yeah, Daddy wouldn't go too ballistic. It's not like he's going to sleep or anything.</p> <p>J: No, not if they're going to finish those <i>depos</i>.</p> <p>C: Hey, you know what would be so dope? If we got some really delicious take-out. I bet they haven't eaten all night.</p> <p>J: That would be pretty dope of us. Let's do it.</p>	<p>46</p> <p>J: Non ti andava di passare la notte con quella specie di cartone animato?</p> <p>C: Sì e poi chi lo reggeva papà? Non sarà ancora andato a letto.</p> <p>J: Starà combattendo con quelle <i>deposizioni</i>.</p> <p>C: Facciamogli una sorpresa. Andiamo a comprare un bel po' di stuzzichini. Non avranno mangiato niente per cena.</p> <p>J: Sì, è un'idea squisita da parte nostra. Sì, facciamolo.</p>
47	47

<p>J: Hey! How does it feel to have a license?  C: I wouldn't know. I failed.  T: Oh, bummer.  C: And, Josh, spare me your lectures on how driving is such a big responsibility and you can't <i>BS</i> your way through it, okay?  J: I didn't say anything.  C: I know what you're thinking.</p>	<p>J: Ciao! Che effetto fa avere la patente?  C: Nessuno. Mi hanno bocciato.  T: Oh, che peccato.  C: Josh, risparmiarmi i predicozzi del tipo "guidare è una grossa responsabilità, <i>non puoi barare</i> con gli esaminatori", ok?  J: Non ho proferito verbo.  C: Però l'hai pensato.</p>
<p>48</p> <p>C: What is this stuff?  T: This is a bunch of junk that reminded me of Elton, but I wanna burn it because I'm so over him.  C: Well, what stuff?  T: All right. Do you remember when we were at the <i>Val</i> party? And the clog knocked me out and Elton went to get a towel of ice to cure me?  C: Yeah.  T: Well, I didn't tell you at the time, but I took the towel home as a souvenir.  C: You're kidding.</p>	<p>48</p> <p>C: Che cos'hai lì dentro?  T: Un mucchio di robbaccia orrenda che mi ricorda Elton, che io ora cado a bruciare perché non ho più una cotta per lui.  C: Del tipo?  T: Allora, ti ricordi quando siamo andati a quella festa nella <i>Valley</i>, che una scarpa mi è volata in testa, e Elton mi ci ha messo sopra un asciugamano bagnato?  C: Sì.  T: Beh ... Allora non te lo dissi, ma ... me lo sono portato a casa come souvenir.  C: Scherzi?</p>
<p>49</p> <p>D: Don't forget to vote for Spring Fling King and Queen, people. These <i>A-holes</i> will represent you for a full calendar year.  BOY 1: I'm gonna vote for Regina George because she got hit by that bus.  BOY 2: I'm voting for Cady Heron because she pushed her.</p>	<p>49</p> <p>D: Non dimenticate di votare per il re e la reginetta di primavera, gente. Questi <i>stronzi</i> vi rappresenteranno per tutto l'anno.  BOY 1: Io voto per Regina George perché è andata sotto il pulmino della scuola.  BOY 2: Io voto per Cady Heron perché l'ha spinta.</p>
<p>50</p> <p>A [typing]: &lt;How <i>bilars</i> was @ the pool 2day? Chain-store, ew.&gt;  C [typing]: &lt;leesh!&gt;  A [typing]: &lt;? r u up 2?&gt;  C [typing]: &lt; Off 2 hang at claire's.&gt;</p>	<p>50</p> <p>A: &lt;How <i>bilars</i> was @ the pool 2day? Chain-store, ew.&gt;  A: Oggi è stato divertente in piscina. grandi magazzini? Bleah.  C: &lt;leesh!&gt;  C: Leesh!  A: &lt;? r u up 2?&gt;  A: Che combini?  C: &lt; Off 2 hang at claire's.&gt;  C: Sto per andare da Claire.</p>
<p>51-52</p> <p>C: Hello?  K: Hey, Claire. It's Kris.  C: Hey. Hold on a sec. Todd, hang up the phone. I can hear you breathing  D: Actually, It's not Todd. It's me.</p>	<p>51-52</p> <p>C: Pronto.  K: Ciao, Claire. Sono Kris.  C: Ciao. Aspetta un secondo. Todd chiudi il telefono, ti sento respirare.  D: Non è Todd. Sono io. Ti dispiace?</p>

<p>C: Dylan? A: And me. C: Oh. Hey, Leesh. Wow, I've never been on a <i>four-way</i> before. Fun! M: Actually, it's a <i>five-way</i>. Fun's over. We know what you did, Claire. Hijacking my IM, so not cool. So here's a little message for you.</p>	<p>C: Dylan? A: E io. C: Ciao, Leesh. Non ho mai avuto <i>una conversazione a quattro</i>. Fico! M: Veramente <i>la conversazione è a cinque</i>. La festa è finita. Sappiamo cosa hai fatto, Claire. Dirottare la mia posta. Non è carino. E quindi ti mando il messaggio conclusivo.</p>
Conversion	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>53</p> <p>C: But, Tai, do you really think you'd be good with Josh? I mean, he's like a school nerd. T: Well, am I some sort of a mentally challenged airhead? C: No! Not even! I didn't say that. T: Well, I'm not good enough for Josh or something? C: I just... Don't think you mesh well together. T: You don't think that we mesh well? Why am I even listening you to begin with? You're a virgin who can't drive. C: Oh, that was way harsh, Tai. T: All right. Look, I'm really sorry. Let's just talk when we've mellowed, all right? <i>I'm audi</i>. [T leaves]</p>	<p>53</p> <p>C: Ma, Tai, sei sicura che Josh sia il tuo tipo? Insomma, lui studia molto ... T: Beh, io non sono né un'analfabeta, né una ritardata mentale. C: No, niente affatto. Non volevo dire questo. T: Che non sono degna di Josh? Questo mi volevi dire? C: Io credo...solo... che non stareste bene insieme. T: Tu non credi che staremmo bene insieme? Ah! Che delusione. Del resto che potevo aspettarmi da una verginella che non sa neanche guidare? C: Non essere offensiva, Tai. T: Scusa. Mi dispiace tanto. Ne riparlamo quando ci siamo calmate. <i>Adesso vado</i>.</p>
<p>54</p> <p>C VO: Isn't my house classic? The columns date all the way back to nineteen seventy-two. [close-up on a portrait of a woman] C VO: Wasn't my mom a <i>betty</i>? She died when I was just a baby. A fluke accident during a routine liposuction. I don't remember her, but I like to pretend she still watches over me. C to PORTRAIT: Hey, Mum. Ninety-eight in geometry. Pretty groovy, huh?</p>	<p>54</p> <p>C VO: Non è un gioiellino la mia casa? Le colonne sono antiche, risalgono al 1972.</p> <p>C VO: Com'era bella mia madre. Morì che ero ancora bambina. Un imprevisto durante una liposuzione. Non me la ricordo granché ma mi piace pensare che mi protegge. C al RITRATTO: Ciao, mamma. Tua figlia ha preso ottimo in geometria. Niente male, eh?</p>
<p>55</p> <p>In the classroom. MR H: Paroudasm Budapshawn, sixteen <i>tardies</i> to work off. P: (Farsi) MR H: Janet Huon, no <i>tardies</i>. ALL: Kisser!</p>	<p>55</p> <p>PROF: Paroudasm Budapshawn, devi scontare ben sedici <i>ritardi</i>. P: Cane puzzolente, faresti vomitare anche un verme. PROF: Janet Hong, nessun <i>ritardo</i>.</p>

<p>MR H: Travis Birkenstock, thirty-eight tardies. By far the most tardiest in the class. Congratulations.</p> <p>T: This is so unexpected. Uh, I didn't even have a speech prepared. Uh, but I would like to say this. Uh, tardiness is not something you can do all on your own. Many many people contributed to my tardiness. I'd like to thank my parents for never giving me a ride to school, the LA city bus driver for taking a chance on an unknown kid, and, uh, last but not least, the wonderful crew at Mc Donald's for spending hours making those egg Mc Muffins, without which I might never be tardy.</p>	<p>ALL: Che brava!</p> <p>PROF: Travis Birkenstock, trentotto ritardi. Record assoluto dell'intera classe. Congratulazioni.</p> <p>T: Non me l'aspettavo. A saperlo avrei preparato un discorso. Eh, però una cosa ci tengo a dirla. Certi traguardi non si possono raggiungere da soli. Molte persone hanno contribuito a questo mio successo. Innanzitutto i miei genitori, che non mi hanno mai dato un passaggio neanche morto. Gli autisti dell'autobus, anche loro sono stati molto preziosi. E un ringraziamento speciale va ai fantastici cuochi di Mc Donald, che ci mettono ore a preparare un cheeseburger. Senza il loro aiuto avrei rischiato di arrivare puntuale.</p>
<p>56</p> <p>C VO: What does she want with Josh anyway? He dresses funny. He listens to complaint rock. He's not even cute ... in a conventional way. I mean, he's just this slug who hangs around the house all the time. Eww. And he's a hideous dancer. Couldn't take him anywhere. Wait a second. What am I stressing about? This is, like, Josh. Okay, okay, so he's kind of a <i>baldwin</i>. What would he want with Tai? She couldn't make him happy. Josh needs someone with imagination, someone to take care of him, someone to laugh at his jokes, in case he ever makes any. Then suddenly... Oh my God. I love Josh!</p>	<p>56</p> <p>C VO: Che cosa ci troverà poi in Josh? Si veste in maniera strana, ascolta il rock di protesta, non è nemmeno carino ... beh, non in maniera convenzionale. Vive come un paguro appiccicato a casa mia. Uff... e poi balla da cani. Non si può portare in giro. Aspetta un momento, ma che sto cercando di dimostrare? Josh è fatto così, e basta. Va bene, lo so, lo so, <i>non è male</i>. Ma cosa c'entra lui con Tai? Non lo farebbe mai felice. Josh ha bisogno di qualcuno che abbia fantasia, qualcuno che si prenda cura di lui, qualcuno che rida delle sue battute, nel caso ne faccia. Che altro dire? Oh mio Dio, sono innamorata di Josh!</p>
<p>57</p> <p>M: I say we bag the party. I'm not trading my Frèderic Fekkai for Nix.</p> <p>D: But it's an eighth grade party and we're the only seventh graders invited.</p> <p>M: Please, I'm not gonna be caught dead at a party thrown by anyone under the age of fifteen. It's worse than wearing Crocs.</p> <p>D: Wait. Head lice and Crocs?</p> <p>K: No one's actually wearing Crocs, Dyl.</p> <p>M: Actually, I think Shelby has a pair, in orange.</p> <p>ALL: Eww!</p> <p>K: Forget it. I'm out.</p>	<p>57</p> <p>M: Lo so, io bypasso il party. Cioè, non esiste che per un pidocchio rinunci al mio taglio.</p> <p>D: Ma quella è la terza media. Siamo le uniche nella seconda.</p> <p>M: Per cortesia. Non mi faccio vedere neanche svenuta a un party organizzato da chi ha meno di quindici anni. È tipo andare in giro con i sandali.</p> <p>D: Aspetta. Sandali e pidocchi?</p> <p>K: Guarda che nessuno va in giro con i sandali.</p> <p>M: In realtà credo che Shelby ne abbia un</p>

<p>K: Forget it. I'm out.  A: Me too.  D: <i>Me three.</i>  M: That's what I thought.</p>	<p>paio, color arancio.  TUTTE: Bleah!  K: Scordatevelo. Io mi chiamo fuori.  A: Anch'io.  D: <i>Anch'io.</i>  M: Sono un genio.</p>
<p>58  C: Layne! Layne! I tried to <i>Myspace</i> you last night, but it didn't go through.  L: The thing is, I don't really have time for friend requests right now, because, I'm really busy, baby-sitting my brother.  C: But your brother's fifteen!  M to L: Layne! Layne, are we still on for manis-and-pedis after school?  L: For suresies.  C to L: Oh. Wait a sec. You and Massie? Since when do you want to be friends with her?  L: Everyone wants to be friends with Massie. Isn't that why you lied to me and ditched me for her sleepover? Yeah. That's what I thought.</p>	<p>58  C: Layne! Layne! Layne! Ti ho <i>cercata su Myspace</i> ma non ti ho trovata.  L: Il fatto è che non ho tempo per le richieste di amicizia adesso. Sono molto occupata. Faccio da baby sitter a mio fratello.  C: Ma tuo fratello ha quindici anni!  M a L: Layne! Layne, hai confermato il tuo appuntamento per manicure e pedicure?  L: Certo, cara.  C: Un secondo. Che significa? Tu e Massie? Da quando in qua vuoi essere sua amica?  L: Tutte vogliono essere amiche di Massie. Non è per questo che mi hai scaricata per andare al suo pigiama (party)? Già. Hai visto?</p>
<p>59  K: You told Alicia after you called Dylan "fat."  M: I never called Dylan "fat."  K: Yes, you did. Two nights ago.  M: No, I didn't. Well, at least not to her face.  K: Look, I'll prove it. See? She called me right after. Ten o one.  M: Two nights ago at ten o one I was out looking for Bean. That's why I missed the beginning of "The Hills."  K: But that does not mean any sense. Dylan said you <i>IM'd</i> her.  M: Well, I didn't.  K: Right. Just like you don't remember what I told you.  M: What you told me when?  K: The night after, when <i>we were IMing</i>.</p>	<p>59  K: L'hai detto ad Alicia dopo aver detto "cicciona" a Dylan.  M: Io non le ho mai detto che è cicciona.  K: Gelilo hai detto due sere fa, non negarlo.  M: No, non gliel'ho detto. Cioè, non in faccia.  K: Te lo dimostro. Leggi. E lei mi ha chiamato alle dieci e zerouno.  M: Due sere fa alle dieci e zerouno ero a cercare Bean. Infatti mi sono persa l'inizio di "Lost".  K: Non stai dicendo la verità. <i>Dylan mi ha detto che l'hai offesa.</i>  M: Invece non è vero.  K: Già, come non ti ricordi della mia confessione.  M: Ma quale confessione?  K: La sera successiva, quando <i>ci siamo messaggiate.</i></p>
<p>60  [close-up on white boys with dreadlocks and Jamaican berets]  M: These <i>delusionals</i> are the white rastas.</p>	<p>60  M: E gli illusi che vedi qui sono i rasta</p>

<p>They're big Marley fans. They think they're black. Semi-political, but mostly...</p> <p>C: Smoke a lot of weed?</p> <p>M: Yeah.</p>	<p>bianchi. Sono fan di Marley. Pensano di essere neri. Semi-politici, ma per la maggior parte...</p> <p>C: Fumano molta erba?</p> <p>M: Già.</p>
<p>61</p> <p>M's room. Girls looking at M's social network page where a videoclip was uploaded of a prank made to a friend.</p> <p>H: Four hundred people already viewed it. That computer geek lived up to his promise, which is like a rarity in life that anyone comes through, especially fathers and doctors.</p> <p>M: &lt;Mandi's status: don't mess with <i>Awesome!</i>&gt;</p>	<p>61</p> <p>H: Quattrocento contatti. Quel cervellone ha mantenuto la promessa. Capita di rado nella vita che qualcuno lo faccia. (XXX)</p> <p>M: &lt;Mandi's status: don't mess with Awesome!&gt; [ Stato di Mandi ]</p>
Variation	
ORIGINAL VERSION	DUBBED VERSION
<p>62</p> <p>C: Sorry, I'm late. I got a little lost.</p> <p>MR V: And you are...?</p> <p>C: I'm Claire. I'm new.</p> <p>MR V: I'm Vincent. I'm old. But you know what they say, thirty-two is the new twenty-two. My likes include Broadway musicals, piña coladas and taking long walks in the rain. And my dislikes are... Now, what are they again? Oh yeah, tardiness. There's a seat by the window.</p> <p>MR V to A: And Miss Rivera, this isn't the changing-room at Saks. Make room.</p> <p>MR V to C: Claire, I've seen paint dry faster. Chop-chop! <i>Chop Squared</i>, please.</p> <p>MR V to ALL: Okay, you have your materials in front of you. You have fifteen minutes to paint this as still life.</p>	<p>62</p> <p>C: Scusi per il ritardo. Non trovavo la classe.</p> <p>MR V: Lei è la Signorina...?</p> <p>C: Mi chiamo Claire. Sono nuova.</p> <p>MR V: Io Vincent e sono vecchio. Insomma, vecchio è un eufemismo, un modo di dire. Le cose che mi piacciono sono i musical, la piña colada e fare passeggiate sotto la pioggia. Quelle che detesto... Dunque, quali erano? Ah, già. Il ritardo.</p> <p>MR V ad A: Signorina Rivera, questo non è certo il suo camerino. Faccia spazio.</p> <p>MR V a C: Cerca la tua postazione. Claire, un quadro asciuga più in fretta. Su, andiamo. <i>Si sbrighi. Forza.</i></p> <p>MR V a TUTTE: Okay, il materiale che vi serve è di fronte a voi. Avete quindici minuti per dipingere questa natura morta.</p>
<p>63</p> <p>In the school hall way</p> <p>D: Hey, Claire. You look a little lost.</p> <p>C: I'm supposed to go to the nurse's office.</p> <p>D: Easy. Just follow this hall all the way down past the main office and the gym. Take a right at the band room. It's the first door on the right after that. Be sure to be loud when you go in. Nurse Adele's a little hard</p>	<p>63</p> <p>D: Ehi, Claire. Hai perso la strada.</p> <p>C: Cerco l'infermeria ma non so dov'è.</p> <p>D: Facile. Segui il corridoio fino in fondo, supera l'ufficio del preside, gira intorno alla palestra e poi gira alla prima a sinistra. Parla a voce alta quando entri. Sai, Adele è dura d'orecchi.</p>

<p>of hearing. C: Thanks, Dylan. I really appreciate it. D: My pleasure. D [typing]: &lt;<i>ur in for a laff</i>&gt;</p> <p>At the school gym, yoga lesson [M reads on her cell phone]</p>	<p>C: Grazie, Dylan. Sei molto gentile. D: È un piacere. D: &lt;<i>ur in for a laff</i>&gt;</p> <p>M: Stai per farti quattro risate.</p>
<p>64</p> <p>K: Well, I have to come up with the “Woman in the Workforce project.” I have to have a business plan and a budget. It’s worth like sixty percent of my grade. D: Does anyone wanna trade for something edible? A [points to C sitting alone]: Ask her. D: You guys, I feel bad. Maybe we could pull up a chair? [Everybody laughs] M: That was <i>clairious</i>.</p>	<p>64</p> <p>K: Devo trovare un’idea per il progetto “Donne sul lavoro”. Devo avere un piano aziendale e un budget. Il voto del progetto inciderà sul voto al sessanta per cento. D: Qualcuno vuole scambiarlo per qualcosa di commestibile? A: Chiedi a lei. D: Ragazze, da un lato mi dispiace. Potremmo anche invitarla. M: <i>Ci avevo quasi creduto</i>.</p>
<p>65</p> <p>C: Layne! Layne! I tried to Myspace you last night, but it didn’t go through. L: The thing is, I don’t really have time for friend requests right now, because, I’m really busy, baby-sitting my brother. C: But your brother’s fifteen! M to L: Layne! Layne, are we still on for manis-and-pedis after school? L: <i>For suresies</i>. C to L: Oh. Wait a sec. You and Massie? Since when do you want to be friends with her? L: Everyone wants to be friends with Massie. Isn’t that why you lied to me and ditched me for her sleepover? Yeah. That’s what I thought.</p>	<p>65</p> <p>C: Layne! Layne! Layne! Ti ho cercata su Myspace ma non ti ho trovata. L: Il fatto è che non ho tempo per le richieste di amicizia adesso. Sono molto occupata. Faccio da baby sitter a mio fratello. C: Ma tuo fratello ha quindici anni! M a L: Layne! Layne, hai confermato il tuo appuntamento per manicure e pedicure? L: <i>Certo, cara</i>. C: Un secondo. Che significa? Tu e Massie? Da quando in qua vuoi essere sua amica? L: Tutte vogliono essere amiche di Massie. Non è per questo che mi hai scaricata per andare al suo pigiama (party)? Già. Hai visto?</p>
<p>66</p> <p>M: What is everyone’s problem? Who are you people and what have you done to my friends? A: By “friends”, do you mean us or Layne? M: I’m not friends with Lane Abeley. C: Hey guys. What’s going on? A: Well, what is going on is, there is a spot in our foursome just opened up. Wanna join us, Claire? C: But I thought you already had four?</p>	<p>66</p> <p>M: Ma qual è il vostro problema? Chi siete voi e che ne avete fatto delle mie amiche? A: Per “amiche” intendi noi oppure Layne? M: Layne? Ma io non sono amica di Layne Abeley. C: Ciao, ciao. Che succede? A: Succede che c’è un posto libero nella nostra comitiva. Ne vuoi far parte, Claire? C: Ma non siete già in quattro? A: No, non più.</p>



<p>D: Not anymore.  M: What... you. Wait a sec. You guys are choosing Claire over me?  A to C: Well?  C: I'm in.</p>	<p>M: Aspettate un attimo. State facendo entrare Claire al mio posto?  A a C: Allora?  C: Va bene.</p>
<p>67</p> <p>M [wearing a T-shirt that says "I love Chris Abeley"]: Ta-da!  A: Oh, my God. Where'd you get that? That's really cute!  K: Really cute!  D: You look amazing.  K: Yeah, Chris Bab\ely is seriously gonna freak.  A: A hundred dollars says tonight you're getting your first kiss.  D: And maybe my second and third, too.</p>	<p>67</p> <p>M: Ta-da!  A: Oh, mio Dio. Dove l'hai preso?  K: Sei bellissima.  D: Irresistibile.  K: A Chris verrà un colpo secco.  A: Cento dollari che stasera darai il primo bacio.  D: E magari anche il secondo e il terzo.</p>
<p>68</p> <p>J [showing pictures of himself]: Now, this is really important, okay? Which one do you like better?  B: Oh, I think I like the white shirt better.  J: Yes, it's more...  B: Pensive?  J: Damn. I was going for "thoughtful." So, you going to Bogey <i>Lowenbrau's</i> thing on Friday night? ["Bogey Lowenstein" organized a beer party]  B: Yeah. I might.  J: Good, 'cause, you know, I'm not gonna bother if you won't be there. See you there.  B: Okay.  J: Okay.</p>	<p>68</p> <p>J: Allora, questo è molto importante, va bene? Dimmi quale ti piace di più.  B: Eh...Io penso che mi piaccia molto di più la maglietta bianca.  J: Sì, forse è molto più...  B: Pensosa?  J: Accidenti, stavo per dire "pensosa". Ci vieni alla festa di Bogey <i>Lowenstein</i> venerdì sera?  B: Sì, forse.  J: Bene perché sai, io non ci vado se tu non ci vai. Ti aspetto lì allora.  B: Va bene.  J: Va bene.</p>

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