

To my beloved father

SILVIA MONTI

**MULTILINGUALISM ON THE SCREEN.
CODE-SWITCHING IN EUROPEAN
AND AMERICAN FILMS
AND THEIR ITALIAN DUBBED VERSION**

MONOGRAFIE

COOPERATIVA LIBRARIA UNIVERSITARIA

Silvia Monti

Multilingualism on the screen.
Code-switching in european and american films
and their italian dubbed version.

Silvia Monti - Pavia, 2018.

240 p. ; 24 cm

ISBN: 9788877910509

© Silvia Monti - 2018 - Pavia

I diritti di traduzione, di memorizzazione elettronica, di riproduzione e di adattamento anche parziale, con qualsiasi mezzo, sono riservati per tutti i paesi.

La fotocoproduzione per uso personale è consentita nei limiti e con le modalità previste dalla legislazione vigente.

Publicato da:
Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria
Via S. Fermo, 3/A
27100 Pavia

Grafica e stampa:
Print Service srl
C.so Strada Nuova, 67
27100 Pavia

Table of contents

Foreword	7
Introduction	9
1. Multilingualism and code-switching off and on the screen	
1.1. Multilingualism, bilingualism and code-switching as discourse modes in multiethnic speech communities	13
1.1.1. Main theoretical approaches to code-switching	17
1.1.2. Code-switching, ethnic background and linguistic negotiations of identity.....	21
1.1.2.1. Code-switching and generational speech patterns	23
1.2. Cinematic multilingual communities and the audiovisual translation of multilingualism: translinguistic and transcultural issues at stake	25
1.3. Research aims, methodology and data	29
2. Conveying ethnolinguistic otherness through turn-specific and intersentential code-switching: re-narration vs re-creation	
2.1. Re-narrating turn-specific and intersentential code-switching through dubbing	43
2.1.1. Domestication and local standardization	44
2.1.2. Explicitation in translation	61
2.1.3. Generational conflicts solved in dubbing.....	65
2.1.3.1. The neutralization of gender-related connotations in in-group interactional dynamics.....	79
2.1.4. Omission	81
2.2. Re-creating turn-specific and intersentential code-switching: the survival of ethnocultural specificity.....	82
2.2.1. Part-subtitling: open interlingual subtitles	83
2.2.2. Non-translation.....	101
2.2.3. Voice-over.....	122
2.2.4. Interpreting the L3.....	124
2.2.5. Misinterpreting the L3.....	139
3. Evoking sociocultural memories through intrasentential code-switching: retention vs loss	
3.1. Ethnicity, culture and language in audiovisual translation ...	144
3.2. The retention of third culture references: transferring intrasentential code-switching.....	147
3.2.1. Material, social and ethnolinguistic culture	147
3.2.2. Forms of address, greetings and formulaic expressions ..	158

3.2.2.1.	Address terms, pet names and honorifics	159
3.2.2.2.	Greetings.....	169
3.2.2.3.	Formulaic expressions, exclamations and interjections.....	174
3.2.3.	Religion and the spiritual sphere.....	178
3.2.4.	Geographical landmarks, historic sites and places of worship.....	181
3.2.5.	Linguistic flavours of ethnic food across cultures	183
3.2.5.1.	Identity cooked in exotic dishes	184
3.2.5.2.	Otherness served on a linguistic plate	193
3.2.5.3.	Blending linguistic ingredients for cultural integration	199
3.2.5.4.	Food in intercultural and interlingual relationships .	208
3.3.	The loss of ethnolinguistic visibility: dubbing intrasentential code-switching	210
	Conclusions	219
	References	224

FOREWORD

Part of the book expands on the articles published by the Author and listed in the References.

INTRODUCTION

In a world in which multiculturalism and multilingualism pervade almost every layer of society, as cross-cultural encounters constantly increase through migration, tourism and intensified globalization, much attention has been recently focused on exploring how a language shapes its speakers' identity in multicultural and multilingual contexts of interactions (cf. Bathia, Ritchie 2004, 2013; Edwards 2012; Siemund, Gogolin, Schulz, Davydova 2013). These are increasingly represented in contemporary European and American intercultural films (cf. Bleichenbacher 2008; Kelly-Holmes, Milani 2013), portraying European and American multicultural contexts where linguistic variation and linguistic choices appear to be affected by both deliberate and unconscious allegiance to community-specific behavioural, cultural and social norms, and language alternation practices stand out as key linguistic procedures. In particular, code-switching, be it turn-specific, intersentential or intrasentential, is frequently realized both as a cross-linguistic conversational strategy, when speakers of different nationalities and with different mother tongues come into contact in multiethnic environments, and as an act of self-identification when members of immigrant families and communities interact, thus showing how sociohistorical context is strictly tied to the use of language in social interaction (Bucholtz, Hall 2005). Furthermore, in the multicultural settings portrayed in European and American polyglot films, the characters' multilingual speech patterns also serve as tropes for the clash between European/American and non-European/American worlds as well as as tools both to negotiate otherness and to create a common ground in which otherness can be embraced.

The fact that, nowadays, most film industries explore social changes and the concerns these give rise to in reshaping contemporary societies, casting a special light on the peculiar linguistic practices globalization and the global phenomenon of immigration entail, ties issues of multilingualism and language variation on the screen to the field of audiovisual translation (cf. Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011; Şerban 2012; Minutella 2012; Zabalbeascoa, Voellmer 2014; de Higes Andino 2014). Intended as a transcoding process focused not merely on language transfer but also, and primarily, on cross-cultural transfer (Snell-Hornby 1995), audiovisual translation plays a unique role in defining sociocultural as well as linguistic identities within the ever-changing process of worldwide intercultural communication. This leads the translation of multilingual

films and, in particular, of secondary languages (or third languages/L3s, if considered from a translational perspective; see Corrius Gimbert 2005; Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2014) spoken by characters whose mother tongue is different from the film's base language, to imply a challenging reconfiguration of multilingual relations whose core meaning "is deeply rooted in the source-culture by the way in which they represent or transform multilingual relations existing in social reality" (Delabastita, Grutman 2005: 27) and, consequently, urges audiovisual translators/dialogue adaptors to pinpoint a multiplicity of transfer procedures that can be used to render the multiplicity of languages represented on the screen.

Starting from these observations, in establishing a specific sociolinguistic and pragmatic framing within which language alternation phenomena, and code-switching in particular, seem to operate in contemporary multilingual audiovisual products, this book aims at looking contrastively at how code-switching has been dealt with in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version of sixteen European and American multicultural, multilingual films, released between 1999 and 2016, whose authentic strength lies in the instances of language alternation practices faithfully portraying the multilingual conversational practices distinctive of real-life multicultural communities.

The book is subdivided into three chapters, each of which is devoted to a specific aspect relevant to cinematic multilingualism and the ways it is dealt with in audiovisual translation, considered as both gateway and gatekeeping in the wider context of the intercultural dynamics proper to polyglot films.

Chapter 1 presents a short introductory overview on multilingualism, bilingualism and code-switching as outstanding discourse modes in multicultural and multilingual communities both off and on the screen. In particular, code-switching is recognized as one of the most important phenomena enacted within multilingual/bilingual discourse practices and intended as an act of identity negotiation that takes on crucial roles especially when bilingual immigrants are at stake. In the first part of the chapter, the different approaches and theories according to which code-switching has been studied are briefly outlined in order to construct a theoretical framework for the empirical research carried out in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3; the second part of the chapter focuses on cinematic multilingual communities and on the translinguistic and transcultural issues

at stake as far as the audiovisual translation of multilingualism and code-switching is concerned; the third and final part presents the main aims of the research, the data selected and the methodology followed for the empirical diachronic analysis that is at the core of the study.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 are the most prominent and extensive parts of the volume. They provide thorough comparative examinations of the original version and of the Italian dubbed version of the films making up the corpus, investigating the sociocultural, pragmatic and conversational functions the different types of code-switching fulfil in the multilingual communicative exchanges pervading the films' original version and examining how the L3s used in instances of turn-specific, intersentential and intrasentential code-switching are rendered into the films' Italian dubbed version, in order to determine the extent to which L3s and language alternation practices are retained for the target language audience.

Chapter 2, in particular, focuses on the transfer procedures employed for the L3s in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, identifying a series of strategies on a translational scale whose endpoints entail either the modification of the films' original ethnolinguistic otherness or its faithful re-creation: on the one hand, dubbing modifies and re-narrates code-switching through domestication, local standardization, explicitation in translation and omission, thus inevitably reconfiguring the original ideological, cultural and linguistic discourse as well as the multilingual relations distinctive of the original version; on the other hand, such transfer modalities as open interlingual subtitles, open intralingual subtitles, non-translation, voice-over, interpreting and misinterpreting succeed in re-creating code-switching's ethnolinguistic specificity.

Chapter 3 aims to show whether L3 culture-bound references, belonging to different categories of cultural specifics (i.e. material and social culture; formulaic expressions such as greetings, exclamations, interjections, discourse markers; religious and spiritual traditions; geographical landmarks; food and local products) and expressed by means of intrasentential code-switching, are either left unaltered or lost in dub in the films' Italian dubbed version, illustrating the most recurrent transfer methods adopted for their rendering into another language/culture and discussing the difficulties entailed in relocating elements that are stuck into a specific sociocultural and linguistic context into another context, often far apart from both an ideological and a linguistic point of view.

The thorough empirical comparative analysis carried out in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 basically aims to verify, also from a diachronic perspective, whether specific translation, or non-translation, strategies are adopted to faithfully re-create the original films' sociocultural and ethnolinguistic scenario or some sort of manipulation is applied in re-narrating the films' multilingual and multicultural essence for the Italian audience, thus illustrating what can be achieved by screen translation in terms of transcultural and translingual transmission.

CHAPTER 1

MULTILINGUALISM AND CODE-SWITCHING OFF AND ON THE SCREEN

1.1. Multilingualism, bilingualism and code-switching as discourse modes in multiethnic speech communities

In contemporary multicultural societies, multilingualism represents a major fact: it is estimated that there are more multilingual speakers in the world than there are monolinguals and that more than 7,000 languages (i.e. 7,097 according to the 2018 *Ethnologue*¹) are spoken in the 197 countries of the world, with some countries having hundreds of living languages. Following these data and as a result of thorough sociolinguistic surveys conducted on a world scale, scholars provide telling evidences of such extensive linguistic assortment claiming, for instance, that in the United States 334 different languages are spoken today and that the US is now the fifth-largest Hispanic country in the world (Romaine 2014), that New York City has nearly as many languages as Papua New Guinea - the country deemed by the 2018 *Ethnologue* as home to the highest number of languages, i.e. 841 -, that London is home to more than 230 languages (Sachdev, Giles, Pauwels 2013), that in Australia 250 languages are routinely spoken and that Melbourne hosts one of the largest Greek communities in the world outside Greece (Romaine 2014).

These are just a few prominent examples of multilingual realities, which arise in a number of ways throughout the centuries as a consequence of different socio-historical processes. Focusing, in particular, on the 20th and the 21st centuries, we can observe that the plethora of languages to be nowadays recognized in single areas (as the above-mentioned ones) results to be the outcome of extensive migration processes, especially from the Indian subcontinent, East Africa and the Caribbean, that began in the period following World War II and led to the emergence of new minority groups in such inner-circle countries (cf. Kachru 1985) as the UK, the

¹ *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* is an annual reference publication, both in print and online, first issued in 1951, which provides statistics and other information on the living languages of the world.

USA, Australia and Canada², offering both individuals and societies new opportunities to spread cross-fertilization between different linguistic and cultural groups (Auer, Wei 2007). As a fact, the dramatic mass movement of peoples of the last decades has resulted in new international spaces of discontinuous historical realities where identities are constantly reshaped (Bhabha 1994) also from the linguistic point of view. Indeed, migration processes change the language ecologies of the receiving countries leading not only to a greater linguistic diversity on their territory but also and, most importantly, to different types of bilingualism, i.e. the ability to master an acquired language as if this was one's mother tongue (Bhatia, Ritchie 2004), and of multilingualism (for which bilingualism is often used as a cover term), i.e. the ability to speak more than two languages (Myers-Scotton 1993), in the discourse patterns distinctive of these "new minorities" (cf. Auer, Wei 2007: 493). What is important to notice in this sense is that the new diasporic communities of the 20th century, as Bhat defined them (Bhat 2000), are to be considered as proper language communities (Baker, Jones 1998) or communities of practices (Wenger 1998), i.e. groups formed by people who use, for part or most of their daily existence, a given language they identify with, sharing their ways of communicating that also include the use of two or more languages on a regular basis.

These preliminary data crucially indicate that understanding the dynamics of multilingualism implies dealing with many complex connections between languages and virtually all other areas of the speakers' individual and social life (Edwards 2014). With regard to this, multilingualism can be studied both as an individual and as a societal phenomenon. As an individual phenomenon, central issues with regard to its status and functions are related to how one acquires two or more languages either in childhood or later, to the speaker's mental representations of the languages at stake as well as to the extent to which he/she produces and understands them. As a societal phenomenon, multilingualism is basically taken into consideration in its institutional dimensions, i.e. the roles and the symbolic and practical uses of the languages in a given society, the factors determining language choice and, most importantly, the correlations between language use and social factors such as ethnicity, religion and class (Sridhar 1996).

² According to the UN International Migration Report 2017, about 258 million people (i.e. some 3.4% of the world population) are international migrants who live outside the country where they were born.

It is within the field of Language Socialization studies that the complex relationships between languages, individuals, communities and cultures in contemporary multiethnic contexts are largely dealt with, with a wide range of theories and publications mainly aiming to shed a light on the processes involved in becoming multilingual (cf. Baquedano-López, Kattan 2007). In particular, Language Socialization studies seem to cast a special light on the interrelation between language ideologies, i.e. “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979: 193) and language awareness, i.e. “explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use” (Verschik 2017: 100), the latter being also specifically applied to bilingualism and in this case defined as the “metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals” (Baker 2017: 282), i.e. the ability of an individual to consider language as an internal process rather than as an external outcome. It is, indeed, especially in language contact phenomena that language ideologies and metalinguistic awareness result to be strictly connected, as multilingual/bilingual communication proves to be governed by peculiar goals and norms in specific interactional settings (Verschik 2017) where individual linguistic identities are constantly reshaped.

As a fact, in particular in immigrant contexts, immigrant speakers, trying to fit in and to adapt to a new social environment without losing their own ethnolinguistic background, usually separate their personalities in two halves also from the linguistic point of view: one which remains stuck into their roots and traditions and is codified by the use of their mother tongue, or “heritage/community language” (Hornberger 2005), especially with family and community members, and another one that adapts to the host country (Milroy, Muysken 1995), speaking the majority language especially in out-group contexts. This switching back and forth between languages, associating each language with different domains, values and identities, is related to the dichotomy we-code vs they-code proposed by Gumperz (1982) and defined as follows: “The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the ‘we code’ and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the ‘they code’ associated with more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations” (Gumperz, 1982: 66; see also Auer, Wei 2005, 2007). They-code and we-code are therefore liable to perform different functions in a communicative act: the they-code can be

used to assert authority, convey objective information, create distance (cf. Bullock, Toribio 2009; Bhatia 2011), whereas the we-code can be chosen to express in-group membership, informality, intimacy (cf. Bhatia, Ritchie 2013), thus resulting to be more closely tied to the bilingual speaker's emotional sphere.

Such process of language alternation represents one of the most important phenomena in multilingual/bilingual discourse practices and language contact, i.e. code-switching, variously defined as “the ability to switch from code A to code B [with the] alternation of codes [being] determined by the function, the situation and the participants” (Kachru 1978a: 108), as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (Milroy, Muysken 1995: 7), as “the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms of an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 4). The core aspect all these definitions highlight is that code-switching is commonly intended as a highly functional conversational strategy based on the use of two or more grammatical systems in a single speech exchange (Gumperz 1982) that “doesn't take place randomly, nor does it depend on individual initiatives, but is socially regulated and follows collective patterns of speech behavior” (Grutman 2009b: 13). From this perspective, code-switching can be considered as a linguistic process basically related to social and power relationships (Baker 2017) and depending upon a series of variables that may either foster or prevent it, e.g. the topic and the context in which the conversation occurs, the individuals involved in the conversation, the perceived linguistic skills of the interlocutor. The two latter variables seem to be specifically related to the presence of different types of bilinguals in immigrant and multiethnic contexts: balanced bilinguals (Pearl, Lambert 1962) or co-ordinate bilinguals (Stockwell 2007), i.e. people that are born into families in which we-code and they-code are spoken routinely and, consequently, acquire similar degrees of proficiency in both (as could be the case with second- and third-generation immigrants born and grown up in the host country who develop both languages equally as vernaculars), and dominant (or unbalanced) bilinguals (Pearl, Lambert 1962) or compound bilinguals (Stockwell 2007), i.e. people that learn another language later in life, to the point that they become rather fluent in it but whose proficiency in one language remains higher than that in the other language (as could be the case with first-generation immigrants who learn the they-code as adults at their arrival in

the host country and whose predominant use of the we-code in their daily interactions often limits their skills in the later acquired language).

Furthermore, different types of bilingual speakers can choose among different types of code-switching in their speech practices, i.e. turn-specific code-switching, occurring between the turns of different speakers in the conversation; intersentential code-switching, occurring between sentences within a single turn; and intrasentential code-switching, occurring within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 4), each of which aims at structuring peculiar in-group and out-group relations (Milroy, Muysken 1995). In immigrant contexts, in particular, code-switching is prevalingly seen as a symbolic juxtaposition of linguistic codes across conversational turns that is not so much relevant to practical requirements, as the country's majority language, more useful in the professional field, more prestigious and more acceptable for communication with the outside world, is guaranteed to be widely spoken, but rather finds its *raison d'être* as an act of self-identification (Auer, Wei 2007), within specific sociolinguistic contexts. In this sense, the bilingual/multilingual members of multiethnic and immigrant communities can be considered as polyglots travelling in between languages in a sort of never-ending state of (self)translation (Meylaerts 2013) of their hybrid identities, as they adapt their languages assessing their linguistic skills at regular intervals and readjusting the level of effort according both to their communicative needs (Dewaele 2007) and to their interlocutors, perfectly aware of the sociolinguistic and pragmatic implications peculiar to each of the languages they use.

1.1.1. Main theoretical approaches to code-switching

In order to develop a theoretical framework for our empirical study, it is necessary to provide a general overview of the most important studies conducted so far on multilingualism, bilingualism and code-switching, whose complexities have been illustrated from individual, communicational, developmental, societal perspectives (see Heller 2007, 2011; Pauwels, Winter, Lo Bianco 2007; Blommaert 2010) and according to different approaches (see Fishman 1977; Gumperz 1981; Poplack 1981; Valdés 1981; Sánchez 1983; Appel, Muysken 1987; Myers-Scotton 1993; Milroy, Muysken 1995; Montes-Alcalá 2001; Azuma 2001; Raschka, Lee, Wei 2002; Auer, Wei 2005, 2007; Bullock, Toribio 2009; Callahan 2009) whose main aim is to clarify the reasons underlying the pervasive use of

language alternation as a key linguistic procedure in multiethnic, cross-cultural and immigrant contexts.

As far as terminological issues are concerned, a distinction often drawn by linguists pertains to the terms code-switching, on the one hand, and code-mixing, on the other hand. Bhatia and Ritchie, among others, adopt the term code-switching to refer to the use of various linguistic units (i.e. words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event (Bhatia, Ritchie 2013); this is what Myers-Scotton (1993) defines as intersentential code-switching (see 1.1.), subject to discourse principles and motivated by sociocultural and psychological factors. On the other hand, they use the term code-mixing to refer to the mixing of various linguistic units (i.e. morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence (Bhatia, Ritchie 2013) that requires the integration of the rules of the two languages involved in the discourse; this corresponds to Myers-Scotton's notion of intrasentential code-switching, constrained by grammatical principles and itself motivated by sociocultural and psychological reasons. Other scholars doubt the usefulness of this distinction, often seen as controversial: some reject it on functional grounds and treat both code-switching and code-mixing as instances of situational shifting (Gumperz 1982); others simply reject the use of the term code-mixing as "the most unclear for referring to any form of non-monoglot norm-based speech patterns" (Beardsome 1991: 49). In our study, owing to the above-mentioned long-term difficulties to find an agreed-upon definition, we will adopt Myers-Scotton's label for this phenomenon, using code-switching as a cover term for all instances of language alternation, including those entailing the insertion of single words from a specific linguistic code into a sentence expressed in another linguistic code (see Chapter 3).

Our analysis, based on empirical evidence provided by the multilingual discourse practices to be extensively recognized in sixteen contemporary European and American multilingual audiovisual products (see 1.3.), will primarily focus on code-switching intended as a proper conversational strategy that serves specific interactional tasks for participants, following the theoretical framework of interactional sociolinguistics provided by (Gumperz 1982) according to which two main types of language alternation can be performed in multilingual conversational contexts, i.e. situational code-switching and metaphorical

code-switching (Gumperz 1982). Situational code-switching refers to the use of language alternation to negotiate a shift in specific aspects of the speech situation on account of the co-selectivity between language varieties and social contexts; from this perspective, codes are switched as observable changes in the interactional act, as each code is used in different settings and with different categories of interlocutors. The second type of language alternation as a discourse strategy is represented by metaphorical code-switching, based on a violation of “co-occurrence expectations” (Gumperz 1982: 98), i.e. the conventionalized associations between codes and context, activity, or participants, and usually employed to communicate meanings other than ideational by drawing on the symbolic value of the language switched to. In particular, as our empirical research will illustrate (see 1.1.2.1.), within immigrant contexts situational and metaphorical code-switching prove to be related to different generational speech patterns: indeed, whereas first-generation immigrants tend to use situational code-switching, associating we-code and they-code with changes in interlocutor, context or topic, second-generation immigrants tend to use metaphorical code-switching, introducing the we-code in the conversation to evoke its ‘metaphorical’ world, i.e. their own background community’s sociocultural values. This leads to asymmetrical language-choice patterns in intergenerational communication that serve crucial pragmatic functions in displaying, and ascribing, (double) identities in interaction (Auer 2007).

Furthermore, to better identify the ways in which the sociocultural context influences the speech patterns distinctive of bilingual speakers, both within the same generation and across different generations, Auer distinguishes between discourse-related code-switching and participant-related code-switching (Auer 2007), a distinction that will prove to be particularly useful also to the aims of this study. Indeed, as our empirical analysis will provide evidence of, within the so-called discourse-related code-switching language alternation is deployed to fulfil specific discursive functions, e.g. to catch the audience’s attention, to convey particular emphasis or to obtain a more persuasive effect on certain words, whereas within the so-called participant-related code-switching participants search for an account that code-switching is used to express the speaker’s linguistic preferences and competence (Auer 2007). This is related to a common hypothesis suggested by most studies on code-switching according to which bilinguals mainly switch codes when interacting with other bilinguals with whom they share a dual language

identity (Bullock, Toribio 2009), so that their language choices appear to be affected by both deliberate and unconscious allegiance to community-specific behavioural, cultural and social norms within which one's ethnic and linguistic identity always comes to the fore.

A further light on the sociolinguistic dynamics underlying the use of code-switching is cast by the Communication Accommodation Theory (cf. Giles, St. Clair 1979; Giles, Coupland, Coupland 1991), which defines the reasons for switching codes focusing on social integration and differentiation and suggesting that individuals use communication both to indicate their attitude toward each other and as an indicator of the level of social distance between them. More specifically, among accommodative schemes, convergence results to be the strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviour in terms of linguistic, paralinguistic and non-verbal features to somehow emulate their interlocutor's behavior; this is an attitude often to be recognized, also in the films selected for our study, especially among second-generation immigrants, struggling to enter the host society networks from both a sociocultural and a linguistic point of view and using the they-code as their primary means of communication. On the other hand, divergence underlines language and cultural differences in emphasizing distinctiveness from one's interlocutor on the basis of group membership, and this is an attitude typically to be observed among first-generation immigrants, who try to resist to the sociocultural and linguistic dynamics peculiar to the host country consistently using their we-code within their minority group, which acts as a self-standing and differentiated entity (Giles, Johnson 1987; see also 1.1.2.1.).

In this regard, another important distinction concerning language selection in social interaction that will extensively emerge from our research is that relevant to code-switching as either an unmarked or a marked language choice in different speech situations, a notion introduced by Myers-Scotton (1988a, 1988b, 1993) in the Markedness Model, considered in its turn as an extension of Grice's cooperative principle (Grice 1975) that explains how listeners and speakers must act cooperatively and mutually accept one another to reach effective communication. In her sociolinguistic theory, Myers-Scotton claims that, for any interaction type and the participants involved, and among available linguistic varieties, the speakers' social motivations are responsible for code choices. Indeed, "all speakers will have mental representations of a matching between code choices and rights and obligation sets" (Myers-

Scotton 1988b: 152) as part of what has been defined as their communicative competence, i.e. a speaker's ability "to select, from the totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behaviour in specific encounters" (Gumperz 1982: 205), and, more specifically, they will select the form for their conversational contribution such that it represents the set of rights and obligations they would like to be in force between speaker and addressee for that specific exchange (Myers-Scotton 1993). In particular, when there is congruence between language choice and the rights and obligations set foreseen by the markedness model, language choice is said to be unmarked: this choice usually takes place in intimate interactional contexts within which speakers constantly switch between languages with adult bilinguals to emphasize their membership in both dominant and minority culture (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993; Bullock, Toribio 2009), often unaware of what language they are actually using (cf. Lanza 2007). On the other hand, when there is no congruence between language choice and the rights and obligations set, language choice is said to be marked, i.e. it is unpredictable as it disregards social and situational factors (i.e. what is expected in the interaction) and it indicates a change in the relationship between participants in the conversation, either to mark the distance between them or to increase the level of deference or authority (Myers-Scotton 1993).

All the above-mentioned theoretical approaches will be taken as reference frames for our empirical study as they all intend code-switching as a crucial resource for meaning-construction in interaction, used not merely to organize face-to-face communication but also, and primarily, to create interpersonal relationships and social identities in discourse (Auer, Wei 2007).

1.1.2. Code-switching, ethnic background and linguistic negotiations of identity

The strict correlation between the use of code-switching in bilingual discourse practices and identity construction is, especially nowadays, one of the main topics addressed by sociolinguistic research, as the theoretical frame of reference for the study of identity has gradually shifted from the pairing of linguistic variables with preexisting social categories, such as class and socioeconomic status, to a focus on how these social categories are negotiated through language. Indeed, language choice and language

shift prove to be inextricably tied to the notion of identity (cf. Kulick 1992; Zentella 1997; Heller 2001; Rindstedt, Aronsson 2002; Paugh 2005), considered as something fluid, dynamic and created by speakers according to the cultural systems in which they are located both spatially and temporally (Baquedano-López, Kattan 2007).

It is, in particular, in contemporary multiethnic and immigrant environments that language choice has a crucial power to reflect, negotiate and (re)constitute identities (Bailey 2007). In this regard, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) illustrate a series of key principles according to which identity in multilingual interactional settings seems to operate simultaneously at multiple levels in relation to language alternation: the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle and the relationality principle. The emergence principle views identity “as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon” (Bucholtz, Hall 2005: 588), i.e. identity is something that emerges through social action, and especially through language rather than being just a psychological mechanism of self-classification. As we will see in our study, in multiethnic societies and immigrant groups, the emergence principle results to be mainly related to the ethnic and immigrant characters’ use of code-switching to express the survival of their sociocultural and linguistic background heritage in the host country, in both in-group and out-group discourse practices. The positionality principle considers identities as encompassing “(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles” (Bucholtz, Hall 2005: 592), thus correlating social behaviour with macro-identity categories such as age, gender and social class. This will lead us to observe that, especially in minority groups of immigrant origins, code-switching between we-code and they-code fulfils different functions according to whether it is used by either first- or second- and third-generation immigrants as well as to whether it is adopted by men rather than by women and in what type of interactional situations (see Chapter 2). The indexicality principle refers to identity relations as emerging “in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or others’ identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use

of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups” (Bucholtz, Hall 2005: 593). The indexicality principle is fundamental in order to better understand how linguistic forms are used to create identity positions which are themselves deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and values (Bucholtz, Hall 2005), as is particularly the case with immigrant speakers prevailingly choosing their we-code in family and in-group informal conversational contexts as a sign of group-membership. Lastly, the relationality principle claims that “Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy” (Bucholtz, Hall 2005: 598), i.e. it underlines that identities are never autonomous or independent, but they rather have meaning only in relation with other identities or other social actors, an aspect that results to be distinctive also of the multilingual and multicultural communities portrayed in our corpus of films, where language plays the part of an “emotional cement” (Milroy, Muysken 1995: 23) in own-group recognition and in the determination of in- and out-group boundaries.

1.1.2.1. Code-switching and generational speech patterns

The fact that language, as a socially situated activity, has a key role in identity negotiations stands out as particularly prominent, as already mentioned, when immigrant families’ and communities’ speech practices are at stake, as community, cultural and linguistic norms are traditionally passed on and reworked from one generation to the next (Baquedano-López, Kattan 2007) and the extensive use of language alternation practices results to be related to specific generational discourse patterns. Indeed, the alternate use of we-code and they-code typically occurring when either immigrant and Western speakers or members of the same immigrant family/community interact, clearly illustrates that language uses and preferences are distributed by both generation and age and that, in particular, whereas first-generation immigrants tend to diverge from the host country linguistic background and stick to their we-code as the linguistic correlative of ‘home’ and ‘family’, their West-raised children generally accommodate to and use their Western interlocutors they-code, instinctively preferring the language they learnt at school that has helped them to make their way in the Western society and that therefore fulfils crucial functions in the construction of their new social identity (Auer, Wei

2005, 2007). As a fact, it is in particular when second-generation immigrants start going to school that the they-code becomes especially relevant to them, as it is at that point in their life that they understand that the two linguistic systems are associated with two different sets of values often colliding with each other. In fact, second-generation immigrants find themselves constantly negotiating between their allegiance to their parents' native culture and language, on the one hand, and to the cultural and linguistic expectations of their adopted home, on the other hand, living a phase of transition which involves an inevitable adjustment and reworking of their sociocultural, ethnic as well as linguistic identity. They feel they are suspended between two worlds (Pavlenko 2006) in a dimension where linguistic hybrid identities are in the process of being moulded; as a fact, even though they prevalingly speak English as the language that symbolically represents their new lives as Westerners, they also recurrently adopt code-switching to express their moral and cultural dilemma (Myers-Scotton 1993), thus engaging in double identity practices simultaneously in linguistically moving from one identity to the other. All this leads to cultural and ideological generational conflicts that find their linguistic correlative in non-reciprocal language uses across different generations.

More specifically, as our empirical study will highlight drawing extensive evidence from the films included in our corpus, the immigrants' generational clash is often exemplified by the use of different types of code-switching within different generations' speech patterns (Monti 2009, 2014, 2016). It is indeed among first-generation immigrants that we can observe the most frequent cases of situational turn-specific and intersentential code-switching as an essentially unmarked choice, used both in family conversations to express intentional meanings of sociopragmatic nature when important family matters are at stake and within interactions with other members of the community to create an immediate sense of belonging (see Chapter 2). On the other hand, intrasentential code-switching frequently occurs when we-code words are cited, especially by second-generation immigrants, during conversational exchanges carried out in English, with the aim of evoking specific traditions and beliefs related to their home country (see Chapter 3). Each type of code-switching thus aims at emphasizing the competing visions of the world held by the two generations (Myers-Scotton 1993), as we will clearly observe, in particular, in some of the films under investigation revolving around the lives of immigrant families whose peculiar linguistic practices are representative not only of their background heritage but also of the vital

importance they assign to their family ties, which often result to be either strengthened or weakened according to the language choices they make in their daily interactions (see Chapter 2 for further discussion on this issue).

1.2. Cinematic multilingual communities and the audiovisual translation of multilingualism: translinguistic and transcultural issues at stake

The decision to focus our attention on multilingual discourse practices as represented in contemporary multilingual audiovisual products derives from the long-standing connection between cultural productions and cultural contexts (cf. Arnold 1993) that leads cinema to be considered as an art form that relentlessly bears testimony to social changes and that, especially nowadays, proves to be an unparalleled window from which the interaction of cultures and languages can be displayed (de Higes-Andino, Prats-Rodríguez, Martínez-Sierra, Chaume 2013). Indeed, there seems to be, in the field of film production today, a sort of ethical and moral obligation for filmmakers to incorporate, into the plot of their films, the political, sociocultural and linguistic transformations affecting contemporary multicultural societies (Heiss 2014), always casting a special light on the multilingual speech patterns that are distinctive of cross-cultural contexts. Though traces of the phenomenon of multilingualism have always been present in both European and American audiovisual products (Heiss 2004), it is in particular in the 1980s and 1990s that a growing number of European and American films began to foreground issues of translingual and cross-cultural communication, reproducing on the screen the multilingual discourse practices peculiar to real-life multiethnic and immigrant environments. This new tendency goes against the traditional trend of homogenization in cinematic linguistic representation (Sternberg 1981) according to which foreign languages, spoken by characters either belonging to a minority group or coming from countries other than the country where the film is set, tended to be minimized and sidelined (O’Sullivan 2007), with native tongues being “drowned in the babble of voices in the background” (Sinha 2004: 184). Contemporary polyglot films, or what Naficy defines as accented films commonly mixing languages (Naficy 2001), represent plurilingualism as “a discrete mode of narrative and aesthetic expression” (Wahl 2008: 349) that plays key functions in both story, i.e. the content of the narrative, and discourse, i.e. the way in which the narrative content is expressed

(Chatman 1978). In particular, cinematic multilingualism seems to fulfil both intradiegetic functions, playing crucial roles in plot development, themes representation, character portrayal, voice and point of view, and extradiegetic functions, in its being used for the sake of authenticity and exoticism in the realistic reproduction of multicultural and multilingual subjectivities (Meylaerts, Şerban 2014) and in clearly presenting to the audience a linguistic diversity imbued with sociocultural implications that should always be brought to the fore.

To reach these goals, a peculiar audiovisual practice increasingly adopted to make a film shot in two or more languages accessible to all viewers is part-subtitling, i.e. the use of open, non-optional subtitles that constitute “a natural component” (Sinha 2004: 174) of the original film and cannot be removed from the screen (Gottlieb 1997, 2005; Shuttleworth, Cowie 2004; O’Connell 2007), appended only to the part of the dialogue presenting a language different from the film’s base language (i.e. a ‘foreign’ language defined, from the translational point of view, as third language or L3; see below for further discussion on this issue), planned from an early stage in the film’s production and aimed at the film’s primary language audience (O’ Sullivan 2007). All the advantages brought, in this sense, by the use of part-subtitling seem to obscure its possible drawbacks, e.g. the spoiling of the image with an obtrusive text which can distract from the filmic events, the often condensed and simplified form in which dialogues are rendered, and the supposed difficulty in shifting the eyes to-and-fro between the text and the images (Audissino 2014), as linguistic credibility with regard to the foreign essence of the filmic multilingual discourse practices is what counts most.

The fact that the exposure to multilingual audiovisual content is nowadays far greater than ever before, as the number of polyglot films distributed worldwide is constantly growing, crucially relates issues of multilingualism and language variation on the screen to the field of Audiovisual Translation (AVT), also referred to as screen translation, film translation, multimedia translation (cf. Abend-David 2014), which began to establish itself as an important area of academic research in the field of Translation Studies especially at the end of the 20th century (Díaz Cintas 2009, 2012) with a dramatic increase in the number of relevant publications devoted to a wide array of topics (see Luyken 1991; Gambier, Gottlieb 2001; O’Hagan, Ashworth 2002; Chaume 2004, 2007; Pavesi 2005, 2008, 2009; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007; Nornes 2007; Cronin 2009;

Díaz Cintas 2009, 2012; Bielsa, Bassnett 2009; Schäffner, Bassnett 2010; Chiaro 2009, 2010, 2012; O’Sullivan 2007, 2011. In particular, it is a well-known fact that one of the topics most extensively dealt with in the field of Audiovisual Translation is the language of dubbing, variously defined as dubbese, dubbed language, third norm, thoroughly studied in its distinctive linguistic features and mainly intended as a culture-specific linguistic and stylistic model for dubbed texts that places itself between naturally occurring conversation and fictional dialogue (cf. Raffaelli 1994; Dries 1995; Malinverno 1999; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007; Díaz Cintas 2009; Chaume 2004, 2007, 2012; Bucaria 2008; Romero-Fresco 2008; Marzà, Chaume 2009; Pavesi 2005, 2008, 2009; Matamala 2009; Baños, Chaume 2009; Baños 2014). But starting from the late 1980s and early 1990s, as a consequence of the already-discussed ever-growing production of cross-cultural and multilingual films, the issue of how the dubbing process deals with the multicultural and multilingual dimension distinctive of polyglot films began to attract attention, as many translation scholars realized the need to focus on the study of both multilingualism and translation in the wider context of the media (cf. Heiss 2004; Bartoll 2006; Delabastita, Grutman 2005; Meylaerts 2006; Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011; O’Sullivan 2007, 2011; Voellmer, Zabalbeascoa 2014).

From a general point of view, we can say that the multilingual practices pervading post-immigrant societies and multiethnic environments and faithfully mimicked in contemporary multicultural, multilingual audiovisual products, are themselves inherently tied to the concept of translation, if we intend it as a procedure that “does not take place in between monolingual cultures [...] but, rather, within and in between multilingual entities” (Meylaerts, Şerban 2014: 1), as a key element of social and intercultural communication (Tomaszkiewicz 2009) crucially contributing to mutual exchange, resistance, interpenetration (Meylaerts 2010). From this perspective, in its contextualizing any translation practice within a sociocultural rather than within a merely linguistic context, screen translation itself can be intended as a transcoding process focused not merely on language transfer but also, and primarily, on cross-cultural transfer (Snell-Hornby 1995), all the more so when it entails a re-narration or re-presentation of sociocultural and linguistic dilemmas experienced within intercultural communities that are constantly reshaped by processes of globalization and global mass migration also from the linguistic point of view.

For many years, the difficulties in faithfully rendering these dilemmas from a source language into a target language led the audiovisual translation of multilingual films to be seen as a form of adaptation (Petillo 2008) rather than as a proper form of translation. As a fact, the relocation of the original multicultural, ideological and linguistic construct, as well as of the original multilingual discourse, into a new environment, where both the sociolinguistic reality and its perception are often remarkably different (Díaz Cintas 2012), has always represented a challenging task and the translation of on-screen multilingualism has recurrently been considered in terms of problems and untranslatability (Meylaerts 2006). This is also related to the fact that multilingualism in itself extends the traditional theoretical discussions on translation conventionally implying that interlingual translation, or “translation proper” (Jakobson 1959: 232), only involves two languages: L1, i.e. the dominant language in the source text, the language translated from, and L2, i.e. the dominant language in the target text, the language translated into (Jakobson 1959). Indeed, multilingualism stretches the limits of translation, highlighting that it cannot merely be considered as the “full transposition of one (monolingual) source code into another monolingual target code for the benefit of a monolingual target public” (Meylaerts 2006: 5), as polyglot films involve the presence of third languages or L3s (see Corrius Gimbert 2005; Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011), a proposed term for accounting for intratextual translation and language variation in translation by systematizing all linguistic expressions that do not fall neatly under the category of L1 or L2 (see Zabalbeascoa, Voellmer 2014). In this sense, an L3 is neither the ostensible primary language of the source text (i.e. L1) nor the ostensible primary language of the target text (i.e. L2) but rather a secondary language spoken by characters whose mother tongue is different from the film’s base language, i.e. a “distinct, independent language or an instance of relevant language variation, sufficient to signal more than one identifiable speech community being portrayed or represented within a text” (Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011: 115). As far as the linguistic transfer of L3s into another language/culture is concerned, the common opinion, among scholars in the field, is that the “polyphonic play of voices” (O’Sullivan 2007: 82) should be preserved when the original film is dubbed for distribution into another country, so that the crucial role it plays in portraying the characters’ foreignness is not “lost in translation” (Heiss 2004: 218). But this is a demanding goal that entails the necessity to

negotiate the multiplicity of languages represented on the screen by means of a multiplicity of translation procedures (Meylaerts, Şerban 2014).

A useful taxonomy often adopted to deal with the presence of a third language (or more third languages) in a given multilingual audiovisual product and with its satisfactory rendering in another language/culture is that proposed by Mareš (2000a, 2000b, 2003), whose tenet is the notion of a continuum from the complete elimination of languages other than the film's base language, i.e. any speech that in the source version is in an L3 is completely removed in the target version and replaced by an unmarked standard variety of the L2, to their complete presence, i.e. the L3 speech is maintained unaltered in the target version, passing through such transfer modalities as signalization, i.e. the replaced language is signaled via metalinguistic comments, and evocation, i.e. the characters speak a variety of the base language that provides evidence of interference (transfer), for instance by means of code-switching, from the language they are supposed to be speaking (see Mareš 2000a, 2000b, 2003; cf. Bleichenbacher 2008). Similarly, Bartoll (2006) points out that the translator/dialogue adaptor has two main possibilities to convey language diversity in a film target version, i.e. either not to mark the presence of the L3, thus depriving the dubbed version of the ethnolinguistic and pragmatic functions it fulfils in the original version, or to mark it, thus preserving the L3's exoticism in translation (Bartoll 2006). In considering these two possibilities as the end-points on a translational scale, we will observe, as illustrated in detail in Chapter 2, that the third language may lose its visibility in being either dubbed into the L2 and domesticated (see 2.1.1, 2.1.2., 2.1.3.) or omitted (see 2.1.4.), or it may be left untouched at the spoken level (see 2.2.) with its meaning either not provided (see 2.2.2.) or conveyed by means of such translation procedures as open subtitles (see 2.2.1.), voice-over (see 2.2.3.), interpreting (see 2.2.4.), misinterpreting (see 2.2.5.), which succeed in maintaining its ethnolinguistic peculiarities.

1.3. Research aims, methodology and data

Following the above-mentioned studies on multilingualism off and on the screen, as well as on the audiovisual translation of multilingualism, and establishing a specific sociolinguistic, cultural and pragmatic framing within which intercultural linguistic processes and language alternation practices seem to operate in audiovisual products, our empirical study aims at looking contrastively at how the presence of L3s in instances of turn-

specific, intersentential and intrasentential code-switching has been dealt with both in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version of a corpus of sixteen European and American multicultural, multilingual films released between 1999 and 2016, i.e. *East Is East* (O'Donnell, 1999), *Bend It Like Beckham* (Chadha, 2002), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Zwick, 2002), *Real Women Have Curves* (Cardoso, 2003), *Ae Fond Kiss* (Loach, 2004), *Spanglish* (Brooks, 2004), *Crash* (Haggis, 2004), *The Mistress of Spices* (Mayeda Berges, 2005), *Gran Torino* (Eastwood, 2008), *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (Allen, 2008), *My Life in Ruins* (Petrie, 2009), *Eat Pray Love* (Murphy, 2010) *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden, 2012), *The Hundred-Foot Journey* (Hallström, 2014), *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden, 2015), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (Jones, 2016) (see Tables I-XVI for the films' metadata), within which multilingual speech patterns prevail in faithfully representing the distinguishing linguistic traits of real multiethnic, multilingual communities in Europe and the USA. In fact, the multilingual conversational practices recurrently enacted in the films under investigation feature speakers belonging either to communities of immigrant origins or to cross-cultural groups of individuals of different nationalities as recurrently switching between L1 (i.e. English, the base language of communication in the films' original version) and L3 (i.e. any other language spoken in the films' original version), be the latter Punjabi in *Ae Fond Kiss*, Urdu-Hindi in *East Is East*, Hindi in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, *The Mistress of Spices*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, Farsi in *Crash*, the Mexican variation of Spanish in *Real Women Have Curves* and *Spanglish*, Greek in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Geek Wedding 2* and *My Life in Ruins*, Hmong in *Gran Torino*, Indonesian and Portuguese in *Eat Pray Love*, Spanish in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*. These peculiar speech patterns are integral to the films' meaning and set up a continuous tension between unity and diversity, as they distinctly characterize the interactions between the European/American and the Pakistani (in *Ae Fond Kiss*, *East Is East*)/Indian (in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, *The Mistress of Spices*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*)/Iranian (in *Crash*)/Mexican (in *Real Women Have Curves*, *Spanglish*)/Greek (in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, *My Life in Ruins*)/Hmong (in *Gran Torino*)/Indian and Brazilian (in *Eat Pray Love*)/Spanish (in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*) characters portrayed on the

screen. In this sense, they do not only function as the linguistic correlatives of the speakers' identity but serve as tropes for the clash between European/American and non-European/American worlds as well as as tools both to negotiate otherness and to create a common ground in which otherness can be embraced (Monti 2014, 2016).

Starting from these facts, the empirical comparative analysis of the films' scripts will allow us to observe, also from a diachronic perspective, what can be achieved by audiovisual translation in terms of transcultural transmission when multilingualism is at stake, in order to verify whether and how the linguistic alterity distinctive of the films' original version is reproduced in the films' Italian dubbed version.

In particular, in Chapters 2 and 3, the films' scripts will be thoroughly analysed, in both the original and the Italian dubbed versions: investigating the conversational and sociocultural functions code-switching fulfils in the ethnic and immigrant characters' communicative exchanges; focusing on the scenes where code-switching encodes the characters' identities, fulfilling highly localized pragmatic goals (Bleichenbacher 2008); examining the translation strategies adopted for code-switching in the films' Italian dubbed version and observing whether some sort of ideological manipulation is applied in re-constructing the characters' ethnolinguistic traits for the Italian audience, thus possibly leading the defining ethnolinguistic features of the original films to be diluted to the point of neutralization, or specific translation, or non-translation, strategies are adopted to faithfully recreate the immigrant characters' sociolinguistic essence. The effects of the translation strategies most recurrently to be observed in the films' Italian dubbed versions will be pointed out with regard to syntactic as well as lexical aspects, to whether the translation is literal or not, to what kind of source text information has been omitted or added and, above all, to which functions of code-switching as an identity/ethnicity tool are maintained and encoded in the Italian version and which ones are lost in translation due to Italian dubbing and adaptation. All this will allow us to draw a parallelism between the diasporic, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural identities of the films' characters and some peculiar transfer modes nowadays increasingly adopted to convey the "translanguaging space" (Wei 2011: 1222) immigrant characters and members of multiethnic communities live in.

The films under study have been selected according to specific criteria: a linguistic criterion, entailing the selection of European and

American multilingual audiovisual products that use English as the base language for communication, even though the story is partially or totally set in a non-English speaking country (as is the case with *The Hundred-Foot Journey* set in France, *My Life in Ruins* set in Greece, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* and *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* set in India, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* mostly set in Spain, *Eat Pray Love* set in Italy, India and Indonesia), and depict immigrant characters and multiethnic groups of speakers massively adopting code-switching in their discourse practices; a generic criterion, related to films with a well-defined geographical and temporal setting and presenting dialogues mirroring multilingual interactions naturally occurring in multilingual contexts; an economic criterion, applied to films successful at the box office and provided with a significant degree of social and cultural relevance (Bleichenbacher 2008); a chronological criterion, pertaining to films released within a specific time span, i.e. from 1999 to 2016, thus covering almost two decades during which the interrelation among societies, audiovisual productions and disciplinary studies on screen translation became ever more evident triggering substantial changes in the relevant fields of research.

The empirical and descriptive analysis of the instances of L3s and code-switching to be observed in both the original versions and the Italian dubbed versions of the films under investigation is based on a wide selection of excerpts taken from the films' scripts, entailing 567 instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching and 568 instances of intrasentential code-switching. Each excerpt is presented in tables including: the name of the character speaking (column 1), the orthographic transcription of the original dialogue (column 2), the transcription of the dubbed Italian dialogue (column 3), the literal back translation of the L2 in the dubbed Italian dialogue (column 4). Any word / phrase / sentence in the L3 is indicated in italics, be it either spoken and left untranslated or spoken and conveyed by means of open subtitles at the bottom of the screen; in the latter case, the presence of open subtitles is indicated by the speaker's lines as enclosed in square brackets. Information relevant to paralinguistic behaviour and kinetic features associated with a specific speaker are also annotated in double round brackets.

Tables I to XVI include the metadata relevant to each film and are presented in a chronological order according to the films' release date.

Table I

English title	<i>East Is East</i>
Italian title	<i>East Is East. Una famiglia ideale</i>
Director	Damien O'Donnell, Ayub Khan-Din
Screenwriter	Ayub Khan-Din
Country of production	United Kingdom
Release date	1999
Running time	100 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Urdu, Hindi
Plot	Set in early 1970's England, it revolves around the life of the Khan family; the family father, George Khan, a fish-and-chip shop owner of Pakistani origins, expects his family to follow his strict Pakistani Muslim ways but he finds his authority challenged by his increasingly Anglicized children, who, having an English mother and being born and brought up in Salford, increasingly see themselves as British and start to reject their father's rules on dress, food, religion and lifestyle in general.

Table II

English title	<i>Bend It Like Beckham</i>
Italian title	<i>Sognando Beckham</i>
Director	Gurinder Chadha
Screenwriter	Paul Mayeda Berges, Guljit Bindra, Gurinder Chadha
Country of production	United Kingdom, Germany
Release date	2002
Running time	112 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Punjabi
Plot	It tells the story of eighteen-year-old British-Asian Jess Bhamra, grown up in the Western suburbs of

	London in a Sikh family of tradition-bound Asian immigrants; despite her parents' grounded roots and the conventional plans they have for her future, she joins the local women's soccer team and falls in love with her white coach.
--	---

Table III

English title	<i>My Big Fat Greek Wedding</i>
Italian title	<i>Il mio grosso grasso matrimonio greco</i>
Director	Joel Zwick
Screenwriter	Nia Vardalos
Country of production	Canada, United States
Release year	2002
Running time	95 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Greek
Plot	It centers on Toula Portokalos, a middle-class Greek-American woman who falls in love with a non-Greek upper middle-class man and struggles to get her family to accept him while she herself comes to terms with her heritage and cultural identity.

Table IV

English title	<i>Real Women Have Curves</i>
Italian title	<i>Le donne vere hanno le curve</i>
Director	Patricia Cardoso
Screenwriter	Josephina Lopez, George LaVoo
Country of production	United States
Release year	2003
Running time	93 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Spanish
Plot	It is the story of Ana, a first generation Mexican-

	American teenager living in the Latino community of East Los Angeles. Freshly graduated from high school, Ana receives a full scholarship to Columbia University. Though her traditional, old-world parents feel that now is the time for Ana to help provide for the family, not the time for college, in the end she realizes that leaving home to continue her education is essential to proudly find her place in the world as an American and a Chicana.
--	---

Table V

English title	<i>Ae Fond Kiss</i>
Italian title	<i>Un bacio appassionato</i>
Director	Ken Loach
Screenwriter	Paul Laverty
Country of production	United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain
Release year	2004
Running time	104 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Punjabi
Plot	It revolves around the relationship between Casim Khan, a second-generation Pakistani working as a DJ in Glasgow, and Roisin, an Irish Catholic schoolteacher, highlighting the clash of cultures and personalities that arises when their relationship is discovered.

Table VI

English title	<i>Spanglish</i>
Italian title	<i>Spanglish. Quando in famiglia sono in troppi a parlare</i>
Director	James L. Brooks
Screenwriter	James L. Brooks
Country of production	United States
Release year	2004

Running time	131 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Spanish
Plot	It centers around the character of Flor Moreno, a Mexican single mother who decides to move to the US with her daughter Cristina; she works as housekeeper with a well-off family in Los Angeles and gradually integrates, not without difficulties especially from the linguistic point of view, within the American society.

Table VII

English title	<i>Crash</i>
Italian title	<i>Crash</i>
Director	Paul Haggis
Screenwriter	Paul Haggis, Bobby Moresco
Country of production	United States, Germany
Release year	2004
Running time	112 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Farsi, Spanish
Plot	It presents a handful of characters with different ethnicities whose lives intertwine over a thirty-six hour period in Los Angeles. Among them are: a police detective, two black carjackers, a Caucasian district attorney and his wife, a racist white veteran cop, a black film director and his wife who must deal with the racist cop, an East Asian man who is run over but who is hiding some valuable cargo in the back of his van, a Persian-immigrant father who buys a gun to protect his shop, a Hispanic locksmith and his young daughter.

Table VIII

English title	<i>The Mistress of Spices</i>
Italian title	<i>La maga delle spezie</i>
Director	Paul Mayeda Berges
Screenwriter	Gurinder Chadha, Paul Mayeda Berges, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni
Country of production	United States, India
Release year	2005
Running time	96 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Hindi
Plot	It features Tilo, a Mistress of Spices grown up in India in a sort of traditional cult of spices and sent to a Spice Bazaar in San Francisco with the mission of following three basic rules: use the spices to help her clients accomplish their desires but never hers; never leave the store; never be touched in the skin. When she meets the American architect Doug, she falls in love with him, breaking the rules and being punished by the spices with a series of consequences for both herself, her lover and her customers.

Table IX

English title	<i>Gran Torino</i>
Italian title	<i>Gran Torino</i>
Director	Clint Eastwood
Screenwriter	Nick Schenk
Country of production	United States
Release year	2008
Running time	116 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Hmong
Plot	It revolves around the character of Walt Kowalski, a

	Korean war veteran who meets his Hmong neighbours and gradually overcomes his prejudices and ethnocentric beliefs getting involved in their life.
--	---

Table X

English title	<i>Vicky Cristina Barcelona</i>
Italian title	<i>Vicky Cristina Barcelona</i>
Director	Woody Allen
Screenwriter	Woody Allen
Country of production	Spain, United States
Release year	2008
Running time	97 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Spanish
Plot	It presents the story of two American friends, soon-to-be-married Vicky, a cerebral and cautious young major in Catalan studies, and Cristina, adventurous and carefree, who decide to spend their summer holidays in Barcelona. There they fall in love with the same man, Juan Antonio, an eccentric painter known for his scandalous divorce with the tempestuous María Elena, and this will drag everyone in an unstable, yet tempting, <i>ménage à quatre</i> .

Table XI

English title	<i>My Life in Ruins</i>
Italian title	<i>Le mie grosse grasse vacanze greche</i>
Director	Donald Petrie
Screenwriter	Mike Reiss
Country of production	United States, Greece, Spain
Release year	2009
Running time	95 minutes
Main language	English
Major other	Greek

languages	
Plot	It turns around the life of Georgia, a college professor of Classical Greek studies, who takes a job as a tour guide, guiding a group of stereotypical tourists around Greece. Along the way, she begins to see the world through new eyes, also realizing that true love may be closer than she thinks if she could just recapture her <i>kefi</i> .

Table XII

English title	<i>Eat Pray Love</i>
Italian title	<i>Mangia Prega Ama</i>
Director	Ryan Murphy
Screenwriter	Ryan Murphy; Jennifer Salt
Country of production	USA
Release year	2010
Running time	140 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Italian, Portuguese, Indonesian
Plot	It tells the story of Liz Gilbert, newly divorced and at a crossroads, who steps out of her comfort zone, embarking on a journey around the world that becomes a quest for self-discovery. In her travels, she discovers the true pleasure of nourishment by eating in Italy, the power of prayer in India, and, finally and unexpectedly, the inner peace and balance of love in Bali.

Table XIII

English title	<i>The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel</i>
Italian title	<i>Marigold Hotel</i>
Director	John Madden
Screenwriter	Ol Parker
Country of production	United Kingdom

Release year	2012
Running time	124 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Hindi
Plot	It features seven British retirees travelling to Jaipur, India, to take up residence in what they believe is a newly restored hotel, hosted by a young enthusiast Indian man, Sonny. Evelyn, newly widowed, wants low-cost experience; Graham seeks a man he loved many years before; Douglas and Jean have lost their pension in a family investment; Muriel needs cheap hip surgery; Madge seeks a rich husband; Norman is chasing women. Less luxurious than advertised, the Marigold Hotel and India itself nevertheless slowly begin to charm the seven British pensioners in different and unexpected ways, as stories cross and discoveries await each of them.

Table XIV

English title	<i>The Hundred-Foot Journey</i>
Italian title	<i>Amore cucina e curry</i>
Director	Lasse Hallström
Screenwriter	Steven Knight
Country of production	United States
Release year	2014
Running time	122 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Hindi, French
Plot	It tells the story of the Kadam family who move to a small town in France from India after a traumatic event to start a new life and open their restaurant <i>Maison Mumbai</i> ; in the process, they are confronted by Madame Mallory, owner of a Michelin-star rated French restaurant <i>Le Saule Pleureur</i> (literally “the weeping willow”) at just one-hundred-foot distance

	across the street.
--	--------------------

Table XV

English title	<i>The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel</i>
Italian title	<i>Ritorno al Marigold Hotel</i>
Director	John Madden
Screenwriter	Ol Parker
Country of production	United Kingdom, United States
Release year	2015
Running time	122 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Hindi
Plot	It portrays Sonny's attempt to pursue his expansionist dream of opening a second hotel while Evelyn and Douglas have joined the Jaipur workforce and are wondering where their regular dates for Chilla pancakes will lead, Norman and Carol are negotiating the tricky waters of an exclusive relationship, Madge juggles two eligible and very wealthy suitors, and Muriel, the newly installed co-manager of the hotel, is the keeper of everyone's secrets.

Table XVI

English title	<i>My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2</i>
Italian title	<i>Il mio grosso grasso matrimonio greco 2</i>
Director	Kirk Jones
Screenwriter	Nia Vardalos
Country of production	United States
Release year	2016
Running time	94 minutes
Main language	English
Major other languages	Greek
Plot	It portrays the Portokalos family after a few years,

	<p>with Toula still working in her parents' Greek restaurant, her daughter Paris growing up and getting ready to graduate, Toula and Ian experiencing marital issues and Toula's parents finding out they are not officially married, all this with the family's devotion to Greek sociocultural traditions always to the fore.</p>
--	---

CHAPTER 2

CONVEYING ETHNOLINGUISTIC OTHERNESS THROUGH TURN-SPECIFIC AND INTERSENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING: RE-NARRATION VS RE-CREATION

2.1. Re-narrating turn-specific and intersentential code-switching through dubbing

As already briefly discussed in Chapter 1 (see 1.2.), the linguistic diversity distinctive of contemporary multilingual, multicultural audiovisual products requires diverse translation modes for its satisfactory rendering when the films are distributed in foreign countries and dubbed for foreign audiences (cf. Heiss 2004; Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2011; Zabalbeascoa, Voellmer 2014). This applies especially to films whose original multilingual dialogues are characterized by the pervasive presence of L3s in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, that are deeply embedded in a sociocultural context often very far from the target audience's sociocultural environment. In these cases, the passage from the source language to the target language results to be particularly challenging and it often leads (part of) the original meaning to be displaced (Díaz Cintas 2012) and the status of the third languages spoken in the original version to undergo major changes when conveyed in the target version.

Indeed, due to the long-term difficulties inherent in the translation of polyglot films, the traditional tendency followed, at least until recently, in film translation industry in Italy has been to adhere to norms of monolingualism (Bleichenbacher 2008), involving local standardization (Pavesi 2005), explicitation (Toury 1995) and naturalization (Ulrych 2000), often leading to the elimination of the instances of language alternation practices in the films' Italian dubbed version. Dubbing is traditionally one of the most widespread modes for the translation of audiovisual texts that replaces "the original track of a film's (or any audiovisual text) source language dialogues with another track on which translated dialogues have been recorded in the target language" (Chaume 2012: 1). Compared to other audiovisual translation procedures, dubbing

results to be the method that interferes the most with the structure of the original film, an “assertion of the supremacy of the national language and its unchallenged political, economic and cultural power within the nation’s boundaries” (Danan 1991: 612) that, especially when multilingual and multicultural films are at stake, either omits or alters foreign elements that are instead crucial to the films’ integrity and formal architecture. As a fact, if dubbing historically erases the sound of foreign voices, when polyglot films are at stake it erases not only the coexistence of different languages (Heiss 2004; Corrius Gimbert 2005) that is at their core but also the specific ethnocultural dimension such linguistic diversity is inextricably tied to.

2.1.1. Domestication and local standardization

The dubbing policy often adopted by Italian film translators/dialogue adaptors with regard to the rendering of L3s in multilingual discourse practices basically entails making the original product familiar to the target audience through domestication (Szarkowska 2005). This procedure traditionally holds negative connotations in its minimizing the foreignness of the source text (Venuti 1995) and, in the case of multilingual films, as already mentioned, it causes a crucial loss of authenticity as far as the films’ essence is concerned; indeed, it hides the linguistic fusion of two or more distinct languages drawn together by cultural assimilation, levelling out linguistic differences between characters of different nationalities and with different mother tongues and leading the target version to be characterized by a sociocultural and “geographical underdifferentiation” (Pavesi 2008: 81) that is detrimental to the representation of the cross-linguistic, cross-cultural environments the original version instead depicts. As we will see, it is in particular in films representing immigrant communities that domestication crucially alters the portrayal of the immigrant characters, erasing any reference to their speech patterns and presenting them to the target audience as perfectly integrated in the European/American host society from the linguistic point of view and apparently not concerned with sticking to their background heritage through the use of their mother tongue in their daily interactions.

This is an aspect that clearly emerges from the empirical comparative analysis of the original version and of the Italian dubbed version of some of the films included in our corpus and revolving around the lives of immigrant families as *Ae Fond Kiss*, *Bend It Like Beckham* and

Real Women Have Curves, where the sense of foreignness provided by multilingualism and code-switching in the films' original version is often domesticated in their Italian dubbed version through a process of local standardization and sociocultural adaptation. Indeed, whereas in the original version the L3/we-code used by the immigrant characters in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching is always maintained unaltered at the spoken level and its meaning is either conveyed by means of interlingual subtitles in English or not provided, in the Italian dubbed version it is prevailingly dubbed into standard Italian and therefore flattened out.

In *Ae Fond Kiss*, domestication through dubbing results to be one of the strategies most recurrently adopted to render Punjabi (covering 74% of the total occurrences) as used, mainly as a means of self-identification, by the members of the Khan family, both within their family and with other members of their Pakistani community in Glasgow. This can be observed, for instance, when Mr Khan talks to one of his customers in his Pakistani corner-shop and Roisin, the Glaswegian Catholic girl his son Casim is in love with, enters the shop (1).

(1)

Female customer to Mr Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Do you have any <i>ghee</i> ³ ?]	Dove lo trovo il burro?	Where can I find butter?
Mr Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Yes, on that shelf. That big or the small one? That's one fifty...]	Lì sullo scaffale, dentro la scatola, sullo scaffale. Eh, quale confezione, la piccola o la grande?	There on the shelf, in the box, on the shelf. Eh, which package, the small one or the big one?
Female customer	<i>Punjabi</i> [Should I put it there?]	La grande.	The big one.
Mr Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Yes, put it down there. Thank you.]	Allora uno, ecco fatto, grazie.	One then, there you go, thanks.
Mr Khan to Roisin	Hi, dear.	Salve, cara.	Hi, dear.

³ A type of clarified butter mainly used in South Asian and Middle Eastern cuisines.

In the original dialogue, Mr Khan and his customer use Punjabi to convey a strong sense of belonging to their community, thus expressing convergence in their speech patterns that are highly representative of their common background heritage; furthermore, the foreign ethnicity of Mr Khan's customer is reinforced by the presence of the Hindi term *ghee* that is maintained unaltered also in the English open subtitles. These are crucial elements that find no voice in the Italian dubbed version, where the Pakistani characters speak Italian throughout the whole exchange. Another important aspect relevant to the use of code-switching that is lost in the Italian dubbed version is to be observed when Roisin approaches the shop counter to pay the can of cat food she took from a shelf and Mr Khan turn-specifically switches from Punjabi to English to address the girl. This marked language choice is possibly due to a twofold intention on the part of Mr Khan: on the one hand, his 'need' to use the they-code to immediately assign Roisin an identity 'other' from his own; on the other hand, his desire to project his own dual identity and to link two-language worlds of experience, i.e. the family-community environment as represented by Punjabi and the working place as represented by English, thus demonstrating that he has been capable of adapting to the Western society also from a linguistic point of view. But the linguistic diversification functioning as the linguistic correlative of the characters' belonging to different ethnicities, as well as the key ethnolinguistic and sociocultural connotations implied in their use of participant-related, situational code-switching, are expunged in the Italian dubbed version, where Punjabi/L3 loses its visibility in being translated into Italian/L2. Furthermore, the two versions often lack a correspondence in the exchanges at the level of both syntax and lexicon as the Italian dialogues partly alter the original contents in either omitting some sentences or rephrasing them, adding elements and meanings not to be found in the source dialogues.

In *Ae Fond Kiss*, another case in which code-switching's function of identity negotiation of the speaker in given communicative situations is not fulfilled in the film's Italian version is to be recognized when Casim accompanies his father to the mosque. In the original version, both Casim and his father use their we-code to exchange the traditional greeting used among Muslims "Peace be on you", then Mr Khan switches to English by means of metaphorical, discourse-related code-switching to thank his son, possibly considering the they-code both as the language Casim now recognizes as his vernacular and as the language he himself has assimilated

living in an English-speaking country, and then he switches again to Punjabi, by means of situational, participant-related code-switching, when greeting his Pakistani friends while entering the mosque (2).

(2)

Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Peace be upon you.]	Che la pace sia con te.	Peace be upon you.
Mr Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Peace be upon you.] Thanks.	Che la pace sia con te. Grazie figliolo, a dopo.	Peace be upon you. Thanks son, see you later.
Mr Khan to some men in front of the mosque	<i>Punjabi</i> [How are you? Everything okay?]		

Whereas in the original version the meaning of the Punjabi utterances is faithfully rendered through open interlingual subtitles, the Italian version dubs Punjabi into Italian though adding an affectionate connotation to Mr Khan's first utterance, as he addresses Casim with the Italian pet name *figliolo* ("son") whose English equivalent is not to be found in the original version. But this addition does not sufficiently counterbalance the lack of the we-code as Mr Khan's Punjabi utterance when addressing the Pakistani men is omitted in the Italian version (see 2.1.4. for discussion on omission as a transfer mode) and the Italian viewers only hear voices in the background without really understanding what language is spoken. This manipulation in translation has a detrimental effect on the definition of Mr Khan's identity, as his using Punjabi with his Muslim friends as an unmarked choice clearly symbolizes the survival of his strong ethnolinguistic awareness, all the more so as he finds himself in front of a mosque, a place of worship but, above all, a place of aggregation that imposes the preservation of in-group linguistic practices. In this regard, the Italian audience is not made aware of another key function relevant to the use of code-switching, i.e. building and maintaining interpersonal relationships among members of a bilingual community sharing the same ethno-cultural identity.

A similar loss in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic transmission with regard to the connection between using the we-code and belonging to

a given community of practice, deeply rooted in a specific sociolinguistic heritage, can be observed in the Italian dubbed version of *Real Women Have Curves*. The protagonists of this film are Mexican-Americans, living and working in Los Angeles, who extensively use Spanish in their daily in-group interactions, constantly switching from they-code to we-code to promote a sense of familial and ethnic solidarity, to remind family and community members of who they are and what they share with one another, thus crucially contributing to language and cultural maintenance in the host society. Whereas in the original version the Mexican immigrants' collective use of Spanish pervades the filmic dialogues, in the Italian dubbed version the consistent dubbing of the L3 in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching completely neutralizes the film's distinctive ethnolinguistic flavour (covering 100% of the total occurrences). This is to be observed, for instance, at the Garcías sewing factory, where the Mexican women co-workers' use of Spanish amplifies the expressive at hand as it creates an atmosphere of increased cohesion and friendliness among the interlocutors (3).

(3)

Normita	<i>Buenos días, doña Carmen.</i> [Good morning, Mrs Carmen.]	Buongiorno, signora Carmen.	Good morning, Mrs Carmen.
Ana's mother	<i>Ah, buenos días, Normita. Buenos días, Panchita.</i> [Ah, good morning, Normita. Good morning Panchita.]	Ah, buongiorno Norma. Buongiorno Panchita.	Ah, good morning, Norma. Good morning Panchita.
Panchita	<i>Doña Carmen, ¿cómo está usted?</i> [Mrs Carmen, how are you?]	Signora Carmen, come sta allora?	Mrs Carmen, how are you then?
Ana's mother	<i>Muy bien, gracias.</i> [Very well, thank you.]	Molto bene, grazie.	Very well, thank you.

In (3), in the original version spoken Spanish is maintained and its meaning is conveyed by means of open interlingual subtitles, whereas in the Italian dubbed version the source culture and the migrant community's internal relations are made invisible in the language of translation. This is clearly to be recognized also in many scenes set at the Garcías family home, for instance when Ana's mother enters the kitchen and greets Gorgonia, the family housekeeper, instinctively using Spanish (4).

(4)

Gorgonia	<i>Buenos días.</i> [Good morning.]	Buongiorno.	Good morning.
Ana's mother	<i>Buenos días, Gorgonia. ¿Cómo amaneciste?</i> [Good morning, Gorgonia. How did you sleep?]	Buongiorno, Gorgonia, come hai dormito?	Good morning, Gorgonia, how did you sleep?
Gorgonia	<i>Bien, ¿y tú?</i> [Okay, and you?]	Bene, e tu?	Well, and you?
Ana's mother	<i>¿Cómo crees, con la artritis?</i> [How do you think, with my arthritis?]	Tu che dici, con questa artrite?	What do you think, with this arthritis?

The dubbing domesticating policy massively adopted in the Italian dubbed version of *Real Women Have Curves* causes the loss both of the sense of a shared identity felt by the Mexican characters and of the dual linguistic attitude also first-generation immigrants sometimes express in their discourse practices, as already observed in the case of Mr Khan in *Ae Fond Kiss* (see excerpt 1). This attitude can be recognized when Ana's mother adopts unmarked turn-specific and intersentential code-switching Spanish-English and vice versa to identify with both Mexican and American culture when talking with the women workers at the sewing factory (5) as well as with her daughter Ana (6).

(5)

Normita	<i>Mami, Doña Carmen tiene chisme.</i> [Mommy, Mrs Carmen has	Mami, la signora Carmen ha un pettegolezzo.	Mommy, Mrs Carmen has a piece of gossip.
---------	---	---	--

	gossip.]		
Carlota	<i>Me encanta el chisme.</i> [I love gossip.]	Vado matta per i pettegolezzi.	I'm crazy about gossips.
Ana's mother	Eldorado Ortiz is secretly in love with Rosalí.	Eldorado Ortiz è segretamente innamorato di Rosalí.	Eldorado Ortiz is secretly in love with Rosalí.
Rosalí	<i>Qué horror.</i> [That's horrible.]	No, che orrore.	No, that's horrible.
Panchita	<i>Ese viejo rabo verde... parece mango chupado.</i> [That dirty old man looks like a shrivelled-up mango.]	Quel vecchio schifoso panzone... sembra un cachi spiaccicato.	That dirty old fatty... looks like a shrivelled-up mango.
Normita	<i>Eldorado Ortiz está enamorado de Rosalí.</i> [El Dorado Ortiz is in love with Rosalí.]	Eldorado Ortiz è innamorato di Rosalí.	Eldorado Ortiz is in love with Rosalí.

(6)

Ana's mother	<i>Ay, Dios mío. Ni te hagas ilusiones.</i> [Oh, my God. Don't even think about it.] You'll never fit into that one. It's a size 7.	Ahi ahi, Dio mio. Non ti fare troppe illusioni. Non entrerai mai là dentro, è una 46.	Oh, my God. Don't delude yourself too much. You'll never fit into that, it's a size 7.
Ana	Why do you always have to be like this?	Perchè devi fare sempre così?	Why do you always have to do like this?
Ana's mother	I only tell you for your own good. <i>¡Mira no más! ¡Enormes!</i> [Look at you! Enormous!]	Io lo dico solamente per il tuo bene. Guarda qui! Enormi!	I only tell for your own good. Look here! Enormous!

In (5) Ana's mother is the only speaker who uses English in the course of a conversation held in Spanish whereas in (6) she intersententially switches from Spanish to English and vice versa to show her ties with both her background heritage and the Western world she is now living in. In (6) Ana embodies the Western world also from the linguistic point of view, as she uses English throughout the whole exchange, thus reflecting the solution to the dilemma she faces in her life: she must decide between what her traditional Mexican mother wants her to do and what she herself knows would be best for her own nature, trying to balance the conflicting cultural values of the American middle class with the old-world principles highly valued by her parents, and, in this case, her choice of English represents what her final decision will be, i.e. to go to college notwithstanding her mother's opposition.

In *Ae Fond Kiss* and *Real Women Have Curves* also the use of the L3/we-code as highly expressive of the values and traditions governing family life and always at centre stage in the original filmic context is often domesticated in the Italian dubbed version. In *Ae Fond Kiss* this can be observed when Mr and Mrs Khan arrange a meeting between Casim and Jasmine, their Pakistani niece they have chosen as a wife for Casim but whom he refuses to marry (7).

(7)

Mrs Khan to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Greet your aunt.]	Andiamo. È un segreto, una sorpresa. Guarda un po'.	Let's go. It's a secret, a surprise. Have a look.
Jasmine to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [How are you?]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Come stai?]	
Mrs Khan to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Aren't you going to answer? Won't you reply?]	Che fai tesoro, non le rispondi? Eh? Rispondi.	What's the matter, honey, aren't you going to answer? Eh? Reply.
Jasmine's mother to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Come here, Casim. You're looking well.]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Vieni qui Casim a conoscere tua zia. Sei un bel ragazzo.]	Come here Casim and meet your aunt. You are a good-looking guy.
Jasmin to	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i> [Mamma.	Mom, he doesn't

her mother		Non mi vuole.]	want me.
Jasmine's mother to Jasmine	<i>Punjabi</i> [Stay here! It's nothing.]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Rimani qua. Dai, non è niente. Aspetta un attimo, non te ne andare.]	Stay here. Come on, it's nothing. Wait a moment, don't go away.
[...]			
Mrs Khan to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [What's this? You should talk to them.]	Non è carino da parte tua comportarti così, Casim. Devi essere gentile con loro.	It's not kind from you to behave like this, Casim. You should be nice with them.
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [How far have they come?]	Da dove sono venute?	Where did they come from?
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [From Pakistan.]	Sono venute dal Pakistan.	They came from Pakistan.
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Why? I don't understand.]	Ma perché? Io ve l'avevo detto che non volevo!	But why? I told you that I didn't want!
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [But they came for the wedding.]	Senti, lo sapevi benissimo che sarebbero venute per il matrimonio.	Listen, you knew very well that they would have come for the wedding.
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Whose wedding?]	Quale matrimonio?	What wedding?
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Yours! With Jasmine.]	Il tuo! Il tuo matrimonio con Jasmine.	Yours! Your wedding with Jasmine.
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [When I left, what did I say?]	Cosa ti ho detto mamma quando sono andato via?	What did I tell you mum when I left?
Casim to Mr Khan	Dad, what did I say before I left?	Papà, che cosa ho detto prima di andarmene?	Dad, what did I tell before I left?
Mrs Khan to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [But they don't know anything! Let's go,	Ma loro non lo sanno, loro non sanno niente.	But they don't know it, they don't know

	sit.]	Avanti, sediamoci e parliamone con calma.	anything. Come on, let's sit and talk calmly about it.
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [I don't want to.]	No, non voglio sedermi.	No, I don't want to sit.

The long and intense exchange in (7) highlights many interesting aspects as far as the rendering of the L3/we-code is concerned. First of all, we see that the Italian version maintains only the sentences in Punjabi uttered by Jasmine and her mother, conveying their meaning through open interlingual subtitles, a choice purportedly made also by the Italian translator/dialogue adaptor for the sake of the filmic context's credibility as it would have been unrealistic to make the two women, newly arrived from Pakistan, use English, the host society language they don't know. The rest of the conversation between Casim and her parents, held in Punjabi in the original version except for a question Casim asks her father in English, is dubbed into Italian, thus leading to the loss of code-switching's emotive, phatic as well as expressive function. Furthermore, some Italian lines do not correspond to what is said in Punjabi and conveyed in the original version by open subtitles; indeed, in some cases, the Italian dialogue adds lexical elements that assign different nuances of meaning to the speaker's utterances, as can be seen when Mrs Khan's first sentence when addressing Casim, i.e. "Greet your aunt", is conveyed in Italian by means of three sentences, "Andiamo. È un segreto, una sorpresa. Guarda un po'" ("Let's go. It's a secret, a surprise. Have a look") which mainly aim to emphasize the woman's enthusiasm in introducing Casim to his aunt and, above all, to his wife-to-be. Such addition of elements not to be found in the original version is possibly due to the Italian translator's need to create a dialogue that is all the same consistent with the original scene's essence, in an attempt to compensate for the lack of the we-code.

In the Italian version of *Ae Fond Kiss* the loss of key aspects relevant to the principles at the core of the Khan family is clearly to be recognized also in the scene featuring Mrs Khan and Amar's parents praising each other's families and discussing the moral values their background heritage imposes on them (8).

(8)

Amar's mother (looking at a photo))	<i>Punjabi</i> [Whose photo is this?]	E questa chi è?	And who is this?
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [It's my niece, Casim's fiancée, soon my daughter-in-law.]	Eh, quella ragazza è mia nipote. È fidanzata con Casim, tra poco diventerà mia nuora.	Oh, that girl is my niece. She is engaged with Casim, soon she'll become my daughter-in-law.
Amar's mother	Very pretty, soft eyes.	Davvero? È molto carina, ha degli occhi dolcissimi.	Really? She is very pretty, she has very soft eyes.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [She's beautiful, I'm lucky to have her as a daughter-in-law.]	Sì, sono stata fortunata. Trovare una ragazza così per il mio Casim.	Yes, I have been lucky. To find a girl like this for my Casim.
[...]			
Amar's mother	<i>Punjabi</i> [He did a Ph.D. at Boston University. Now Molecular Biology at Manchester.]	E poi ha fatto il master all'Università di Boston. Adesso è diventato ricercatore all'Università di Manchester, proprio in Biologia Molecolare.	And then he did a PhD at Boston University. He is now researcher at Manchester University, in Molecular Biology.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [You're lucky. God gave you a good boy.]	Siete molto fortunati. Dio vi ha dato un ragazzo pieno di talento.	You're really lucky. God gave you a very talented boy.
Amar's father	<i>Punjabi</i> [But his mother put in a lot of effort. The first teachings are from	Sì, certo, è così, ma bisogna riconoscere i meriti della madre. Si dice che i primi	Yes, of course, it is like that, but you should recognize the

	the mother.]	veri insegnamenti vengano dalle matri.	mother's merits. They say the first real teachings come from mothers.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i>	Sono d'accordo.	I agree.
Amar's father	<i>Punjabi</i> [A child's success depends on the mother. She put in hard work to get him there.]	La buona o la cattiva sorte dipendono anche dalla madre.	Good or bad fate also depend on the mother.

In (8) in the original version the meaning of the spoken we-code is conveyed by means of open interlingual subtitles, whereas in the Italian version spoken Punjabi is replaced by Italian utterances that, in some cases, result to be longer and syntactically more complex than those appearing in the English open subtitles, as already observed in (7). This leads the Italian version to convey a slightly different characterization of the film's protagonists, either expressing ideas that do not correspond to those the characters give voice to in the original version or assigning the same concepts a different emphasis. This can be noticed, for instance, when Mrs Khan's statement "I'm lucky to have her as a daughter in law" is translated as "Trovare una ragazza così per il mio Casim" ("To find a girl like this for my Casim"), which underlines the fact that Jasmine was chosen as a wife-to-be for Casim by his parents rather than by Casim himself, a crucial aspect pertaining to the Pakistani tradition of arranged marriages that the original utterance does not express so clearly. Furthermore, Amar's mother statement "A child's success depends on the mother. She put in hard work to get him there" is abridged in the Italian version, which only stresses its first part translating it as "La buona o la cattiva sorte dipendono anche dalla madre" ("Good or bad fate depend also on the mother"), thus pointing out the key role a mother has in her children's destiny but omitting any reference to the hard work this usually requires.

The elimination of any hint to family traditions and sociocultural values as linguistically expressed by the use of the we-code, especially in the course of intimate family conversations, is consistently to be observed also in the Italian dubbed version of *Real Women Have Curves*, as we can see when Ana's parents talk about her daughter and Ana's mother, in

particular, complains about Ana's rebelling against the norms and values their Mexican culture traditionally pressures women to follow (9).

(9)

Ana's mother	<i>No quiere hacer el quehacer... No limpia su cuarto, no lava la ropa... No hace de comer... Puros problemas me da.</i> [She doesn't do her chores... She doesn't clean her room, she doesn't do laundry... She doesn't cook... she gives me plenty of trouble.]	Non vuole fare le faccende... Non pulisce la sua camera, non vuole lavare i panni... Non fa da mangiare... Mi dà solo un mucchio di problemi.	She doesn't want to do the housework... She doesn't clean her room, she doesn't want to do laundry... She doesn't cook... She only gives me plenty of trouble.
Ana's father	<i>Carmencita, Ana no te da tantos problemas. Mira, su maestro está bien contento con ella. Si racemo un esfuerzo, creo que podemos ayudarla a ir a la Universidad para que se eduque.</i> [Carmencita. Ana doesn't give you that much trouble. Look, her teacher is very happy with her. If we make an effort I believe we can help her get into college, to get an education.]	Cara, Ana non ti dà poi tanti problemi. Hai visto? Il suo insegnante è veramente soddisfatto di lei. Se facciamo uno sforzo credo che possiamo aiutarla ad andare al college così riceverà un'istruzione.	Dear, Ana doesn't give you so many troubles. Did you see? Her teacher is very happy with her. If we make an effort I believe we can help her get into college so that she will get an education.
Ana's mother	<i>Yo la puedo educar. Yo le enseño a</i>	Gliela do io l'istruzione. Io le	I give her an education. I teach

	<i>coser. Le enseño a criar a sus hijos y atender a su marido. Esas cosas no le van a enseñar ahí en el colegio. [I can teach her. I can teach her to sew. I can teach her to raise her kids and take care of her husband. Those are things they won't teach her in school.]</i>	insegno a cucire. Io le insegno come si fa a crescere i figli. A prendersi cura del marito. Queste cose non glielle insegnano al college.	her how to sew. I teach her how to raise children and take care of one's husband. Those are things they won't teach her at college.
Ana's father	<i>Está bien, se puede casar después. [It's all right, she can get married later.]</i>	<i>Querida, c'è sempre tempo per sposarsi.</i>	<i>Querida, there's always time to get married.</i>

In (9), whereas the original version breathes with Hispanic culture, exemplified by Mrs García's use of Spanish, in the Italian version there is only one Spanish word, i.e. the affectionate term of address *querida* that Ana's father uses when addressing his wife at the end of their dialogue and that is not to be found in the original version. This peculiar lexical and stylistic choice may be due to a sort of compensation strategy adopted by the Italian translator/dialogue adaptor in order to, at least partially, express the sense of the speakers' involvement as well as their ethnic identity but this procedure certainly does not succeed in conveying the emotive and sociocultural connotations the use of the we-code crucially entails in the original dialogue.

In the same film, the importance of family traditions as conveyed by the use of the we-code is likewise lost in the Italian dubbed version in the scene featuring the Garcías celebrating Ana's birthday with all the family members addressing one another using Spanish in the course of a conversation characterized by very affectionate tones (10).

(10)

Cousin 1	Anita. <i>Ven.</i> [Come.]	Ana. Vieni.	Ana. Come.
Ana	What?	Che c'è?	What's the matter?

Cousin 1	<i>No preguntes por qué. Tú solo ven. Te tengo que enseñar algo.</i> [Don't ask why. Just come, I need to show you something.]	Non chiedere che c'è, vieni e basta. Voglio farti vedere una cosa.	Don't ask why, just come. I want to show you something.
Ana	All right.	D'accordo.	Okay.
Cousin 1	<i>Ándale, apúrale.</i> [Come on, hurry up.]	Dai, sbrigati.	Come on, hurry up.
Ana's family	<i>¡Felicidades!</i> [Congratulations!]	Auguri!	Congratulations!
Ana's aunt	<i>¡Felicidades, Anita!</i> <i>¡Felicidades!</i> <i>¡Felicidades!</i> [Congratulations, Anita! Congratulations! Congratulations!]	Auguri, Anita, auguri, auguri!	Congratulations, Anita, congratulations, congratulations!
Ana	<i>Gracias, primos.</i> [Thank you, cousins!]	Grazie.	Thanks.
Ana's grandfather	<i>Muchas felicidades, Ana...</i> [All the happiness, Ana...]	Tanti meravigliosi auguri...	Many wonderful wishes...
Ana	<i>Abuelito...</i> [Grandpa...]	Ah nonnino...	Ah grandpa...
Ana's grandfather	<i>...por muchos años. Mira. Mira tu pastelote.</i> [...for many years. Look. Look at your big cake.]	...e mille di questi giorni. Guarda. Guarda quanto è grande il tuo dolce.	...and many happy returns of this day. Look. Look how big is your cake.

The Garcías' 'language of the heart' disappears in the Italian version where local standardization in dubbing deletes any reference to the strength of family ties as recurrently reinforced by the use of the we-code in the

original dialogue. From a general point of view, as far as immigrants' language practices are concerned, the loss of this distinctive aspect is particularly to be felt when the conversation is held by family members who are originally portrayed as we-code-only speakers, as they don't know the language of the host society. This is the case with Ana's grandfather, who only speaks Spanish in the film's original version, a linguistic behaviour that leads also his interlocutors to use the we-code in order to allow communication. In *Real Womes Have Curves*, the linguistic convergence to the we-code enacted by the Garcías as an unmarked language choice can be observed in many family interactions in the film's original version, e.g. in a conversation among Ana, her father and her grandfather, who is telling her granddaughter a Mexican legend (11); in an exchange between Ana's father and grandfather while playing cards (12); in an interaction among Ana's grandfather, Ana's mother and a cousin of theirs (13).

(11)

Ana's grandfather	<i>¿Te acuerdas de nuestro oro cerca de nuestro pueblo en las sierras? Había una cueva llena de oro.</i> [Do you remember our gold... close to our hometown, near the hills? There was a cave full of gold.]	Ti ricordi dell'oro vicino al nostro villaggio? Nella sierra c'era una grotta piena d'oro.	Do you remember the gold close to our hometown? There was a cave full of gold in the sierra.
Ana's father	<i>Papá, esas son puras leyendas.</i> [Papa, those are only legends.]	Dai, papa, queste sono soltanto leggende, lo sai.	Come on, papa, these are only legends, you know it.
Ana's grandfather	<i>¿Y los hombres que vieron la cueva y el oro?</i> [And the men who saw the cave and the gold?]	E quegli uomini che videro la grotta e l'oro?	And those men who saw the cave and the gold
Ana's father	<i>Ese oro no existe, viejito.</i> [The gold doesn't exist, Dad.]	Quell'oro non esiste, sei fissato.	The gold doesn't exist, you are obsessed.

Ana	<i>Abuelito, cuéntame del tesoro.</i> [Grandpa, tell me about the treasure.]	Dai nonnino, raccontami del tesoro.	Come on grandpa, tell me about the treasure.
Ana's grandfather	<i>Mira, hace muchos años, durante la Revolución, la gente escondía su oro en las cuevas de las montañas. Después de la Revolución, corrió un rumor de que había una cueva llena de oro cerca de nuestro pueblo. Dentro de la cueva, había en la pared un letrero pintado que decía, "Este oro no podrá ser entregado sino a un hombre de corazón puro". Yo siempre quise encontrar ese oro.</i> [Many years ago, during the Revolution...people would hide their gold in the caves in the mountains. After the Revolution, there was a rumor... that there was a cave full of gold...close to our hometown. Inside the cave... there was a sign painted on the wall, that said: "This gold can only be	Ma certo. Ascolta, tanto tempo fa, durante la Rivoluzione, la gente nascondeva l'oro nelle grotte delle montagne e, dopo la rivoluzione, correva voce che c'era una grotta piena zeppa d'oro, proprio vicino al nostro villaggio. Dentro la grotta, sulla parete, c'era disegnata una scritta che diceva "Questo oro potrà essere consegnato unicamente a un uomo dal cuore puro". E io ho sempre desiderato trovare quell'oro.	Of course. Listen, a long time ago, during the Revolution, people would hide their gold in the caves in the mountains and, after the Revolution, there was a rumour that there was a cave full of gold, just close to our hometown. Inside the cave, there was a sign painted on the wall that said: "This gold can only be given to a man with a pure heart". And I always wanted to find that gold.

	taken by a man with a pure heart". I always wanted to find that gold.]		
--	--	--	--

(12)

Ana's father	<i>Gracias, mi amor. ¿A quién le toca?</i> [Thank you, darling. Whose turn is it?]	Grazie, amore mio. A chi tocca?	Thank you, my love. Whose turn is it?
Ana's grandfather	<i>A mi. Aquí tienes mi ficha.</i> [Mine. Here is my fiche.]	A me, dammi le fiche.	Mine, give me the fiche.

(13)

Ana's grandfather to Ana	<i>Tu mama está preguntando por ti, mija.</i> [Your mother is waiting for you, dear.]	C'è tua madre che ti sta cercando, tesoro mio.	There's your mother who is looking for you, honey.
Ana's mother	Ana!	Ana!	Ana!
Cousin 1	<i>Tu mama está un poco zafada.</i> [Your mother is a little crazy.]	Tua madre sta dando i numeri.	Your mother is going crazy.

What excerpts (11), (12), (13) clearly illustrate is that the Italian version, in translating all occurrences of the spoken L3 into the spoken L2, not only dissolves the original scenes' ethnolinguistic essence but also, and crucially, misrepresents the characters and, in particular, Ana's grandfather, whose exclusive use of the we-code in the original version is due to his lack of knowledge of the they-code, an aspect distinctive of his linguistic identity that is never disclosed to the Italian audience.

2.1.2. Explicitation in translation

In the Italian version of some of the films under investigation,

dubbing the L3 in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching also often implies processes of explicitation in translation, i.e. a peculiar translation procedure that consists in making explicit in the target language what remains linguistically implicit in the source language (cf. Vinay & Darbelnet 1958), and considered by many scholars as a sort of universal strategy inherent in the translation process itself (cf. Blum-Kulka 2000; Klaudy 2004; Hansen-Schirra, Neumann, Steiner 2007). Even though it primarily aims at making the original script more accessible to the target audience, in the case of multilingual films it is mostly combined with the elimination of the L3, which is instead maintained unaltered and not translated by means of open interlingual subtitles in the original version. Such translation mode clearly removes important aspects of crosslinguistic and cross-cultural communication that are instead vital in the multilingual discourse practices distinctive of the on-screen multiethnic and immigrant groups of speakers and, in a sense, often seems to be due to the Italian film translator/dialogue adaptor's attempt to identify with the European/American screenwriter, to imagine how the dialogue would have been structured had it been complete and fully expressed in the original version, and to consequently create a coherent text sometimes adding nuances of meaning to further involve the target audience (Monti 2016). Notwithstanding these positive goals, this transfer procedure inevitably implies an act of manipulation, as it massively interferes with the structure of the original script, minimizing the key role of the source culture and obfuscating both foreign identities and in-group linguistic dynamics. In our corpus of films, elimination of the L3 implying explicitation in translation can be observed, in particular, in the Italian dubbed version of such films revolving around immigrant families and communities as *Ae Fond Kiss* (covering 18% of the total occurrences) and *Bend It Like Beckham* (covering 55% of the total occurrences).

In *Ae Fond Kiss* an interesting instance of explicitation can be recognized in the first scene, featuring Tahara and her father in front of the man's corner-shop (14).

(14)

Tahara	What's this?	Che vuoi fare?	What do you want to do?
Mr Khan	<i>Punjabi</i>	Ci penso io, lascia stare.	I'll deal with it, get over it.

In (14), whereas Tahara, a second-generation immigrant, uses English to address her father as a sign of her being fully integrated in the Western society, the man replies using Punjabi, which is left untranslated in the original version and is dubbed into Italian in the Italian version; if this procedure, on the one hand, completes the dialogue for the sake of comprehension on the part of the Italian audience, on the other hand it fails in conveying the key sociocultural aspects the unmarked use of the we-code in family conversations entails.

In the same film, elimination of the L3 as combined with explicitation is to be observed when greetings are at stake, as we can see when Casim greets his mother and Amar at his arrival home (15).

(15)

Casim	<i>Punjabi</i>	Come va, tutto bene?	How are things, is everything fine?
Amar	<i>Punjabi</i>	Bene, grazie.	Fine, thanks.
Casim to Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i>	Ciao, mamma, eccomi.	Hi, mum, here I am.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i>	Oh, ben tornato. È andato tutto bene?	Oh, welcome back. Has everything gone well?
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i>	Tutto bene, grazie. Che la pace sia con te.	Everything all right, thanks. Peace be on you.

In (15), though the Italian dialogues are made up of explanatory sentences clarifying the original conversation's contents, we cannot say with any degree of certainty whether such sentences are equivalent to what is actually said in Punjabi or not, as no L1 translating the L3 appears in the original version.

As illustrated in (14) and (15), the spoken we-code is eliminated and its meaning is made explicit in Italian especially in instances of turn-specific code-switching. This is extensively to be observed also in the Italian version of *Bend It Like Beckham* (16-20).

(16)

Pinky	I'll get it!	Vado io!	I'll get it!
Mr	<i>Punjabi</i>	Ma chi è a	Who's at this time?

Bhamra		quest'ora?	
--------	--	------------	--

(17)

Mr Bhamra	The dinner's ready?	La cena è pronta?	Is dinner ready?
Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Quasi.	Almost.
Mr Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Allora perché non mangiamo?	So why don't we eat?

(18)

Mr Bhamra to Jess	<i>Punjabi</i>	Andiamo. Tu sali. A casa facciamo i conti.	Come on. You go up. At home we'll settle the score.
-------------------	----------------	--	---

(19)

Teet's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	Andiamo.	Let's go.
Teet's father	Look, we're not trying to cause trouble. It's just that, well, we felt it our duty to tell you.	Noi non vogliamo creare problemi, ma abbiamo ritenuto nostro dovere dirvelo.	We don't want to cause troubles, but we felt it our duty to tell you.
Teet's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	Su, lascia stare.	Come on, leave it.
Teet's father	<i>Punjabi</i>	Ora la cosa riguarda la vostra famiglia.	Now the issue concerns our family.

(20)

Mrs Bhamra	And that's why she's ready to go all the way to America now!	È colpa tua se è pronta andare fino in America adesso!	It's your fault if she is ready to go all the way to America now!
Tony's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	Poveri noi, non è possibile!	Poor us, it's not possible!

As excerpts (16-20) illustrate, though explicitation mainly aims at completing the Italian dialogues, a different translation solution, i.e.

maintaining the spoken L3/we-code unaltered and untranslated also in the Italian version, would have effectively increased the dialogues' original impact as conveyed by the use of the we-code.

2.1.3. Generational conflicts 'solved' in dubbing

The dubbing practices frequently adopted in the Italian version of *Ae Fond Kiss*, *Bend It Like Beckham* and *Real Women Have Curves* (as observed in 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.) deprive the films' Italian version of another important aspect relevant to the uses and functions of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, i.e. its being related to different generational speech patterns and to non-reciprocal language use that show psychological distance between first- and second-generation immigrants (Monti 2010, 2014, 2016). Such non-reciprocal language use is to be observed in the course of family conversations disclosing the speakers' most intimate feelings as well as in the course of generational conflicts during which the parents' use of the we-code mainly aims to express their anger and disappointment when their sons/daughters break home tradition rules that they should instead respect.

Whereas the ideological and behavioural models governing the different intergenerational discourse practices are always clearly outlined in the films' original version, where the meaning of the spoken we-code is either conveyed by open subtitles in English or not provided (and then made explicit in the Italian version), the connection between using the we-code and belonging to the older generations, which is in turn related to matters of authority and respect, is often not carried over in the Italian dubbed version, as the they-code/we-code dialogues are mostly translated into standard Italian. The Italian version thus fails in expressing the competing visions of the world held by the two generations, something that is instead always illustrated in the original version by the juxtaposition of we-code and they-code across conversational turns.

The lack of distinctive generational speech patterns is extensively to be observed in the Italian version of *Real Women Have Curves*, where the symbolic values entailed in generational non-reciprocal language use, especially in instances of turn-specific code-switching, are lost in dub (covering 43% of the total occurrences). An example of this can be recognized when Ana's mother makes some comments in Spanish while watching a soap opera with Ana's grandfather: when Ana arrives and joins

the conversation, she addresses her mother turn-specifically switching from Spanish to English (21).

(21)

Ana's mother	<i>Se acabó. Y con esa música quieren salir en la televisión.</i> [It's finished. With that music, they want to get on TV.]	Meno male, è finito. E con questa musica vogliono andare in televisione.	Thank God, it's finished. And with this music, they want to go on TV.
Ana's grandfather	<i>Necesitan mejorar un poquito.</i> [They need to improve a little bit.]	Effettivamente dovrebbero un pochino migliorare.	In fact they should improve a little bit.
Ana's mother	<i>Sí, yo diría.</i> [Yeah, I'd say.]	Sarà dura.	It'll be tough.
[...]			
Ana's mother	<i>Ay, Estela, Ana, de la que se perdieron en la novela, Los Pobres Lloran Más.</i> [Estela, Ana, you really missed something in the soap opera The Poor Cry More.]	Ah Estela, Ana, vi siete perse la puntata di I poveri piangono sempre di più.	Ah Estela, Ana, you missed the episode of The Poor Cry More.
Ana	Mom, I don't watch Spanish soap operas.	Mamma, io non guardo quelle porcate televisive.	Mom, I don't watch those television pieces of crap.

In (21), Ana's use of English is highly symbolic of her considering herself more American than Mexican, something that is also semantically implied in her statement "Mom, I don't watch Spanish soap operas", which is

translated into Italian with a derogatory sentence “Mamma, io non guardo quelle porcate televisive” (“Mom, I don’t watch those television pieces of crap”), clearly expressing Ana’s dislike for a TV programme that her mother instead appreciates as peculiar to her Mexican sociocultural heritage.

Also the final scene of *Real Women Have Curves*, when Ana is accompanied to the airport by her father and grandfather to go to Columbia University, loses, in the Italian version, the original connotations related to non-reciprocal generational speech patterns, as the whole dialogue is translated into Italian with no hint to the generational clash, which is instead exemplified, in the original version, by the fact that Ana is the only character who uses English within a conversation entirely held in Spanish (22).

(22)

Ana’s grandfather	<i>No te preocupes por mí. Tú siempre estarás dentro de mi corazón.</i> [Don’t worry about me. You’ll always be in my heart.]	Non preoccuparti per me, tu sarai per sempre nel mio cuore, Anita.	Don’t worry about me, you’ll always be in my heart, Anita.
Ana	Thank you, Papa.	Grazie, papa.	Thanks, papa.
Ana’s father	<i>Cuídate mucho, hijita.</i> [Take care, sweetie.]	Cerca di stare bene, figlia mia.	Take care, my child.

In the films whose main focus is the ideological conflict between different generations, the pervasive use of the we-code in the original version is also conducive to increase the emotive implications of intimate conversations between mothers and daughters. In *Real Women Have Curves* it is often when Ana and her mother quarrel that the non-reciprocal use of we-code and they-code proves to be crucial as the linguistic correlative of their ideological division; indeed, whereas Ana’s mother consistently uses the we-code throughout the whole film, Ana expresses herself mostly in English, a linguistic attitude that hints at the disconnection between herself and her background culture and, most importantly, at the lack of communication characterizing her relationship

with her mother. The language barrier between Ana and Carmen also raises other conflicts due to their disagreement, ultimately leading them to increasingly grow apart in their beliefs. As a fact, as already mentioned, Ana struggles with the gender role established by Mexican culture and challenges its norms consistently using the they-code both as a sign of her American identity and as an act of rebellion against the limits set by her background culture and, also linguistically, personified by her mother. In excerpts (23) and (24), Ana's use of English clearly proves to be her personal way to assert her own positions against her mother's imposing attitude.

(23)

Ana	Okay, <i>amá</i> , what's wrong? Is it your legs?	Va bene, mamma, che succede? Sono le gambe?	Okay, mom, what's wrong? Is it your legs?
Ana's mother	<i>Sí.</i>	<i>Sì.</i>	Yes.
Ana	What about your back?	E anche la schiena?	And your back too?
Ana's mother	<i>Sí.</i>	<i>Sì.</i>	Yes.
Ana	And your head?	E la testa?	And the head?
Ana's mother	<i>También.</i> [Yeah, that, too.]	La testa.	The head.
Ana	And how's your hearing?	E come va l'udito?	And how's your hearing?
Ana's mother	<i>¿Qué?</i> [What?]	Che?	What?
Ana	Today's my last day of high school, I'm not gonna miss that.	Oggi è il mio ultimo giorno di scuola, mamma, e ti assicuro che non me lo perderò.	Today is my last day of school, mom, and I assure you that I'm not going to miss it.
Ana's mother	<i>Malagradecida.</i> [Ungrateful.]	Maledetta ingrata.	Damned ungrateful wretch.

(24)

Ana's mother	<p>¿Adónde vas? ¿Adónde demonios vas? <i>Yo ya no puedo más. Ya estoy muy vieja para estos trotes. Yo no sé para qué trabajo. Mis manos están artríticas. Y me estoy quedando ciega de tanta costura.</i> [Where are you going? Where the hell are you going? I can't take it anymore. I'm too old for this. I don't know why I'm working. My hands have arthritis. And I'm going blind from so much sewing.]</p>	<p>Ma dove vai? Dove accidenti vai? Non ce la faccio più. Sono troppo vecchia per queste corse. Non so più per cosa lavoro. Le mie mani sono artritiche. E sto diventando cieca a furia di cucire.</p>	<p>But where are you going? Where the hell are you going? I can't take it anymore. I'm too old for these things. I don't know why I'm working anymore. My hands have arthritis. And I'm going blind from so much sewing.</p>
Ana	<p>Yeah, <i>amá</i>, I know. Okay. Everybody knows.</p>	<p>Sì, mamma, lo so. Va bene. Lo sappiamo tutti.</p>	<p>Yes, mom, I know. Okay. We all know it.</p>
Ana's mother	<p>¡No me toques! ¡Lárgate! Si quieres ir, ¡lárgate! ¡Lárgate! ¿Qué? ¿Te avergüenzas conmigo? ¿Te da vergüenza trabajar con nosotras? Tanto lomo, tanto sacrificio... ¿Y todo para qué? Para ustedes. Tú piensas que solo soy un perro para trabajar.</p>	<p>Non toccarmi! Vattene! Se proprio vuoi andartene, vattene! Vattene! Che c'è? Ti vergogni di me, di la verità. Ti vergogni di lavorare con noi? Quanto lavoro, quanto sacrificio. È tutto questo per cosa? Per voi. Tu pensi che io sia un</p>	<p>Don't touch me! Go away! If you want to go away, go away! Go away! What's the matter? You are ashamed of me, aren't you? Are you ashamed to work with us? So much work, so much sacrifice. And all this for what? For you.</p>

	[Don't touch me! Leave! If you want to leave, leave! Leave! What? Am I embarrassing you? Are you ashamed to work with us? So much effort, so much sacrifice... And all for what? For you. You only think I'm a beast of burden.]	povero mulo buono solo a lavorare.	You think I'm only a poor beast of burden.
Ana	Mom, come on let's go. Let's go back, come on.	No mamma, avanti Andiamo. Torniamo indietro, forza.	No mom, come on. Let's go. Let's go back, come on.

As we can notice in (23) and (24), the original version clearly conveys the linguistic distance between mother and daughter as spoken Spanish is always left unaltered, whereas the Italian version removes all instances of turn-specific code-switching and eliminates the two instances of intrasentential code-switching to be observed when Ana switches from English to Spanish in addressing her mother with the term *amá* (“mum”), thus also erasing the affectionate (and sociocultural) connotations the use of this term implies (see 3.3. for in-depth discussion on the elimination of sociocultural references in instances of intrasentential code-switching). Similar translation choices in (non-)rendering generational speech patterns can be recognized also when Estela, Ana’s older sister, interacts with her mother (25).

(25)

Estela	<i>Amá</i> , are you doing your work?	Mamma, stai facendo il tuo dovere?	Mom, are you doing your duty?
Ana’s mother	<i>Sí, mi general.</i>	Sì, generale.	Yes, my general.

The sociocultural and ethnolinguistic implications of non-reciprocal language use across generations, in cases of turn-specific code-switching,

are often lost also in the Italian version of *Ae Fond Kiss* (covering 34% of the total occurrences) in particular when the Khans discuss important family and community issues; this can be seen in an exchange among Mrs Khan, Amar's mother, Ruckhsana and Amar (26).

(26)

Amar's mother	<i>Punjabi</i> [Children are like that, they're always changing their minds.]	I figli sono così, cambiano sempre idea, un giorno vogliono fare una cosa, il giorno dopo un'altra.	Children are like this, they always change their mind, one day they want to do one thing, the following day they want to do another thing.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Rukhsana teaches the community aerobics. Always exercising. Look at her figure!]	Rukhsana si occupa anche attivamente della comunità. Insegna aerobica qui vicino. Si esercita in continuazione, infatti guardate che bel corpo le è venuto.	Rukhsana is also actively involved in the community. She teaches aerobics not far from here. She's always exercising, look at her beautiful body.
Rukhsana	Mommy!	Mamma, che dici?	Mum, what are you saying?
Amar	Aerobics?	Aerobica?	Aerobics?
Rukhsana	Yeah, yeah.	Già.	Yes.
Amar	All right. Do you enjoy that?	Ah, sì. E ti piace?	Oh, yes. And do you like it?
Rukhsana	It's okay, it's good to do some voluntary work in the, in the communities.	Abbastanza. La cosa che mi appaga di più è fare volontariato e dare una mano alla comunità.	It's okay. The thing that satisfies me most is doing some voluntary work and helping the community.

What immediately stands out in (26) is that, in the original version, Amar's mother and Mrs Khan use only Punjabi (left unaltered at the spoken level with its meaning conveyed in English open subtitles) whereas Ruckhsana

and Amar use only English as the linguistic emblem of their Western identity. The Italian version, on the other hand, replaces spoken Punjabi with standard Italian, thus neutralizing the crucial connections between we-code/first-generation and they-code/second-generation, which likewise disappear when Rukhsana and Amar announce their marriage to Casim and Mrs Khan uses Punjabi during a conversation entirely held in English (27).

(27)

Mrs Khan to Rukhsana	<i>Punjabi</i> [Tell him the good news.]	Allora, diglielo.	Come on, tell him
Casim	What happened?	Cosa è successo?	What happened?
Rukhsana	Tried to phone you so many times but your mobile was off or something, I don't know and guess what?	Ho provato a chiamarti tanto sul cellulare ma era spento e allora, indovina un po'?	I tried to call you many times on your mobile but it was off and then, guess what?
Casim	What?	Cosa?	What?
Rukhsana to Amar	You tell him.	Diglielo tu!	You tell him!
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Tell him the news.]	Dagli la notizia, che aspetti?	Tell him the news, what are you waiting for?
Casim	Mom!	Mamma!	Mom!
Amar to Rukhsana	I think you should tell him.	Dovresti dirglielo tu.	You should tell him.
Rukhsana	You tell him.	Ma no, diglielo tu!	No, you tell him.
Mrs Khan to Rukhsana	<i>Punjabi</i> [Tell him!]	Glielo volete dire?	Do you want to tell him?
Casim	What is it?	Ma cosa?	But what?
Rukhsana	We're getting married.	Noi ci sposiamo!	We're getting married!
[...]			
Casim to Mrs Khan	Mom, you must be so happy.	Mamma, sei felice, vero?	Mom, are you happy, aren't you?
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Yes, I	Felice, felicissima!	Happy, very

	tried to call you many times.]	Non sai quante volte ho provato a chiamarti per dirtelo.	happy! You don't know how many times I tried to call you to tell you.
--	--------------------------------	--	---

In *Ae Fond Kiss*, another noteworthy example of the elimination of any reference to intergenerational discourse practices and to their sociocultural implications is to be recognized when Casim finds the courage to tell his mother that he cannot marry Jasmine as he is in love with Roisin, an Irish girl (28).

(28)

Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [I can't do it.]	Mamma, non posso farlo.	Mum, I cant't do it.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [What?]	Che cosa?	What?
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [I know you're preparing things for me.]	Io lo so tutto quello che state facendo per me.	I know all that you are doing for me.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [What can't you do?]	Che cos'è che non puoi fare?	What is that you cannot do?
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i>	Non posso.	I can't.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i>	Che cosa?	What?
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [I can't get married.]	Io non posso sposarmi.	I can't get married.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [How can I tell your aunt now?]	Eh? Che gli dico a tua zia adesso? Sembravi così contento.	Eh? What do I tell your aunt now? You looked so happy.
Casim	I can't go ahead with it, mom.	Non posso farlo.	I can't do it.
Mrs Khan ((crying))	<i>Punjabi</i> [This is not good. What will Jasmine do? This will shame us.]	Non ci si comporta così. E Jasmine che cosa farà? La vergogna cadrà su di noi.	You cannot behave like this. And what is Jasmine going to do? Shame will fall upon us.
Casim ((crying))	I'll sell the car. I'll give you all the money back for the	Venderò la macchina, vi ridarò tutti i soldi che	I'll sell the car, I'll give you back all the money you

	extension. I can't go ahead with it.	avete speso per la casa, ma non ce la faccio.	spent for the house, but I can't do it.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [What has happened? If you don't tell me, how will I know?]	Ma cosa è successo? Che succede? Se non mi dici che è successo, come faccio a capire?	But what's happened? What's the matter? If you don't tell me what's happened, how can I understand?
Casim ((crying))	I'm going to go stay with Hammid.	Vado a stare da Hammid per un po' di tempo.	I'm going to stay at Hammid's for a while.
Mrs Khan ((crying))	<i>Punjabi</i> [What will I do? My son, what will I do?]	E io che cosa devo fare? Figlio mio, che devo fare?	And what shall I do? My son, what shall I do?

In (28) Mrs Khan uses only Punjabi throughout the whole exchange, adopting the we-code that 'has' to be used when it comes to family matters, whereas Casim initially conforms to his mother's linguistic code but then switches from Punjabi to English. The pervasive presence of turn-specific code-switching in the original version implies key issues with regard to the generational clash and, in particular, to the relationship between mother and son. Indeed, the first part of this emotionally intense exchange concerns the choices Casim's parents made for him (i.e. the choice of a good Pakistani girl as his wife-to-be) and therefore requires the use of Punjabi as the language encoding the Indian traditions according to which these choices have been made (i.e. the tradition of arranged marriages). On the other hand, the second part of the conversation regards the choices Casim intends to make independently from his family (i.e. to go and live with Roisin) and these are choices that take him away from his sociocultural background, leading him to express his adherence to Western society also from a linguistic point of view.

The erasure of the L3 within intergenerational linguistic dynamics is also sometimes combined with manipulation in the Italian monolingual dialogues, as can be seen in another scene of *Ae Fond Kiss* where non-reciprocal language use is the dominant speech pattern in the original version (29).

(29)

Casim to Mrs Khan	Mom?	Mamma! Mamma! Mamma...	Mom! Mom! Mom...
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Yes?]	Che c'è?	What's wrong?
Casim	Got to go to London for a few days.	Devo andare a Londra per qualche giorno.	I've got to go to London for a few days.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Why?]	Perché?	Why?
Casim	We may have a backer for the club.	Serve un finanziamento per il locale.	We need a backer for the club.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Is that a good thing?]	Ci sono dei problemi?	Are there any problems?
Casim	Yes.	No, nessun problema.	No, no problem.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [Who are you going with?]	E con chi vai?	And who are you going with?
Casim	Hammid.	Con Hammid.	With Hammid.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [How long are you going for?]	E quanti giorni ci state?	And how many days are you going to stay?
Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Three days.]	Tre giorni.	Three days.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [How many?]	Quanti?	How many?
Casim	Three days, mom.	Tre giorni, mamma.	Three days, mom.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [You going now? That's fine then.]	Partite adesso? Allora salutami.	Are you leaving now? Then say goodbye to me.

In (29), the elimination of spoken Punjabi and its translation into Italian involve processes of manipulation in translation as some Italian utterances convey nuances of meaning different from the original ones. In particular, when Mrs Khan asks Casim “Is that a good thing?” referring to Casim’s business trip to London, in the original version this question entails positive expectations whereas in the Italian version it acquires negative

connotations as it is translated as “Ci sono dei problemi?” (“Are there any problems?”). Furthermore, when Mrs Khan tells Casim “That’s fine then” she apparently gives her approval to Casim’s plans, while the Italian translation “Allora salutami” (“Then say goodbye to me”) seems to stress the importance Mrs Khan assigns to the respect Casim has to show to her, something that implies Casim’s putting his family before everything else in his life.

The Italian version of *Ae Fond Kiss* results to be deprived of another important aspect related to generational language choices, in particular when second-generation immigrants and their use of intersentential code-switching are at stake: indeed, Casim and Tahara sometimes use intersentential code-switching from English to Punjabi assigning to their utterance an emotional strength that is lost in the Italian translation due to the elimination of the we-code. This is to be observed when Casim talks on the phone with her mother after he left his parents’ home to go and live with Roisin (30).

(30)

<p>Casim ((on the phone))</p>	<p>Hello? <i>Punjabi</i> [Peace be on you.] Mom, don’t cry, mom. <i>Punjabi</i> [I’ll come tomorrow.] Promise, mom, that... Mom, don’t cry. Mom, don’t say that. <i>Punjabi</i> [God bless.]</p>	<p>Pronto? Che la pace sia con te. Sto bene, mamma. Non piangere, mamma. Domani vengo a trovarti. Te lo prometto, mamma. Mamma, non piangere. Mamma, non mi dire così. Che Dio ti benedica.</p>	<p>Hello? Peace be on you. I’m fine, mom. Don’t cry mom. Tomorrow I’m going to visit you. I promise, mom. Mom, don’t cry. Mom, don’t say that to me. God bless you.</p>
-----------------------------------	--	---	---

In (30), in the original version, Casim uses metaphorical intersentential code-switching English-Punjabi to conform to his mother’s linguistic code in a possible attempt to reassure her that he still is and will always be her devoted son even though he makes choices his mother does not approve: he thus assigns his language choices specific functions related to his feelings that are lost in dub. An analogous loss is to be recognized when, at the end of the film, Tahara talks to her father to communicate she is going

to attend Edinburgh University even though she knows that he won't approve her decision (31).

(31)

Tahara	Dad, I know how you feel about me wanting to be a journalist and about Edinburgh University. I just want you to know that I really want to go and I'm going to go. And I'm going to keep speaking to Casim. I can't not speak to him, he's my brother. <i>Punjabi</i> [You've both given me a lot, and I'll give you a lot back.] Thanks, mom.	Papà, lo so come ti senti, per il fatto che voglio diventare una giornalista e andare all'Università di Edimburgo. Ma voglio solo che tu sappia che voglio davvero andarci. E ci andrò. E continuerò a parlare con Casim. Non posso non parlargli, è mio fratello. Voi mi avete dato davvero tanto, e io vi ripagherò, a modo mio. Grazie mamma.	Dad, I know how you feel about my wanting to become a journalist and to go to Edinburgh University. But I want you to know that I really want to go. And I'm going to go. And I'm going to keep speaking to Casim. I can't avoid speaking to him, he is my brother. You really gave me a lot and I'm going to give you back, my own way. Thanks mum.
--------	--	--	--

In (31), Tahara intersententially switches from English to Punjabi when she thanks her parents for what they did for her: this is the only time she speaks Punjabi throughout the whole film and she uses it as a sign of respect to show the importance she still assigns to her family ties. These aspects are not to be found in the Italian dubbed version, which translates Punjabi into Italian and adds the phrase “a modo mio” (“my own way”) to Tahara’s utterance, emphasizing Tahara’s choice to live her life according to her own desires, even though these collide with her parents’ expectations, and therefore stressing a rebellious attitude on the part of the girl that the original version does not suggest.

Also in *Bend It Like Beckham*, non-reciprocal language choices across generations during family conversations are mostly erased in the Italian version in instances of both turn-specific and intersentential code-switching (covering 20% of the total occurrences) (32-36).

(32)

Mrs Bhamra	Good! <i>Punjabi</i> End of matter!	Bene. D'accordo, fine del discorso.	Good. Okay, end of the matter.
Mr Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Molto bene. Vedo che ragioni.	Very good. I see you are being reasonable.
Jess	I'm joining a girls' team.	Gioco in una squadra femminile.	I play in a girls' team.

(33)

Mr Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Ho dimenticato il portafogli. Torno subito.	I forgot my wallet. I'll be right back.
Pinky	Honestly, dad. I'll go inside and get it.	Okay, papà, vado a prenderlo io.	Okay, dad, I'll go and get it.

(34)

Tony's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	Poveri noi, non è possibile!	Poor us, it's not possible!
Tony	It's all right, mum, just leave it.	Non fa niente mamma, lascia perdere!	It doesn't matter mum, just leave it!

(35)

Jess	But, dad, the twenty-fifth...	Ma papà il venticinque...	But, dad, the twenty-fifth...
Mr Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Zitta tu!	Shut up!

(36)

Mrs Bhamra to Jess	<i>Punjabi</i>	Andiamo. Tu sali. A casa facciamo i conti.	Let's go. You get into. At home we'll sort this out.
--------------------	----------------	--	--

In (32-36) the elimination of the spoken we-code in the target version is combined with explicitation as the Italian dialogues convey the supposed meaning of the original L3 utterances inferring them from the other parts of the conversation; if, on the one hand, this procedure (as already

observed in 2.1.2.) allows the target audience a higher degree of comprehension of the original contents, on the other hand it implies, especially when generational speech patterns are at stake, a remaking of not only languages but also, and primarily, of linguistic identities.

2.1.3.1. The neutralization of gender-related connotations in in-group speech patterns

As far as family and generational discourse practices are concerned, another key issue that emerges from the comparative analysis of the original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films under investigation is that language alternation seems to be sensitive not only to age but also to gender, as the we-code tends to be recurrently used especially by first-generation immigrant women. Indeed, autonomisation of migrant communities and their recourse to a social structure based on the models offered by their home culture allow members who do not have to maintain close links with the host society (e.g. housewives) to develop minimal skills in the majority language. Women, as vessels of culture in immigrant communities (Dasgupta 1998; Kallivayalil 2004), result to be the most affected by such phenomena: as their central position in the family imposes the extensive usage of their mother tongue as the privileged code for daily conversation, they assign themselves the role of guardians of home language retention and use within both nuclear and extended families (Milroy, Muysken 1995), whereas men, apparently more fully integrated in the Western society, tend to develop a certain proficiency in the they-code and use it most of the time in their daily life outside their home (Bhatia, Ritchie 2004). This important connotation related to the immigrant women's sociocultural and linguistic identity is mostly erased in the Italian version of the films portraying immigrant communities: indeed, the Italian dialogues are often deprived of any gender-related connotations as most cases of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching enacted by first-generation immigrant women are rendered into spoken Italian. This can be observed in two scenes in *Ae Fond Kiss*, when Mrs Khan addresses her husband using Punjabi even though the man uses English (37-38).

(37)

Mr Khan	What is it?	Che c'è?	What's the matter?
Mrs	<i>Punjabi</i> [What are	Che cosa state	What are you

Khan	you doing?]	facendo?	doing?
Mr Khan	You are either going to have an extension, missus, or you can have a garden. You cannot have both of them! Once the extension is built, we'll make more flowers, we'll make more gardens, don't worry about it.	Cara signora, vuoi una casa più grande o il giardino? Non si possono avere tutte e due. Una volta ingrandita la casa metteremo altri fiori e un bel prato nuovo. Non ti preoccupare di questo.	Dear lady, do you want a bigger house or the garden? You cannot have both. Once the house is enlarged we'll plant other flowers and a beautiful new meadow. Don't worry about this.

(38)

Tahara to Mr Khan	How's your hand?	Come va la mano?	How's your hand?
Mr Khan	It's better, it's better.	Va meglio, molto meglio.	It's better, much better.
Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [It's still painful.]	Gli fa ancora male.	It still hurts him.

Such a close connection between code-switching and gender is to be recognized also in *Bend It Like Beckham*, where turn-specific code-switching is often introduced in the interactions by Mrs Bhamra when talking to her husband, as we can see when Mr Bhamra, in seeing a picture of Jess's football team in the newspaper, uses English to ask his wife to call their daughter back home and Mrs Bhamra replies in Punjabi, following a speech pattern that is eliminated in Italian (39).

(39)

Mr Bhamra	The dinner's ready?	La cena è pronta?	Is dinner ready?
Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Quasi.	Almost.
Mr Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Allora perché non mangiamo?	Then why don't we eat?
[...]			
Mr	Suhki?	Suhki?	Suhki?

Bhamra			
Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Sì?	Yes?
Mrs Bhamra	Call her back in Croydon. I want to speak to them.	Richiamale a Croydon, voglio parlare con loro.	Call them back to Croydon, I want to speak to them.
Mrs Bahmra	<i>Punjabi</i>	Perché?	Why?
Mr Bahmra	I said I want to speak to them!	Ho detto che voglio parlare con loro!	I said I want to speak to them!

What we can clearly observe in (37-39) is that in, the Italian version, the role played by the we-code as a means of self-expression on the part of women is never conveyed and this leads both to an ethnolinguistic loss as far as the use of language in immigrant communities is concerned and to a misrepresentation of the characters on the screen.

2.1.4. Omission

In our corpus of films, the elimination of the L3 in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching in dub is realized, though only in a few cases (covering 1% of the total occurrences), by means of another (non-)transfer modality, i.e. omission, which consists in completely removing the original L3 without even replacing it with the L2 in the Italian dubbed version. This may appear as a drastic strategy, entailing an overall erosion of the multilingual, multicultural reality portrayed in the original version, even though it is mainly applied when conveying the meaning of a specific phrase or sentence in the L3 does not seem to be necessary to the understanding of the conversational context (cf. Baker 1992). It is in particular in *Bend It Like Beckham* that the spoken L3/we-code used in cases of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching in the original version sometimes disappears in the Italian dubbed version (covering 10% of the total occurrences), which neither renders Punjabi into spoken Italian nor translates it by means of open subtitles. This can be seen, in particular, when Mrs Bhamra is speaking (40-42).

(40)

Mrs Bhamra	These don't even have a heel! How	Non hanno nemmeno tacco!	They don't even have heel! But
------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------

	will they fall nicely with your <i>sari</i> ? <i>Punjabi</i>	Ma come fanno a stare bene con i <i>sari</i> ?	how can they fit <i>sari</i> ?
--	---	--	--------------------------------

(41)

Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i> Get back into bed.	Jess, torna subito a letto.	Jess, go immediately back to bed.
------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------------

(42)

Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i> Oh, here he is. Tejinder's mother and father have come to speak to us.	Ah, eccolo qua. Il padre e la madre di Tejinder sono venuti a parlare con noi.	Ah, here he is. Tejinder's father and mother have come to talk to us.
------------	---	--	---

Though the transfer modes illustrated so far for the rendering of L3s in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching (i.e. domestication, local standardization, explicitation in translation) and to be recognized in three out of the sixteen films making up our corpus (i.e. *Ae Fond Kiss*, *Bend It Like Beckham*, *Real Womes Have Curves*) alter the films' linguistic coherence, they reflect the already discussed tendency towards discursive levelling distinctive of traditional dubbing policies, especially in countries such as Italy where dubbing has always been the norm (as already discussed in Chapter 1). Notwithstanding this, as we will illustrate in 2.2., different approaches to the translation of L3s in multilingual films seem nowadays to be making their way in audiovisual translation industry, aimed at providing the target audience with a more faithful rendering of the films' ethnolinguistic specificity.

2.2. Re-creating turn-specific and intersentential code-switching: the survival of ethnocultural specificity

The linguistic erasure of L3s often to be observed in the Italian version of polyglot films corresponds to a sociocultural and ideological erasure that, with the ever-increasing production of multicultural audiovisual products mirroring contemporary multicultural societies (see Chapter 1, 1.2.), many scholars in the field of audiovisual translation began to see as unacceptable, considering the ethnolinguistic diversity

represented in the films' original version as a key fact that also the target audience should always experience. In this sense, an interesting aspect the comparative diachronic analysis of our corpus of films highlights is that the previously discussed tendency to eliminate turn-specific and intersentential code-switching in dub seems to have been gradually overcome in recent years to be replaced, especially in some films released either in or after 2004, by a greater faithfulness to the original multilingual dialogues, following the assumption that "Dubbing should create the perfect illusion of allowing the audience to experience the production in their own language without diminishing any of the characteristics of the original language, culture and national background" (Dries 1995: 9). This led many screen translation scholars to suggest the use of different translation modes aimed at giving full voice to on-screen multilingualism (cf. Heiss 2004; Szarkowska 2005; Baldo 2009).

2.2.1. Part-subtitling: open interlingual subtitles

A recently developed trend in Italian film translation industry to convey cinematic multilingual discourse practice involves both dubbing and subtitling (cf. O'Sullivan 2011) and, in particular, it suggests the use of dubbing for the main language of communication (L1/L2) and of part-subtitling for the other, 'foreign', languages (L3s) used in the original dialogues. Part-subtitling is the procedure consistently adopted also in the original version of many multilingual films which plays a key role in maintaining the lingua-cultural diversity on a diegetic level (De Bonis 2015), and changes the status of conventional subtitling, intended as "the translation of the spoken (or written) source text of an audiovisual product into a written target text which is added onto the images of the original product, usually at the bottom of the screen" (Karamitroglou 2000: 5). With part-subtitling, subtitles are no longer "conceived as an after-thought" (Sinha 2004: 174) but rather as an integral part of the film, as elements crucially inherent in the film's overall structure.

Leaving the L3 unaltered at the spoken level and subtitling it in the L1, in original version, and in the L2, in the Italian dubbed version, results nowadays to be a recurrent strategy used to convey the instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, guaranteeing the faithful rendering of the films' original ethnocultural and linguistic background. Indeed, hearing the real voices of the foreign (i.e. immigrant/ethnic) characters gives vital clues to the definition of their sociolinguistic identity

(Snell-Hornby 1995) and satisfies target viewers' expectations and curiosity concerning other cultures, enabling them, at the same time, to get more deeply involved in the filmic context as open subtitles promote complete audience understandability in playing the "twin role of conveyors of meaning and guardians of culture" (Taylor 2000: 164).

In particular, in some of the films under study (i.e. eight films out of the total sixteen making up the corpus) whose original dialogues are permeated with language alternation practices based on the use of an L3 and enacted both within immigrant communities (e.g. *Ae Fond Kiss*, *Gran Torino*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, *Crash*) and in cross-cultural environments where speakers of different nationalities interact (e.g. *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, *My Life in Ruins*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*), open interlingual subtitles prove to be an unquestionable aid to understanding.

A film where open interlingual subtitles for the L3 at stake are extensively used in both the original version and the Italian dubbed version is *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, whose dialogues present many instances of spoken Spanish in cases of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching (covering 63% of the total occurrences), to be observed not only when two Spanish characters talk with each other but also when they talk with American characters, thus perfectly capturing, and conveying to the audience, the Spanish speakers' vibrant use of their mother tongue. This can be seen in one of the first scenes of the film when Juan Antonio visits his father in Oviedo; whereas the first part of their conversation is left untranslated as it is only an exchange of greetings (see 2.2.2. for discussion on the transfer mode of non-translation), the second part introduces one of the characters that will result to play a major role in the film, i.e. Juan Antonio's ex-wife, María Elena, and its contents are therefore explained to the audience (43).

(43)

Juan Antonio	<i>Te veo bien. Tienes cara de salud, papá.</i> [You look good. You look healthy, dad.]	<i>Te veo bien. Tienes cara de salud, papá.</i> [Sei il ritratto della salute, papà.]	You are the portrait of health, dad.
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Sí, tú también, te ves saludable. ¿Qué sabes de</i>	<i>Sí, tú también, te ves saludable. ¿Qué sabes de María</i>	Yes, you too look well. What do you know

	<i>María Elena?</i> [Yes, and you too look well. What do you hear of María Elena?]	<i>Elena?</i> [Si, anche tu mi sembri in buona salute. Che cosa sai di María Elena?]	about María Elena?
Juan Antonio	<i>¿Eh, María Elena? ¿María Elena? Pues que vive todavía con el arquitecto en Madrid.</i> [María Elena? María Elena? She's still living with the architect in Madrid.]	<i>¿Eh, María Elena? ¿María Elena? Pues que vive todavía con el arquitecto en Madrid.</i> [María Elena? María Elena? Vive ancora con quell'architetto di Madrid.]	María Elena? María Elena? She still lives with that architect from Madrid.
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Esa mujer era la mejor. Aún tengo sueños eróticos con ella, a mi edad.</i> [That woman was the best. I still have erotic dreams about her, at my age.]	<i>Esa mujer era la mejor. Aún tengo sueños eróticos con ella, a mi edad.</i> [Quella donna era il massimo. Faccio ancora sogni erotici su di lei, alla mia età.]	That woman was the best. I still make erotic dreams about her, at my age.
Juan Antonio	<i>También te quería mucho a ti, papá.</i> [She also loved you very much, papà.]	<i>También te quería mucho a ti, papá.</i> [Anche lei ti voleva molto bene, papà.]	She also loved you very much, dad.
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Qué pena, qué pena... con ese don de Dios.</i> [What a shame, with that gift of God.]	<i>Qué pena, qué pena... con ese don de Dios.</i> [Che peccato, con quel dono di Dio.]	What a shame, with that gift of God.

In (43) the choice to maintain spoken Spanish results to be the most adequate also to convey a faithful portrayal of Juan Antonio's father, whose use of Spanish as an integral part of his identity is one of his characterizing traits (see 2.2.2.).

Throughout the whole film, the presence of spoken Spanish is particularly prominent especially in the course of emotionally intense exchanges between Juan Antonio and María Elena, often talking about their former relationship and the strong affection that still binds them together (44).

(44)

María Elena	<i>Siempre buscándome en todas las mujeres.</i> [You're still searching for me in every woman.]	<i>Siempre buscándome en todas las mujeres.</i> [Cerchi ancora me in ogni donna.]	You are still searching for me in every woman.
Juan Antonio	<i>No, eso no es verdad, María Elena. No. Eso no es verdad. Estuve en Oviedo hace unas semanas con una mujer que era el antítesis de ti... Una mujer americana. Y tuvimos una cosa... Me pasó una cosa preciosa con ella. Así que no es verdad.</i> [This is not true, María Elena. I was in Oviedo some weeks ago with a woman who was the antithesis of you. An American,	<i>No, eso no es verdad, María Elena. No. Eso no es verdad. Estuve en Oviedo hace unas semanas con una mujer que era el antítesis de ti... Una mujer americana. Y tuvimos una cosa... Me pasó una cosa preciosa con ella. Así que no es verdad.</i> [Non è vero, María Elena. Non è vero. Qualche settimana fa ero ad Oviedo con una donna che è l'opposto di te. Un'americana, con cui è successa una	It's not true, María Elena. It's not true. I was in Oviedo some weeks ago with a woman who is the antithesis of you. An American, with whom something beautiful happened. So you're mistaken.

	and something beautiful happened with her. So you're mistaken.]	cosa bellissima. Quindi ti sbagli.]	
María Elena	<i>Me da igual, me da igual. Siempre intentarás duplicar lo que tuviste conmigo y tú lo sabes.</i> [You'll always seek to duplicate what we had. You know it.]	<i>Me da igual, me da igual. Siempre intentarás duplicar lo que tuviste conmigo y tú lo sabes.</i> [Tu cerchi sempre di ripetere quello che avevamo noi, lo sai.]	You always try to replicate what we had. You know it.

As both (43) and (44) show, the maintenance of the L3, intended as the speakers' 'language of the heart', aims at clearly displaying the characters' innermost thoughts and feelings, thus exerting on the audience a strong emotional impact, which is further to be felt when Juan Antonio and María Elena have violent arguments (45, 46).

(45)

Juan Antonio	<i>...dedicado de mi tiempo a tus fobias, a tus locuras, a tus mierdas. Eso afecta a mi trabajo, ¿entiendes?</i> [I devote all my time to you - pampering you, nursing your tics and phobias. My work suffers.]	<i>...dedicado de mi tiempo a tus fobias, a tus locuras, a tus mierdas. Eso afecta a mi trabajo, ¿entiendes?</i> [Ho dedicato il mio tempo alle tue fobie, alle tue follie, alle tue stronzate. Il mio lavoro ne soffre.]	I devoted all my time to your phobias, to your follies, to your craps. My work suffers from this.
María Elena	<i>¡Que yo no tengo la culpa de que tu trabajo se haya ido a la mierda y yo no tengo la culpa de que no te enteras</i>	<i>¡Que yo no tengo la culpa de que tu trabajo se haya ido a la mierda y yo no tengo la culpa de que no te enteras</i>	It's not my fault if your work has gone to shit and if you never mature!

	<i>de nada y no creces y no maduras!</i> [It's not my fault. It's not my fault that your work has gone to shit and that you don't mature!]	<i>de nada y no creces y no maduras!</i> [Non è colpa mia se il tuo lavoro è diventato una merda e se tu non maturi mai!]	
Juan Antonio	<i>No puedo seguir viviendo así, María Elena.</i> [I can't go on living like this, María Elena.]	<i>No puedo seguir viviendo así, María Elena.</i> [Non posso continuare a vivere così, María Elena.]	I can't go on living like this, María Elena.

(46)

Juan Antonio	<i>María Elena, suelta. Dámela, dámela, dámela.</i> <i>Ya. Ya. Ya. ¡Te vas a matar!</i> [María Elena, stop it. Let it go. Let it go. You're going to kill yourself!]	<i>María Elena, suelta. Dámela, dámela, dámela.</i> <i>Ya. Ya. Ya. ¡Te vas a matar!</i> [María Elena, basta. Basta. Basta. Finirai con l'ammazzarti!]	María Elena, stop it. Stop it. Stop it. You're going to kill yourself!
María Elena	<i>¡Que no quiero vivir así! ¡Que no quiero!</i> [I don't want to live! I don't want to live, damn it!]	<i>¡Que no quiero vivir así! ¡Que no quiero!</i> [Non voglio vivere, maledizione! Non voglio vivere, maledizione!]	I don't want to live, damn it! I don't want to live, damn it!
Juan Antonio	<i>Ya. Ya. Ya.</i> [Let it go. Now, now, now.]	<i>Ya. Ya. Ya.</i> [Basta, dai, su.]	Stop it, come on.
María Elena	<i>¿Cuándo comprenderás que no quiero vivir? Que no se puede vivir así.</i> [Don't	<i>¿Cuándo comprenderás que no quiero vivir? Que no se puede vivir así.</i> [Non	Don't you understand that I can't live like this, that I can't live like this?

	you understand that I don't want to live, that I can't live like this.]	capisci che non posso vivere così, che non posso vivere così?]	
--	---	---	--

In both (45) and (46) the characters' vigorous Spanish utterances, rich with emphatic expressions, result to be the linguistic correlative of the destructiveness that characterizes their relationship, an aspect the viewers are fully aware of as the presence of both spoken Spanish and open interlingual subtitles in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version strengthens the scene's expressive force.

In *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, the use of open interlingual subtitles as combined with the maintenance of the spoken L3 is crucially vital also to highlight the linguistic dynamics distinctive of the relationship between two other characters, i.e. María Elena and Cristina. Indeed, in the original version, María Elena always tends to speak Spanish with the American girl, ignoring Juan Antonio's recurrent requests to use English when with her and adopting Spanish to make Cristina feel as an intruder in her relationship with Juan Antonio, as can be observed in (47-49).

(47)

María Elena	<i>¿Y ella quién es?</i> [Who is she?]	<i>¿Y ella quién es?</i> [Quella chi è?]	Who's she?
Juan Antonio	She is the woman I live with and... you have to speak English around her. Please.	È la donna con cui vivo e... tu non devi parlare spagnolo con lei. Per favore.	She is the woman I live with and... you must not speak Spanish with her. Please.
María Elena	<i>¿Por qué? ¿Por ella?</i> [Why? For her sake?]	<i>¿Por qué? ¿Por ella?</i> [Per quella?]	For her?
Juan Antonio	Yes, exactly, out of courtesy.	Sì, esatto, per un atto di cortesia.	Yes, exactly, out of courtesy.
María Elena	<i>No me fío, Juan Antonio. Los ojos, no los tiene de un solo color.</i> [I don't trust her, Juan Antonio. Her	<i>No me fío, Juan Antonio. Los ojos, no los tiene de un solo color.</i> [Non mi fido di lei, Juan Antonio. Gli occhi	I don't trust her, Juan Antonio. Her eyes are not the same colour.

	eyes are not one colour.]	non sono dello stesso colore.]	
--	---------------------------	--------------------------------	--

(48)

María Elena	You speak no Spanish?	Non parli spagnolo?	You don't speak Spanish?
Cristina	No, I-I, studied Chinese.	No, io ho studiato il cinese.	No, I studied Chinese
[...]			
María Elena	<i>A mí el chino me suena de lo más estridente, vamos. Te taladra el cerebro.</i> [If you ask me Chinese sounds strident. It's like a drill to the head.]	<i>A mí el chino me suena de lo más estridente, vamos. Te taladra el cerebro.</i> [Per me il cinese è stridente, ti trapana il cervello.]	To me Chinese sounds strident, it drills your brain.
Juan Antonio	Speak English, María Elena.	Piantala con lo spagnolo.	Stop it with Spanish.
María Elena	<i>¿Además has visto la cocina de los restaurantes? Lo más desagradable.</i> [You ever hear them in the kitchen of a Chinese restaurant? It's so unpleasant.]	<i>¿Además has visto la cocina de los restaurantes? Lo más desagradable.</i> [E poi hai mai visto le cucine dei loro ristoranti? Fanno schifo.]	And then have you ever seen the kitchens of their restaurants? They are disgusting.

(49)

Juan Antonio	Here's sugar.	Qui c'è lo zucchero.	Here's sugar.
Cristina	Oh, no, thank you, thank you.	No, grazie, grazie.	No, thank you, thank you.
Juan Antonio	I thought we could go for a ride to the countryside later. I mean, the... the	Sentite, possiamo fare una gita in campagna dopo. Cioè, il tempo è	Liste, we can go for a ride to the countryside later. I mean, the weather

	weather is beautiful.	bellissimo.	is beautiful.
María Elena	<i>Yo creo que va a llover más tarde. Llueve seguro.</i> [It's definitely going to rain later.]	<i>Yo creo que va a llover más tarde. Llueve seguro.</i> [Più tardi pioverà di sicuro.]	It's definitely going to rain later.
Juan Antonio	In English.	Non ti capisce.	She doesn't understand you.

In (47-49) María Elena recurrently uses participant-related, metaphorical, turn-specific code-switching in the attempt to exclude Cristina from the conversation, considering Spanish as a sort of 'linguistic weapon' against the American girl, a negative but crucial attitude conveyed to both audiences. In these excerpts, another interesting aspect stands out as far as the Italian dubbed version is concerned: Juan Antonio's original references to English as to the language he asks María Elena not to use when addressing Cristina are always modified by the Italian dialogue adaptor who replaces "English" with "spagnolo" ("Spanish") everytime Juan Antonio mentions it (47, 48) and translates "In English" (49) into "Non ti capisce" ("She doesn't understand you"), thus making lexical and syntactic choices consistent with the Italian version's context and audience.

Open interlingual subtitles are used also in other films under study depicting cross-cultural and crosslinguistic encounters as *My Life in Ruins* and *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, even though their presence is not so prominent as in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*.

In *My Life in Ruins* open interlingual subtitles are used to render the L3 in instances of turn-specific code-switching in different conversational contexts throughout the film (covering 26% of the total occurrences): at the beginning of the tour, Georgia asks the bus driver Procopi to start the bus (50) and then tells him that the tourists are laughing at his name (51), in both cases addressing him in Greek as she believes he doesn't know English; likewise, she uses Greek to inform a Greek hotel manager that the hotel lift is broken (52).

(50)

Georgia	<i>Ante, pame</i> [Let's go.]	<i>Ante, pame.</i> [Andiamo.]	Let's go.
---------	-------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------

(51)

Georgia to Procopi	<i>Greek</i> [They are laughing at your name.]	<i>Greek</i> [Stanno ridendo del tuo nome.]	They're laughing at your name.
Procopi to Georgia	<i>Greek</i> [So what? Laughing is good.]	<i>Greek</i> [E allora? Ridere fa bene.]	So what? Laughing is good.

(52)

Georgia	<i>Greek</i> [Your elevator is broken.]	<i>Greek</i> [L'ascensore non funziona.]	The elevator is out of work.
---------	---	--	------------------------------

In the Italian dubbed version of *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, most instances of Hindi are left unaltered at the spoken level and either left untranslated (see 2.2.2.) or translated by means of interpreting (see 2.2.4.), but we can also observe the presence of interlingual open subtitles conveying their meaning in one crucial scene featuring Evelyn Grisley's business partner Hari speaking in Hindi with an Indian factory owner when concluding an important business deal (53).

(53)

Hari	<i>Hindi</i> [My friend... we can get four for this price anywhere else. You're just asking more because it's her...]	<i>Hindi</i> [Amico mio, possiamo comprarne quattro a questo prezzo in qualunque altro posto. Chiede di più solo perché c'è lei.]	My friend, we can buy four for this price anywhere else. You ask more just because she is here.
Factory owner	<i>Hindi</i> [You think because you're with this white woman... that you've climbed a treetop? You think	<i>Hindi</i> [Dato che è con questa donna bianca crede di aver vinto un terno al lotto? Crede che i suoi capelli	As you're with this white woman do you think you've hit the jackpot? Do you think her white

	her white hair is going to fluster me?]	bianchi mi confonderanno?]	hair is going to confuse me?
Hari	<i>Hindi</i> [Don't talk rubbish.]	<i>Hindi</i> [Non dica sciocchezze.]	Don't talk rubbish.
Factory owner	<i>Hindi</i> [Just because you've caught hold... of some old white buffalo... you think I'm going to give in...?!]	<i>Hindi</i> [Solo perché va in giro con questa vecchia cavalla di razza crede che cederò...?!]	Just because you are going around with this old thoroughbred do you think I'm going to give in?!

In (53) the decision to maintain spoken Hindi and to convey its meaning in open interlingual subtitles has a very positive impact on the audience, as viewers are plunged into the original exotic atmosphere and, at the same time, they fully understand the conversation's contents that, especially in this case, crucially contribute to the development of the plot.

Also in such films portraying immigrant communities as *Gran Torino*, *Ae Fond Kiss*, *East Is East*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, open interlingual subtitles are sometimes adopted to express the ethnolinguistic connotations and the metaphorical meanings the characters' use of the we-code entails.

In *Gran Torino*, open interlingual subtitles are adopted (covering 30% of the total occurrences) to convey Hmong lines uttered by first-generation immigrants within their family and/or community; this can be seen when Walt attends a Hmong birth ceremony at his Hmong neighbours' house, where all the older Hmong speak their native language and Phong, the family grandmother, talks to a relative complaining about her nephew Thao (54).

(54)

Phong	<i>Hmong</i> [I'm just so broken-hearted. I want my daughter to find another husband. If she married	<i>Hmong</i> [Sono davvero addolorata. Mia figlia deve trovare un altro marito. Se si risposa ci sarà di nuovo un	I'm really broken-hearted. My daughter has to find another husband. If she gets married again
-------	--	---	---

	again there would be a man in the house.]	uomo in casa.]	there will be again a man in the house.
Man	<i>Hmong</i> [What about Thao? The man of the house is right there.]	<i>Hmong</i> [Ma c'è Thao, no? Eccolo lì l'uomo di casa.]	But there is Thao, isn't there? There he is, the man of the house.
Phong	<i>Hmong</i> [Look at him washing dishes. He does whatever his sister orders him to do. How could he ever become the man of the house?]	<i>Hmong</i> [Guardalo, lava i piatti. Fa tutto quello che gli ordina la sorella. Come potrà mai essere l'uomo di casa?]	Look at him, he washes the dishes. He does all that his sister orders him to do. How could he ever be the man of the house?
Man	<i>Hmong</i> [Be patient, once he's older he will be the man of the house.]	<i>Hmong</i> [Vedrai, quando sarà più grande diventerà l'uomo di casa.]	You'll see, once he's older he will become the man of the house.
Phong	<i>Hmong</i> [No way.]	<i>Hmong</i> [Figurati.]	No way.

Similarly, in another scene depicting the ritual of a birth ceremony performed in Hmong by the family Sciaman, the maintenance of Hmong spoken utterances and the explanation of their meaning in open subtitles convey to both audiences crucial information about Asian sociocultural and religious beliefs (55).

(55)

Kor Khue	<i>Hmong</i> [Today is a blessed day for a child is born. I offer food to nurture this child's body. I offer clothing to protect this child's flesh. The child is	<i>Hmong</i> [Questo è un giorno benedetto perché è nato un bambino. Offro cibo per nutrire il corpo di questo bambino. Offro vestiario per proteggere il corpo	Today is a blessed day because a child is born. I offer food to nurture this child's body. I offer clothing to protect this child's body. The child is
----------	---	---	--

	blessed with a mother and father. Oh, spirit of this child return home and do not wander anymore.]	di questo bambino. Il bambino ha il dono di una madre e di un padre. Oh, spirito di questo neonato torna alla tua casa e non vagare oltre.]	blessed with a mother and father. Oh, spirit of this new born child return to your home and do not wander anymore.
Whole family	<i>Hmong</i> [Come home, spirit and soul, come home.]	<i>Hmong</i> [Vieni a casa, spirito e anima, vieni a casa.]	Come home, spirit and soul, come home.

In *Gran Torino*, open interlingual subtitles are used to translate Hmong also with the aim of conveying the immigrant characters' strong sense of ethnic belonging; at the end of the film, when Walt is shot dead by six Hmong gangbangers and Thao and Sue arrive on the murder scene, Thao asks a Hmong policeman what happened and he adopts participant-related turn-specific code-switching from English to Hmong to convince the Hmong police officer to give him some more details about Walt's death, using the we-code as a sign of cohesion between members of the same community (56).

(56)

Police officer	I said step back.	State indietro.	Step back.
Thao to Hmong police officer	What happened, man?	Cosa è successo?	What happened?
Hmong police officer	Hey, didn't you hear him? Step back.	Hey, l'hai sentito? Indietro.	Hey, did you hear him? Step back.
Thao	Please, he's my friend. <i>Hmong</i> [Please, it's important.]	È un mio amico. <i>Hmong</i> [Per favore, è importante.]	He is a friend of mine. Please, it's important.
Hmong police	<i>Hmong</i> [He went for a lighter and	<i>Hmong</i> [Ha fatto per prendere	He went for a lighter and they

officer	they shot him. He didn't even have a gun on him. This time we have witnesses. These guys will be locked up for a long time.]	l'accendino e gli hanno sparato. Non ce l'aveva neanche la pistola. Questa volta abbiamo i testimoni. Li chiuderanno in gabbia per un sacco di tempo.]	shot him. He didn't even have the gun. This time we have witnesses. They will lock them up for a long time.
---------	--	--	---

In *Ae Fond Kiss*, where Punjabi is mostly dubbed into Italian (see 2.1.1. and 2.2.2.), there are a few cases (covering 9% of the total occurrences) when the spoken we-code is left untranslated and its meaning is conveyed by means of open interlingual subtitles, as already observed in the conversations featuring Jasmine and her mother (see 2.1.1.) and as we can notice when the Khans meet Amar's parents for the first time (57).

(57)

Mr Khan to Mrs Khan	<i>Punjabi</i> [On you go.]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Prego, cara.]	Please, dear.
Mrs Khan to Amar's parents	<i>Punjabi</i> [Peace be on you! Are you all right? Find the house okay?] Sorry about the mess.	<i>Punjabi</i> [Che la pace sia con voi. Come state? Che ve ne pare della casa?] Scusatemi per il disordine.	Peace be on you. How are you? What do you think about the house? Sorry for the mess.
Mrs Khan to Casim	<i>Punjabi</i> [Son, go with Auntie.]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Portali dentro.]	Take them inside.
Mr Khan to Amar's father	<i>Punjabi</i> [We're building an extension here. When it's done, it'll look fine.]	<i>Punjabi</i> [Abbiamo terminato il giardino e stiamo lavorando all'estensione della casa. Una volta finito sarà molto bello.]	We have finished the garden and we're building the house extension. Once done, it'll look really fine.

In (57), as far as the translation techniques adopted in the Italian version are concerned, we can observe a lack of coherence in the transposition of

the characters’ original lines as a result of such strategies as manipulation and explicitation (see 2.1.2.). Indeed, when Mrs Khan addresses Casim, her sentence “Son, go with Auntie”, including two terms of address rich with emotional connotations, i.e. “son” and “auntie”, is rendered into the Italian open subtitles as “Portali dentro” (“Take them inside”), erasing the original utterance’s sense of affection. On the other hand, Mr Khan’s statement “We’re building an extension here” is expanded in the Italian subtitles that add a piece of information, “Abbiamo terminato il giardino” (“We have finished the garden”), not to be found in the English subtitles.

An interesting case of the maintenance of the spoken we-code with its meaning conveyed by open interlingual subtitles is to be recognized in *East Is East* in the scene featuring George Khan and Mr Shah arranging the marriages between Abdul and Nushaaba and between Tariq and Nigget (58).

(58)

George Khan	<i>Urdu</i> [Beautiful.]	<i>Urdu</i> [Bellissime.]	Beautiful.
Men	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	

In (58), whereas most of the conversation among the Pakistani men is maintained in Urdu with no translation provided (see 2.2.2.), the compliment George Khan pays to Mr Shah’s daughters when he sees their picture for their first time is left in Urdu at the spoken level and translated by means of open subtitles. Such translation procedure is particularly significant within a scene where the prevailing tendency is to preserve the spoken we-code untranslated and it is possibly due to the fact that George’s utterance, in this case, crucially contributes to the development of the plot: indeed, arranging the two marriages depends on his judgement about Mr Shah’s daughters, something that the scene clearly highlights as the Pakistani men are depicted as waiting impatiently for his pronouncement.

In two other films focusing on immigrant family life, traditions and speech patterns, i.e. *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, spoken Greek is left unaltered and its meaning conveyed by means of open interlingual subtitles when it is used by members of the Portokalos family, moved to Chicago from Greece but utterly devoted to their Greek heritage also from the linguistic point of view. In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, open interlingual subtitles are adopted when *mana-yiayia*,

the family grandmother, brought over from Greece to live with her son Gus in America against her will, is always depicted in an hostile attitude towards Americans and America, an hostility expressed not only by her refusal to speak English but also, and primarily, by the fact that she speaks only twice throughout the whole film and in both cases to utter insults in Greek (59, 60).

(59)

Mana- yiyia to Gus	<i>Greek</i> [Listen up, ugly Turk, you are not kidnapping me!]	<i>Greek</i> [Senti brutto turco, tu non mi rapisci!]	Listen, ugly Turk, you are not kidnapping me!
--------------------------	---	---	---

(60)

Mana- yiyia to an American neighbour	<i>Greek</i> [Bloodthirsty Turks!]	<i>Greek</i> [Turchi assetati di sangue!]	Bloodthirsty Turks!
--	------------------------------------	---	---------------------

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, open interlingual subtitles are instead employed to convey the meaning of spoken Greek when used with humorous connotations in two instances of metaphorical code-switching; in one scene, the Portokaloses' dog, Socrates, starts barking at the Portokaloses' American neighbour, Mrs White, who shouts at him, and Maria Portokalos first addresses the woman in English to explain that the dog doesn't speak English and then intersententially switches to Greek to soothe the dog and order him to bite the woman the day after (61).

(61)

Maria Portokalos	((to Mrs White)) He doesn't speak English. ((to the dog)) <i>Greek</i> . [Bite her tomorrow.]	((to Mrs White)) Non parla inglese. ((to the dog)) <i>Greek</i> . [Domani mordila.]	He doesn't speak English. Bite her tomorrow.
---------------------	---	---	--

In another scene, Gus speaks to his brother Panos, newly arrived from Greece to attend his brother's wedding with Maria: Gus expresses an opinion about his American son-in-law Ian using Greek as a sort of secret

code between himself and his brother in order not to be understood by Ian, as he is unaware of the fact that Ian perfectly understands and speaks Greek, something he discovers when Ian himself makes a comment in Greek about his father-in-law (62).

(62)

Gus Portokalos	<i>Greek.</i> [He is okay for an Anglo.]	<i>Greek.</i> [Non è male per essere uno straniero.]	He is okay for a foreigner.
Ian	<i>Greek.</i> [You're okay for a grouchy old man.]	<i>Greek.</i> [Tu non sei male per essere un vecchio brontolone.]	You are okay for a grouchy old man.

A peculiar translation procedure of an L3 spoken in the original version of one of the films included in our corpus can be observed in *Crash*, where different techniques are adopted in the original version and in the Italian dubbed version to convey an exchange in Farsi between Farhad, a Persian shop owner, and his daughter Dorri: whereas in the original version spoken Farsi is left untranslated, in the Italian version it is maintained unaltered at the spoken level and its meaning is conveyed by means of open interlingual subtitles (covering 30% of the total occurrences). This particular scene features Farhad and Dorri arguing over what box of bullets they should buy while purchasing a revolver at a gun store (63).

(63)

Gun shop owner	You get one free box of ammunition. What kind do you want?	Le spetta una scatola di munizioni gratis. Quali preferisce?	You are due a free box of ammunition. What do you prefer?
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Che ha detto? Munizioni?]	What did he say? Ammunition?
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Ti ha chiesto che tipo di pallottole vuoi.]	He asked you what type of ammunition you want.
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Quelle giuste per la pistola.]	Those suitable to the gun.

Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Ci sono diversi tipi.]	There are different types.
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Io non so niente di pistole.]	I don't know anything about guns.
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Altra buona ragione per non comprarne una, papà.]	Another good reason not to buy one, dad.
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i> [Non usare quel tono con me!]	Don't use that tone with me!
Gun shop owner	Yo, Osama! Plan a <i>jihad</i> on your own time. What do you want?	Ehi, Osama! Organizzala a casa tua la <i>jihad</i> ! Che cosa vuoi?	Ehi, Osama! Plan a <i>jihad</i> at your own house. What do you want?

In (63) the presence of open interlingual subtitles in the Italian dubbed version allows the target audience a higher degree of comprehension of the conversation, which also sees Dorri initially acting as an interpreter when the gun shop owner asks Farhad, in English, what type of ammunition they want. We can notice that the lack of comprehension the film's original audience experiences, owing to the lack of a translation of the exchange between Farhad and Dorri, is the same lack of comprehension that causes the gun shop owner to misunderstand the contents of the dialogue between father and daughter, to grow impatient, to degrade the two of them by referring to Farhad as "Osama" and to angrily order Farhad "Plan a *jihad* on your own time", using an Arabic term, i.e. *jihad*, that refers to a struggle or fight against the enemies of Islam and that is significantly left unaltered in the Italian dubbed version as deeply rooted into the faith of Islam. The use of Farsi between Farhad and Dorri highlights another important aspect with regard to the characters' portrayal and self-identification: the fact that Farhad and Dorri feel the victims of discrimination urges them to stick to their linguistic background, something that gives them a sense of self-confidence and represents a means of survival in a society they perceive as essentially hostile.

2.2.2. Non-translation

If open interlingual subtitles, as discussed in 2.2.1., allow the audience to fully taste the flavour of foreignness depicted in the films' original version, this goal seems to be even more thoroughly achieved when no replacement strategies are adopted for the L3 in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching. Indeed, in many of the films included in our corpus, the L3 is often left undubbed at the spoken level and untranslated, with no open interlingual subtitles conveying its meaning into the L1/L2 (as is the case with *Gran Torino*, *Crash*, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *My Life in Ruins*, *Eat Pray Love*, *Bend It Like Beckham*, *Spanglish*). Even though the strategy of non-translation has been traditionally intended as the decision to leave untranslated a segment of the source text “when the segment contains needless details [...] or information that is difficult to translate concisely because culture specific, or both” (Armstrong 2005: 159), in the case of the multilingual films at stake, such non-translation procedure might be due either to a traditional L1-to-L2 approach (with no strategy for L3) or, most probably, to a decision to maintain the highest degree of heterolingualism possible (Voellmer, Zabalbeascoa 2014), thus creating a specific transethnic and translinguistic common ground that both the source language audience and the target language audience are made aware of.

In *Gran Torino*, Hmong is mostly left unaltered especially in the instances of turn-specific code-switching occurring when Walt interacts with his Hmong neighbours, as Walt speaks English whereas the Hmong characters speak their mother tongue (covering 31% of the total occurrences). This non-reciprocal language use can be observed in many scenes, for instance when a Hmong couple brings Walt some gifts after he saved Thao from an aggression by an Asian gang (64),

(64)

Hmong couple	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt to Hmong couple	No. no. No more.	No. No. Via, adesso basta.	No. No. Go away, now stop it.
Hmong couple	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	

when Walt is visited by two elderly Hmong women, each carrying a bouquet of flowers as a sign of their gratitude for what he did for their community (65),

(65)

Hmong women to Walt	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	No. No more.	No, ora basta, eh?	No, stop no, eh?
Hmong women to Walt ((setting the bouquets on his porch))	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	Okay, just put them there.	Okay, metteteli lì. Oh, accidenti!	Okay, put them there. Oh gosh!
Hmong women	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	Goodbye.	Arrivederci.	Goodbye.

and when, during a barbecue, Walt sits among several Hmong women who take great delight in feeding him with different Hmong specialties while he makes some enthusiastic comments about the food he is served (66).

(66)

Hmong women	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	Fantastic. Well, you ladies are wonderful.	Hmm. Buonissimo. Voi signore siete meravigliose.	Hmm. Fantastic. You ladies are wonderful.
Hmong women	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	This stuff is really good.	Questa roba è squisita.	This stuff is delicious.
Hmong women	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	

Walt	Thank you very much but I have to go now. I have to go now. I'll be back. Now, don't let anything go away.	Va bene. Vi ringrazio molto ma adesso... adesso devo proprio andare. Però torno, non portate via niente.	Okay. I thank you very much but now... now I really have to go. But I'll come back, don't take anything away.
------	--	--	---

Excerpts (64-66) highlight a very interesting aspect as far as the characters' speech patterns are concerned, i.e. the Hmong characters and Walt interact without really understanding what their interlocutor is saying. The fact that the conversations are carried out even though Walt doesn't understand Hmong and the Hmong characters don't understand English suggest that a form of empathy is developing between them, allowing them to overcome language barriers and to establish a connection all the same. In these cases, the strategy of non-translation proves to be very effective to reproduce authentic multilingual discourse practices, all the more so as translating the Hmong utterances into English/Italian would have gone against any credibility principle with regard to the portrayal of the immigrant characters' ethnolinguistic identity, deeply stuck into their sociocultural and linguistic background heritage.

In *Bend It Like Beckham*, already widely discussed for the presence of translation strategies that erase the L3 in the Italian dubbed version (see 2.1.2., 2.1.3., 2.1.3.1.), some Punjabi utterances are also maintained unaltered and untranslated in both versions in instances of both turn-specific and intersentential code-switching (covering 43% of the total occurrences) when they don't have crucial implications at discourse level and the meaning of the L3 can be easily inferred from the rest of the conversation (67-72).

(67)

Pinky/Jess	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	
Tony	Mum!	Mamma!	Mom!
Tony's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	

(68)

Teet's mother	All I know is that children are a map of their parents. <i>Punjabi</i>	Io so solo che i nostri figli sono come i nostri specchi. Capite? <i>Punjabi</i>	I only know that our children are like our mirrors. Do you understand?
Teet's father	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	

(69)

Teet	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	
Teet's father	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	
Teet's mother	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	

(70)

Mrs Bhamra	Have any of you seen Jesminder? Jesminder? Jesminder? <i>Punjabi</i>	Avete visto Jesminder? Jesminder? Jesminder? <i>Punjabi</i>	Have you seen Jesminder? Jesminder? Jesminder?
------------	--	---	--

(71)

Tony's mother	English people are always complaining when we're having functions. <i>Punjabi</i> Why did she take Jesminder's shoes?	Questi inglesi protestano sempre quando noi facciamo festa. <i>Punjabi</i> Perché ha levato le scarpe a Jesminder?	These English people always complain when we celebrate. Why did she take Jesminder's shoes?
---------------	--	---	---

(72)

Tony to the family	Mum, uncles, aunts... We've got something we want to tell you.	Mamma, zio, zia, sentite, noi due abbiamo una cosa da dirvi.	Mum, uncle, auntie... We've got something to tell you.
Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	

Indian woman	Why is he holding her hand?	Ma perché la tiene per mano?	But why is he holding her hand?
Tony	We've been good friends for a long time now. We'd like to ask for your blessings. We'd like to get engaged.	Come sapete, siamo ottimi amici da tanto tempo. Vi chiediamo la vostra benedizione. Noi ci vorremmo fidanzare.	As you know, we've been good friends for a long time now. We ask for your blessings. We'd like to get engaged.
Indian woman	<i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i>	

In *Bend It Like Beckham*, the presence of the L3 as unaltered and untranslated in both versions is especially to be recognized in instances of unmarked, metaphorical intersentential code-switching (covering 20% of the total occurrences) when conflicts between Mrs Bhamra and Jess are at stake, as the mother tries to ward off authority challenges from her daughter using their we-code. This seems to highlight a reverse tendency to the already discussed elimination of the we-code in the instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching enacted to negotiate, mediate and manage conflicts in values and identities as illustrated in 2.1.3. Indeed, in this film, spoken Punjabi is extensively used by Mrs Bhamra when she addresses Jess to express her disapproval of the girl's unorthodox ambition of playing soccer professionally instead of doing what all good and dutiful Pakistani girls do (i.e. finishing school, getting married to a good Pakistani man and learning to cook Indian food); in this sense, Mrs Bhamra strengthens the power she wants to exert over her daughter in imposing the we-code as the symbol of the respect Jess should have for her community traditions and principles (Monti 2014, 2016). Verbal conflict occurs, for instance, when Jess is made fun of by some friends because of a scar she has on her leg, a scar she shows without any problem whereas her mother thinks this is a reason of shame (73).

(73)

Mrs Bhamra to Jess	He was touching you all over putting his hands on your bare legs! You're not a young	Ti stava toccando dappertutto, ti metteva le mani sulle gambe nude! Non sei più mica	He was touching you all over, he was putting his hands on your bare legs! You're not young
--------------------	--	--	--

	girl any more! And you, showing the world your scar! <i>Punjabi</i>	ragazzina. E poi fai vedere a tutti la cicatrice! <i>Punjabi</i>	girl any more! And then you show everybody your scar!
--	--	--	---

In (73) Mrs Bhamra complains about her daughter's behaviour and her last utterance in Punjabi is left untranslated, as its main function is to convey the woman's anger and it's probably devoid of key meanings.

Likewise, Mrs Bhamra's anger is conveyed, in both versions, by intersentential code-switching from English to Punjabi when she finds a pair of football shoes in Jess's bag and shows her irritation linguistically counterposing Western and Indian traditions as the reference to football shoes, a symbol of a typically Western sport, is immediately followed by an utterance in Punjabi (74).

(74)

Mrs Bhamra ((opening the bag))	Football shoes! <i>Punjabi</i>	Scarpe da pallone! <i>Punjabi</i>	Football shoes!
--------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------

As both (73) and (74) illustrate, the non-translation of the L3/we-code seems to be prevalingly adopted when intersentential code-switching is used to express the speaker's states of mind and involvement in emotionally intense exchanges, thus also perfectly fulfilling code-switching's emotive function, as excerpts (75-78) featuring Mrs Bhamra's outbursts of anger further exemplify.

(75)

Jess	No, it's too tight. I want it looser.	È troppo stretto. Lo voglio comodo.	It's too tight. I want it comfortable.
Mrs Bhamra	Dressed in a sack, who's going to notice you, huh? <i>Punjabi</i>	Se ti metti un sacco, quale ragazzo ti noterà? <i>Punjabi</i>	If you put on a sack, what kind of boy is going to notice you?

(76)

Mrs Bhamra	You've ruined your sister's life!	Hai rovinato la vita a tua sorella!	You have ruined your sister's life!
------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

	<i>Punjabi</i> Happy now?	<i>Punjabi</i> Sei contenta ora?	Are you happy now?
--	---------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------

(77)

Mrs Bhamra	<i>Punjabi</i> Don't think I didn't know that you were sneaking out with that good-for-nothing Teetu as well! <i>Punjabi</i>	<i>Punjabi</i> Guarda che io sapevo che amoreggiavi di nascosto con quel fannullone di Teetu, va bene! <i>Punjabi</i>	Listen, I knew that you were secretly flirting with that good-for-nothing Teetu, okay!
------------	--	---	--

(78)

Mrs Bhamra to Jess	Jesminder, you get back home now! <i>Punjabi</i> Jesminder, are you listening to me? <i>Punjabi</i> Jesminder, have you gone mad? Football, shootball! Your sister's getting engaged and you're sitting here watching this skinhead boy!	Jasminder, torna subito a casa. <i>Punjabi</i> Ma mi stai a sentire? <i>Punjabi</i> Jasminder, ma sei impazzita? Basta con questo pallone! Tua sorella sta per sposare e tu stai a guardare quel teppista rapato!	Jesminder, come home immediately. But are you listening to me? Jesminder, have you gone mad? Stop with this football! Your sister is going to marry and you stay there watching that bonehead hoodlum!
--------------------	---	--	--

Similar speech patterns can be observed in *Crash*, where exchanges in Farsi are left unaltered in the film's Italian dubbed version (covering 43% of the total occurrences) especially when their contents do not contribute crucial meanings to the overall conversation, as we see when Farhad and Dorri comment upon a specific situation they find themselves in (79), or when they can be inferred from other characters' utterances, as we see when Farhad and Dorri talk with the gun shop owner as well as with Shereen when at Farhad's shop (80, 81).

(79)

Andy	Let's go, go.	Per favore, si accomodi.	Please, go.
------	---------------	--------------------------	-------------

Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	

(80)

Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Dorri to Gun shop owner	You can give me the gun or give me back the money. And I am really hoping for the money.	Ora lei mi dà la pistola o mi ridà i miei soldi. E io preferirei di gran lunga i miei soldi.	Now you give me the gun or you give me back my money. And I would by far prefer the money.

(81)

Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Shereen	Dorri, you should be at work.	Tu, Dorri, devi essere al lavoro.	You, Dorri, should be at work
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	

Also in *East Is East* most exchanges in Urdu among the members of the Pakistani community in Salford are left untranslated in both versions (covering 87% out of the total occurrences) with the main function of conveying the speakers' sense of shared identity; this can be seen when George Khan talks to the Mullah (82, 83, 84), to other men of the Pakistani community in order to arrange the marriages between Abdul and Nushaaba and between Tariq and Nigget (85), to a market seller (86).

(82)

George Khan	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
Mullah	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	

(83)

George Khan to the Mullah	<i>Urdu</i> I'll fix them.	<i>Urdu</i> Ci penso io.	I'll think about it.
---------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------

(84)

George Khan	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
Mullah	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	

(85)

Men	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
George Khan	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
Man 1 to Abdul	You speak Urdu yet, huh?	Tu ancora non parli Urdu.	You still don't speak Urdu.
George Khan	I send them learning, but... nothing.	Io mando a lezione ma... niente.	I send to lesson but... nothing.
Men	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
[...]			
Mullah	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
Man 1	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
Mr Shah	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	
George Khan	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	

(86)

George Khan	<i>Salaam-alacum.</i>	<i>Salaam-alacum.</i>	
Market seller	<i>Urdu</i>	<i>Urdu</i>	

The expression of ethnic belonging and self-identification as conveyed by the we-code observed in (82-86) is to be further recognized in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, where the spoken L3 is extensively left untranslated (covering 41% of the total occurrences). In this film, the non-translation of spoken Spanish is mainly adopted in scenes featuring Juan Antonio's father, who does not speak a word of English as he thinks that Spanish is the only language that deserves to be spoken. The man's very nationalistic attitude towards his mother tongue is highlighted when Juan Antonio visits him accompanied by Vicky; when Juan Antonio and Vicky arrive, Juan Antonio's father greets them and speaks Spanish both with his

son, who in turn uses their mother tongue, and with Vicky, taking for granted that she knows Spanish (87).

(87)

Juan Antonio's father	<i>Hola, hijo.</i>	<i>Hola, hijo</i>	
Juan Antonio	<i>Hola, ¿cómo estás?</i>	<i>Hola, ¿cómo estás?</i>	
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Muy bien.</i>	<i>Muy bien.</i>	
Juan Antonio	<i>Te veo muy bien. Tan guapo. Mira. Eh, mi amiga. Vicky.</i>	<i>Te veo muy bien. Tan guapo. Mira. Eh, mi amiga. Vicky.</i>	
Vicky	<i>Buenos días.</i>	<i>Buenos días.</i>	
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Buenos días.</i>	<i>Buenos días.</i>	
Juan Antonio to Vicky	My father, Julio.	Mio padre, Julio.	My father, Julio.
Vicky	<i>Julio. Buenos días. Qué casa tan bonita.</i>	<i>Julio. Buenos días. Qué casa tan bonita.</i>	
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Considera que es tuya.</i>	<i>Considera que es tuya.</i>	
Vicky	Oh, you know, if we carry on, I don't think it's gonna...	Oh, più di così non credo di essere in grado...	Oh, more than this I don't think I can...
Juan Antonio	((to Vicky)) That's fine, that was great He speaks no English. ((to his father)) <i>Entiende un poquito de</i>	((to Vicky)) Va benissimo, brava. Lui non ti capisce. ((to his father)) <i>Entiende un poquito de</i>	That's fine, well done. He doesn't understand you.

	<i>español ella.</i>	<i>español ella.</i>	
Juan Antonio's father	<i>Ah, porque no me importa. Pasad, pasad. Adelante.</i>	<i>Ah, porque no me importa. Pasad, pasad. Adelante.</i>	

In (87) the conversation is mostly held in Spanish with a few instances of turn-specific code-switching from Spanish to English when Juan Antonio talks to Vicky. An interesting aspect this excerpt highlights is that the decision to maintain spoken Spanish unaltered and untranslated in both versions is primarily due to the need to give a faithful portrayal of Juan Antonio's father also on account of what Juan Antonio explains to Vicky while entering the house immediately after their arrival, i.e. that his father is a poet and only speaks Spanish as he thinks that any other language would pollute his words, an idea Vicky herself agrees upon in saying that a translation process almost always implies a loss of meaning. This exchange between Juan Antonio and Vicky in a sense compels the Italian translator/dialogue adaptor to conform to the discourse pattern of the original version.

In *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* non-translation of Spanish is related not only to the characters' portrayal but also to the conversational context at stake as well as to the scene's structure and narrative intent. In many cases, some Spanish lines are not translated as they don't contribute crucial meanings to the overall exchange but are rather used to express a sense of closeness between speakers bound together by a strong mutual affection, as is the case when María Elena uses Spanish, by means of unmarked intersentential code-switching, at the beginning and at the end of an utterance in English and Juan Antonio makes a comment upon what she says converging to their mother tongue and displaying, in his turn, his intimacy with the woman (88).

(88)

María Elena	<i>Mucha tensión, de pensar. [...] Oh, to the world, he's carefree, nothing matters, life is short and with no purpose kind of thing. But all his</i>	<i>Mucha tensión, de pensar. [...] Lui non se cura del mundo, non gli importa niente, la vita è breve, senza nessuno scopo.</i>	He doesn't care of the world, he doesn't care about anything, life is short, with no purpose. But all his fears go into his head.
-------------	---	---	---

	fear just goes to his head. <i>Oye, relájate.</i>	Ma tutte le sue paure gli finiscono nella testa. <i>Oye, relájate.</i>	
Juan Antonio	<i>Sí, con esas manos que tienes.</i>	<i>Sí, con esas manos que tienes.</i>	

Likewise, exchanges are left in Spanish when they involve outbursts of rage in emotionally intense scenes, as we can see when Juan Antonio dashes towards María Elena in the attempt to take away from her hand the pistol she is holding against him and Vicky (89).

(89)

Juan Antonio	<i>¡María Elena, suelta eso!</i>	<i>¡María Elena, suelta eso!</i>	
María Elena ((shrieking))	<i>...la mierda! ¡Que no!</i>	<i>...la mierda! ¡Que no!</i>	
Juan Antonio	<i>Suelta eso, por favor! María Elena. María Elena. ¡Suelta! ¡María Elena, suelta eso! ¡Mátame! ¡Déjame, que te mato! ¡Que te mato! ¡Déjame, que te mato!</i>	<i>Suelta eso, por favor! María Elena. María Elena. ¡Suelta! ¡María Elena, suelta eso! ¡Mátame! ¡Déjame, que te mato! ¡Que te mato! ¡Déjame, que te mato!</i>	

As excerpt (89) clearly illustrates, the Spanish emphatic expressions and exclamatory statements are not translated as they mainly aim to convey the characters' tension and, consequently, to increase the audience's emotional involvement in the scene.

In *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, Spanish utterances are left untranslated also when their content is disclosed by another character in another part of the conversation, as we can see when Juan Antonio, informed that María Elena tried to kill herself, speaks in Spanish with the

doctor who calls him from the hospital and then he adopts participant-related code-switching from Spanish to English to explain, both to Cristina and to the audience, what happened (90).

(90)

Juan Antonio	Y... ¿cómo está? Vale, sí, vale. ¿En...en qué hospital está? Vale. Sí, gracias, gracias. ¿En qué planta está? Vale, gracias, gracias.	Y... ¿cómo está? Vale, sí, vale. ¿En...en qué hospital está? Vale. Sí, gracias, gracias. ¿En qué planta está? Vale, gracias, gracias.	
Cristina	What?	Ma che c'è?	But what's the matter?
Juan Antonio	María Elena is... eh... <i>se ha intent-</i> she tried to kill herself.	María Elena sí...eh... <i>se ha intent-</i> ha tentato di suicidarsi.	María Elena is... eh... <i>se ha intent-</i> she tried to kill herself.

Non-translation of the L3 in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching is to be recognized also in films extensively portraying cross-cultural and crosslinguistic encounters as *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *My Life in Ruins*, *Eat Pray Love*.

In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* Hindi is left unaltered in both versions (covering 20% of the total occurrences) when Indian and American characters exchange greetings as well as when Indian characters interact or recite prayers; some interesting cases of this procedure can be observed when Graham uses Hindi to greet Anokhi, who doesn't speak English (91); when Gaurika, Manoj's wife, calls her husband to inform him that Graham, the man he was in love with many years before, is there to visit him (92); when Manoj recites a Hindi prayer at Graham's funeral (93).

(91)

Graham	<i>Namaste. Hindi</i>	<i>Namaste. Hindi</i>	
Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	

(92)

Gaurika	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Manoj	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	

(93)

Manoj	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
-------	--------------	--------------	--

Excerpts (91-93) interestingly show that the non-translation of spoken Hindi is generally adopted when it is used by Indian characters who have never left their home country and therefore only know their mother tongue. Furthermore, the presence of Hindi greetings and prayers proves to be an additional means to involve the audience in the sociocultural ‘exotic’ context represented on the screen.

Also in *My Life in Ruins* some utterances in Greek are not translated (covering 21% of the total occurrences) when their meaning is either inferred from the overall conversation, as can be seen when Georgia greets her Greek landlord Genaki before leaving for her tour (94), or disclosed by other characters (as already observed in excerpt 90), as we can see when she asks the Greek hotel manager how much she has to pay to send a letter (95).

(94)

Georgia	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Genaki	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	

(95)

Hotel manager	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Georgia	10 Euros? <i>Greek</i>	10 Euro? <i>Greek</i>	10 Euros?

Likewise, when two American tourists, Big Al and Kim, and a Greek souvenir shop owner have an argument, the beginning of their exchange, most of which is translated by means of misinterpreting (see 2.2.5.), presents an instance of situational, participant-related code-switching English-Greek when the tourists complain for the man’s dishonest behaviour in trying to charge them extra money for a little souvenir and the man angrily replies using Greek, left untranslated but at least partly understood by the tourists as Big Al’s reply suggests (96).

(96)

Big Al	I don't think I like what it's going on around here.	Non mi piace affatto quello che sta cercando di fare con noi.	I really don't like what you are trying to do with us.
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Big Al	How did you call my wife?	Come ha chiamato mia moglie?	How did you call my wife?
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	

In *Eat Pray Love*, another film revolving around cross-cultural encounters, no translation of Portuguese is provided (covering 100% of the total occurrences) everytime Felipe and Armenia use it, both when they interact with each other or with other Brazilian characters and when they talk to Liz, in instances of unmarked, turn-specific and intersentential code-switching. When Felipe and Liz meet for the first time and the man, riding his car and distracted by the music on the radio, almost runs Liz off the road while she is riding her bike, he asks Liz if she is all right instinctively using Portuguese but then he switches to English, by means of participant-related, intersentential code-switching, supposing Liz is not Brazilian (97).

(97)

Felipe	<i>Meu Deus. Você está bem?</i> All you all right?	<i>Meu Deus. Você está bem?</i> Lei sta bene?	My God. Are you all right?
Liz	Are you blind?	Ma è cieco?	But are you blind?

In *Eat Pray Love*, and in particular in the last part set in Bali, what is interesting to notice as far as the presence of Portuguese and its rendering in the Italian version are concerned, is that it is always used by Felipe during intimate and emotionally intense conversations with Liz. This can be observed when he uses intersentential code-switching from Portuguese to English beginning his utterance with the Portuguese statement *Não entendo* ("I don't understand") to express his sadness in recognizing that Liz is afraid to start a relationship with him (98).

(98)

Felipe	Liz. <i>Não entendo.</i> What's the problem, Liz? I mean, I have the same fears, I have the same scars that you have and I show them to you. But I guess the only difference between you and I is that... you're afraid to love again. My darling, this is it.	Liz. <i>Não entendo.</i> Che ti prende, Liz? Voglio dire, io ho le stesse paure, ho le stesse cicatrici che hai tu e non ho avuto timore di fartele vedere. Ma credo che l'unica differenza tra te e me è che... tu hai paura di amare ancora. Mia cara, è tutto qui.	What's the problem, Liz? I mean, I have the same fears, I have the same scars that you have and I didn't have any fear to show them to you. But I think that the only difference between you and me is that... you're afraid to love again. My darling, this is it.
--------	---	--	---

In the course of another emotionally intense exchange with Liz, Felipe uses unmarked turn-specific code-switching from English to Portuguese (99) to assign his utterances the same expressive force already observed in (98).

(99)

Liz	Do not tell me what lessons I have and haven't learned in the last year... and don't tell me how balanced and wise you are. And how I can't express myself!	Non ti azzardare a dirmi quali lezioni ho imparato o non ho imparato in quest'anno... e non mi dire quanto equilibrato sei tu mentre io non sono capace di esprimermi!	Do not dare to tell me what lessons I have or haven't learned in the last year... and don't tell me how balanced you are whereas I can't express myself!
Felipe	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	
Liz	And do not say darling to me again because am just gonna lose it!	Hai capito? E non chiamarmi tesoro perchè senno ti strangolo!	Did you understand? And don't call me darling because otherwise I'm gonna strangle

			you!
Felipe	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	
Liz	Listen to me! I do not need to love you to prove that I love myself!	Ascoltami! Io non ho bisogno di amare te per provare di amare me stessa!	Listen to me! I do not need to love you to prove that I love myself!
Felipe	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	

In (99) the non-translation of Felipe’s utterances, which in most cases overlap with Liz’s utterances, may seem to be detrimental to the comprehension of the overall exchange but, actually, they mainly function as the linguistic correlative of the man’s anger and are used to reinforce his emotional involvement.

The same emotional involvement permeating the conversations between Felipe and Liz as conveyed by the use of Portuguese can be observed when Felipe talks to his son T.J., in particular when he bids farewell to him as T.J. is going back to Australia, where he lives, after a week spent with his father (100).

(100)

Felipe	<i>Cuidado con demais meninas. Elas são perigosas. Elas são perigosas...</i> Our week was too short. Our week was too short.	<i>Cuidado con demais meninas. Elas são perigosas. Elas são perigosas...</i> Una settimana è troppo corta. Una settimana è troppo corta.	One week is too short. One week is too short.
T.J.	Yeah.	Si.	Yes.
[...]			
Felipe	<i>Oh, já tenho saudade de você!</i>	<i>Oh, já tenho saudade de você!</i>	
T.J.	<i>Eu também.</i> Bye Liz.	<i>Eu também.</i> Ciao Liz.	Bye Liz.

At the beginning of the exchange Felipe uses Portuguese to give his son a piece of advice entailing humorous connotations as he tells him “*Cuidado con demais meninas. Elas são perigosas*”, meaning “Stay away from all the beautiful girls. They are dangerous”, then he intersententially switches

to English to end his utterance. He then switches again to Portuguese when he says to T.J. “*Oh, já tenho saudade de você!*”, i.e. “I’m missing you already”, and T.J. converges to his father’s language in replying “*Eu também*”, i.e. “Me too”, but then he adopts participant-related intersentential code-switching when saying goodbye to Liz. This exchange is a perfectly authentic combination of Portuguese and English/Italian that significantly portrays the characters’ linguistic identity and speech patterns, even though Portuguese prevails as used by Felipe and T.J. as the language representative of their blood ties.

Portuguese is also used in instances of participant-related code-switching by members of the Brazilian community in Bali, as we can see when Armenia intersententially switches from English, when addressing Liz, to Portuguese, when addressing Felipe, who in turn replies using their shared mother tongue (101).

(101)

Armenia	Liz!	Liz!	Liz!
Liz	Hi!	Ciao!	Hi!
Armenia	Hi! I see you’ve already met Felipe. <i>Tudo bem?</i>	Ciao! Vedo che hai già conosciuto Felipe. <i>Tudo bem?</i>	Hi! I see you’ve already met Felipe.
Felipe	<i>Tudo bem.</i>	<i>Tudo bem.</i>	

One of the films where the presence of the L3 as untranslated in both versions distinctively aims to convey the speakers’ attachment to their background sociolinguistic heritage is *Spanglish*, where Spanish is spoken whenever two or more Hispanic characters are on the screen. This procedure seems to be mainly related to the distinctive ethnolinguistic reality this film wants to portray. As a fact, *Spanglish* is a film that pervadingly capitalizes on issues of linguistic identity in Los Angeles, as clearly expressed at the very beginning by Cristina stating that her mother decided to move to Los Angeles as it is “48 per cent Hispanic”, and presents the Hispanic characters and the American characters as defined by personalities that are, at least initially, impermeable also from the linguistic point of view. These preliminary considerations clarify that Spanish plays the main role in this story of cross-cultural communication and miscommunication where Flor represents the Hispanic culture that struggles to remain also linguistically authentic in a multicultural society, and this is the reason why Spanish is always visible in both versions: its

presence allows both audiences to plunge into what we could define as the ethnolinguistic and sociocultural ‘bubble’ within which Flor is immersed in LA, a bubble that also includes Flor’s relatives already living there. Indeed, whereas at her arrival in LA Flor looks bewildered as she encounters an ‘alien’ environment where everyone speaks English, when she moves to the Hispanic area she feels she is ‘at home’ again as she understands everything everyone says. This Hispanic bubble is made also visually evident thanks to the many Hispanic props pervading the scenes, e.g. pictures of Mexican men, Mexican hats, writings in Spanish (left in Spanish with no open subtitles to provide a translation), the flag of Mexico hung at the same height as the flag of the United States. The importance of being, also linguistically, authentic is further inferred from the fact that, before starting to work for the Claskys, Flor never leaves the Hispanic environment by working at a laundry in the neighborhood and she is always shown as happily interacting with other people in Spanish.

The maintenance of spoken Spanish as the crucial marker of Flor’s identity can be frequently observed throughout the whole film when Flor talks to either her cousin Monica or other members of her Hispanic community, in particular when they comment upon specific situations they find themselves in without being either heard or understood by their American interlocutors (102, 103).

(102)

Man	<i>¿Ahora qué le pasa?</i>	<i>¿Ahora qué le pasa?</i>	
Flor to Monica	<i>Tengo que sacarla de allí.</i>	<i>Tengo que sacarla de allí.</i>	
Monica to Flor	<i>¡Sí. Sí!</i>	<i>¡Sí. Sí!</i>	
Monica	<i>Cuidado, eh? No pasa nada. Nada, va por la niña...</i>	<i>Cuidado, eh? No pasa nada. Nada, va por la niña...</i>	

(103)

Monica to Flor	<i>Que están atrás. Vente.</i>	<i>Que están atrás. Vente.</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	Holding out had helped though.	Ma aspettare era stato utile.	But waiting had been useful.
Monica	<i>Ándale, no mires.</i>	<i>Ándale, no mires.</i>	

to Flor	<i>No te (matan).</i>	<i>No te (matan).</i>	
Cristina (voice)	She was no longer intimidated.	Non era più intimidita.	She was no longer intimidated.
Monica to Flor	<i>¿Lista?</i>	<i>¿Lista?</i>	

In (103) it is important to notice that Cristina's statements express the girl's opinion on her mother's attitude after her arrival in LA and do not provide a translation of Monica's Spanish utterances, as is instead the case with other scenes where Cristina acts as an interpreter between Flor and some American characters (see 2.2.4.).

In *Spanglish* another conversational context within which Spanish is typically undubbed in both versions is related to emotionally-charged exchanges between Flor and Cristina (104-107).

(104)

Cristina as a child	<i>Te quiero.</i>	<i>Te quiero.</i>	
Flor	<i>Yo también te quiero, mi amor.</i>	<i>Yo también te quiero, mi amor.</i>	

(105)

Flor to Cristina	<i>Hola mi amor. Tienes que ayudarme.</i>	<i>Hola mi amor. Tienes que ayudarme.</i>	
---------------------	---	---	--

(106)

Flor to Cristina	<i>Cristina. Cristina. No me avergüenzes. Vamonos con dignidad. Está bien. Ya no llores más.</i>	<i>Cristina. Cristina. No me avergüenzes. Vamonos con dignidad. Está bien. Ya no llores más.</i>	
---------------------	--	--	--

(107)

Flor	<i>Cristina, Cristina por favor...</i>	<i>Cristina, Cristina, por favor...</i>	
Cristina (shouts))	You ruined everything! You	Tu hai voluto rovinare tutto! Tu	You wanted to ruin

	ruined everything!	hai voluto rovinare tutto!	everything! You wanted to ruin everything!
Flor	<i>Agarra las cosas del suelo.</i>	<i>Agarra las cosas del suelo.</i>	
Cristina ((shouts))	This ruins my life! You've ruined everything! I will never forgive you.	Così mi rovini la vita! Tu hai voluto rovinare tutto! Non ti perdonerò mai!	In this way you ruin my life! You wanted to ruin everything! I will never forgive you!
Flor	<i>Te prometo que todo estará bien. ((overlap)) Vamos. Vamos, mi amor.</i>	<i>Te prometo que todo estará bien. ((overlap)) Vamos. Vamos, mi amor.</i>	

Excerpts (104-107) also clearly illustrate the non-reciprocal language use distinctive of intergenerational discourse practices within immigrant families, as already seen in other films under study (see 2.1.3.).

But in *Spanglish* the presence of spoken Spanish is not restricted to in-group interactions as it is to be observed when Flor talks to John and adopts situation-related, turn-specific code-switching to utter some Spanish words and phrases whose meaning can be easily guessed and understood both by her American interlocutor and by the viewers (108-110).

(108)

John	Whoa! I didn't know Deborah had found someone... you work here? You're going to help with the house and kids?	Oh! Non sapevo che Deb avesse trovato qualcuno. Lei- l-lei lavorerà qui? Ci darà una mano con la casa e i ragazzi?	Whoa! I didn't know Deborah had found someone... Are you going to work here? Are you going to help with the house and kids?
Flor	<i>Solo Español.</i>	<i>Solo Español.</i>	
John	You work here and you don't speak any	Lei lavora qui e non capisce	You work here and you don't

	English at all?	neanche una parola?	understand a word?
--	-----------------	---------------------	--------------------

(109)

John	Who-who-who-who-who-who-who-who-woha! What are you doing? We're still moving. I'll take you all the way to the bus stop.	Aspetta, aspetta, aspetta, aspetta, aspetta, aspetta! Che stai facendo? Non siamo fermi. Ti accompagno fino alla fermata dell'autobus.	Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait! What are you doing? We are not still. I'll take you to the bus stop.
Flor	<i>Y-ya está aquí.</i>	<i>Y-ya está aquí.</i>	

(110)

John ((voice))	Flor?	Flor?	Flor?
Flor	<i>Por favor, dejeme sola. Estoy bien, de-de verdad, estoy bien.</i>	<i>Por favor, dejeme sola. Estoy bien, de-de verdad, estoy bien.</i>	
John	I'm sorry. Very sorry. Listen, she'll be back shortly. No, no, no, you don't have to work. It's... give me that. Yeah. ((takes a glass, fills it with water for her)) Here.	Mi dispiace. Mi dispiace! Vedrai che torna fra poco. Ah, no no no, non devi lavorare. Eh... dammi qua. Okay. ((takes a glass, fills it with water for her)) Tieni.	I'm sorry. I'm sorry! You'll see that she'll be back in a while. Ah, no no no, you don't have to work. Eh... give it to me. Okay. Here.

2.2.3. Voice-over

Another effective way of conveying the presence of L3s in the instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching is the strategy of voice-over, i.e. a faithful translation of the original speech with the

original soundtrack and the translation track emitted simultaneously (Franco, Matamala, Orero 2010) and the original sound being either reduced entirely or to a low level of audibility, entailing the common practice of allowing “the original sound to be heard for several seconds at the onset of the speech and of having it subsequently reduced so that the translated speech takes over” (Luyken 1991: 80). The process of voice-over has been variously defined as either “non-synchronized dubbing” (Dries 1995: 9) or its opposite “doublage synchrone” (Kaufmann 1995: 438), as “dubbing-with-voice-over” (Baranitch 1995: 309), as a type of simultaneous interpreting (Ponno 1995: 303; Gambier 1996: 8) and as half-dubbing (Hendrickx 1984) according to the fact that, as with dubbing, the text is proposed orally but, as with subtitling, the contents are necessarily abridged.

Among the films included in our corpus *Spanglish* stands out for a peculiar use of voice-over (covering 13% of the total occurrences); especially at the beginning of the film, set in both Mexico and Spanish-speaking LA, voice-over almost entirely replaces dialogue and, throughout the whole film, it is used when conversations between Flor and Cristina are at stake. The revoicing of Flor’s Spanish utterances into English in the original version and into Italian in the Italian dubbed version is always carried out by Cristina and is to be recognized in particular in two scenes: at the beginning of the film, Flor tells Cristina that they are going to leave Mexico to move to the USA and voice-over serves to contextualize the dialogue in Spanish between the girl and her mother (111).

(111)

Flor	<i>No más una lagrima. No más una.</i>	<i>No más una lagrima. No más una.</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	One tear.	Una lacrima.	One tear.
Flor	<i>¡Una!</i>	<i>¡Una!</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	Just one.	Solo una.	Just one.
Flor	<i>Una, una, una.</i>	<i>Una, una, una.</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	So make it a good one.	Ma che sia buona.	But that is a good one.
Flor	<i>Pero bien llorada.</i>	<i>Pero bien llorada.</i>	
Cristina	She said. She	Disse. Lei sarebbe	She said. She

((voice))	would be my Mexico.	stata il mio Messico.	would have been my Mexico.
-----------	---------------------	-----------------------	----------------------------

At the end of the film, Flor uses Spanish as a metalinguistic commentary on her thoughts and feelings that are conveyed to both audiences by Cristina's voice (112).

(112)

Flor ((crying))	<i>¿Eso es tú lo que quieres para ti misma?</i>	<i>¿Eso es tú lo que quieres para ti misma?</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	Is what you want for yourself...	È questo che vuoi per te stessa?	Is this that you want for yourself?
Flor	<i>Convertirte en alguien tan...</i>	<i>Convertirte en alguien tan ...</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	... to become someone very different...	Diventare una persona tanto diversa...	To become a person so different...
Flor	<i>¿... tan diferente de mí?</i>	<i>¿... tan diferente de mí?</i>	
Cristina ((voice))	...than me?	...da me?	...from me?

2.2.4. Interpreting the L3

Another translation mode often adopted to recreate the sense of foreignness provided by multilingual discourse practices and, in particular, by the presence of one or more L3s in instances of turn-specific code-switching is interpreting (Bleichenbacher 2008), a procedure according to which one bilingual character acts as an interpreter between characters who don't know their interlocutor's mother tongue and translates from one language to the other: he/she thus plays a mediating role between the speakers and, at the same time, explicitly translates the dialogues' contents for the film's audience to guarantee full comprehensibility of the conversations' contents.

Such intratextual translation strategy (cf. Zabalbeascoa 2012) can be observed both in films featuring immigrant communities (such as *Spanglish* and *Gran Torino*) and in films set in cross-cultural, crosslinguistic environments (such as *Crash*, *My Life in Ruins*, *The Best*

Exotic Marigold Hotel, The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel). In *Spanglish, Crash* and *Gran Torino* it is used with specific narrative aims to point out how second- and third-generation immigrants often act as a linguistic bridge between their relatives and the Western world. Indeed, within immigrant families, parents may have minimal or no skills in the majority language and their bilingual children and grandchildren, rather than just transmitting information, act as information and communication brokers in a variety of contexts (Monti 2016). In particular, in *Spanglish*, Cristina and Monica translate from Spanish into English and vice versa in mediating between Flor, a Spanish-only speaker at the beginning of the film, and the English-only-speaking American characters; in *Gran Torino*, teenagers Thao and Sue and a little Hmong girl switch between Hmong and English to allow communication between their Hmong-only speaking elders and Walt; in *Crash*, Farhad’s daughter Dorri acts as a mediator between her father and some American characters, especially when the interaction takes place in rather formal conversational contexts. In *My Life in Ruins*, Georgia acts as an interpreter in the interactions between her tourists and some Greek people they meet while touring Greece, whereas in *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* and *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* interpreting is prevalingly enacted in order to allow communication between Indian characters who are Hindi-only speakers and American characters who are English-only speakers.

In our corpus of films, it is in *Spanglish* that the strategy of interpreting results to be most extensively adopted (covering 71% of the total occurrences). At the beginning of the film, Flor, immediately after her arrival in LA, can’t express herself in English with the Americans she meets without the mediation of another person; for instance, when she interacts with an American waitress, Cristina translates into English/Italian what the women say in their respective native languages, and, in particular, what her mother says in Spanish to allow communication (113).

(113)

Flor to Cristina	<i>Dile que estamos celebrando.</i>	<i>Dile que estamos celebrando.</i>	
Cristina	We’re celebrating.	Dobbiamo festeggiare.	We have to celebrate.
Waitress	Excuse me. Uh, those men would like to buy you a	Scusatemi. Ehm, ci sono dei signori che vorrebbero	Excuse me. Ehm, there are some men who would

	drink.	offrirvi da bere.	like to buy you a drink.
Flor	<i>¿Qué?</i>	<i>¿Qué?</i>	
Waitress ((points at someone))	Those.	Quelli.	Those.
Cristina	<i>Nos quieren comprar algo de tomar.</i>	<i>Nos quieren comprar algo de tomar.</i>	
Cristina to men	Thank you!	Grazie!	Thanks!
Flor	<i>No, gracias.</i>	<i>No, gracias.</i>	
Waitress	Okay.	Va bene.	Okay.
Flor ((angrily))	<i>No no no, momento, espere. Digale a esos señores que...</i>	<i>No no no, momento, espere. Digale a esos señores que...</i>	
Waitress	Sorry.	Scusi.	Sorry.
Flor to Cristina	<i>Dile que le diga...</i>	<i>Dile que le diga...</i>	
Flor ((angrily))	<i>Por Dios santo! Qué les pasa? Que no ven que estoy con mi hija? Dile Cristina.</i>	<i>Por Dios santo! Qué les pasa? Que no ven que estoy con mi hija? Dile Cristina.</i>	
Cristina	This is so embarrassing. My mother said to tell them: “Who do you think you are? Can’t you see I’m with my daughter, for God’s sake?”.	È una cosa veramente imbarazzante. Mia madre vuole che dica loro: “Chi credete di essere? Non lo vedete che sono con mia figlia Santo Dio?”.	This is a really embarrassing thing. My mother wants you to tell them: “Who do you think you are? Can’t you see I’m with my daughter, for God’s sake?”.

In another scene, during Flor’s interview with Deborah, Flor’s cousin Monica simultaneously switches from Spanish into English/Italian and vice

versa as Deborah does not understand Spanish and Flor does not understand English (114).

(114)

Deborah	You're gorgeous! You're gorgeous!	Sei uno schianto! Sei uno schianto!	You're gorgeous! You're gorgeous!
Monica	<i>Que, que estás muy bonita.</i>	<i>Que, que estás muy bonita.</i>	
[...]			
Deborah	I'm sorry. This is my daughter, Bernice, and...	Scusatemi. Lei è mia figlia, Bernice e...	I'm sorry. She is my daughter, Bernice, and...
Bernice	Hi.	Ciao.	Hi.
Deborah	...an-an-and my mother, Evelyn Wright.	... e mia madre, Evelyn Wright.	...and my mother, Evelyn Wright.
Evelyn	Evelyn.	Evelyn.	Evelyn.
Monica	<i>Ésta es la hija Bernice, y la mamá Evelyn Wright.</i>	<i>Ésta es la hija Bernice, y la mamá Evelyn Wright.</i>	
Deborah	Do you guys wanna come in out of the sun? You wanna...	Per caso volete spostarvi dal sole? State...	Do you want to come in out of the sun? Do you...
Monica	No, no, no, we're fine. ((to Flor)) <i>Estamos bien aquí en el sol, no?</i>	No no no, stiamo bene. ((to Flor)) <i>Estamos bien aquí en el sol, no?</i>	No no no, we're fine.
[...]			
Deborah	Okay let's... let's just talk.	Va bene facciamo... una chiacchierata.	Okay, let's have... a talk.
Monica	<i>Que pratiquemos.</i>	<i>Que pratiquemos.</i>	
[...]			
Deborah	So, the job is six days a week. Seven, eight, twelve hours, it	L'impegno è sei giorni a settimana. Sette, otto, dodici ore, dipende. Tutte	The job is six days a week. Seven, eight, twelve hours, it depends.

	depends. All the housekeeping, driving the kids.	le faccende di casa, accompagnare i ragazzi.	All the housekeeping, driving the kids.
Monica to Flor	<i>Seis días a la semana. Siete, ocho, doce horas, depende. Cuidar a la casa, llevar a los niños.</i>	<i>Seis días a la semana. Siete, ocho, doce horas, depende. Cuidar a la casa, llevar a los niños.</i>	
Deborah	How much a week do you want?	Quanto vuoi alla settimana?	How much do you want a week?
Monica to Flor	<i>¿Tú cuánto quieres?</i>	<i>¿Tú cuánto quieres?</i>	

In excerpts (113) and (114), the maintenance of turn-specific code-switching between L3 and L1/L2 proves to be crucially functional to the faithful rendering of Flor's initial sense of estrangement in the American society, a sense of estrangement that both the source language viewers and the target language viewers clearly perceive as they have to rely on Cristina's and Monica's translations to understand what Flor says.

In *Spanglish*, one of the most significant instances of interpreting as a transfer mode aimed both to enable communication and to convey the speakers' emotional involvement can be observed in the course of a long exchange between Flor and John, when they argue and Cristina, here portrayed as a somewhat unwilling mediator, literally translates her mother's Spanish statements (115).

(115)

Cristina to John	My mother wishes for me to represent exactly what she says, nothing else.	Mia madre vuole che traduca letteralmente quello che dice, nient'altro.	My mother wants me to translate literally what she says, nothing else.
John	What?	Come?	What?
Flor to John ((angrily))	<i>¿Puedo hablar con usted?</i>	<i>¿Puedo hablar con usted?</i>	
Cristina	May I talk to you?	Posso parlare con te?	May I talk to you?

John	You mean your mother? Yeah. Sure. You can talk to me.	Vuoi dire tua madre? Sì. Certo. Puoi parlare con me.	Do you mean your mother? Yes, of course. You can talk to me.
Flor ((angrily))	<i>¿Y no me tengo que dormir primero?</i>	<i>¿Y no me tengo que dormir primero?</i>	
Cristina	I don't have to sleep first?	E non devo dormire prima?	And don't I have to sleep first?
John	What's wrong? Come on, come on, sit down.	Che succede? Venite, andiamo, sedetevi.	What's wrong? Come on, let's go, take a seat.
Flor ((angrily))	<i>¿Usted dio este dinero a mi hija?</i>	<i>¿Usted dio este dinero a mi hija?</i>	
Cristina	I'm sorry. ((angrily)) Did you give this money to my daughter?	Mi dispiace. ((angrily)) Ha dato lei questi soldi a mia figlia?	I'm sorry. ((angrily)) Did you give this money to my daughter?
John	Okay, I- I made a deal with the kids. All the kids.	Sì, senti. Io ho fatto un patto con lei e con tutti i bambini.	Yes, listen. I made a deal with her and with all the kids.
Flor ((angrily))	<i>¡Oh, no!</i> <i>¡Discúlpeme!</i>	<i>¡Oh, no!</i> <i>¡Discúlpeme!</i>	
Cristina	Oh no! Please!	Oh no, la prego!	Oh no, please!

In (115), Cristina's interpreting clearly fulfils code-switching's referential, phatic and emotive functions as she accompanies her utterances with gestures and movements when interpreting her mother's words, thus also physically emphasizing the woman's anger.

The strategy of interpreting is also adopted in *Gran Torino* in instances of turn-specific code-switching (covering 35% of the total occurrences); in this film, it is mostly Sue that takes on the role of interpreter, using participant-related turn-specific code-switching, between Walt and the Hmong holders of both her family and her Hmong community. This can be observed, for example, when Walt is at his

Hmong neighbours' house and interacts with the old family Sciaman, Kor Khue, who 'reads' Walt's soul addressing him only in Hmong while Sue simultaneously translates what the old man says (116).

(116)

Sue to Kor Khue	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Kor Khue to Sue	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Sue to Walt	Kor Khue is interested in you, he heard what you did. He would like to read you. It'd be rude not to allow him this, it's a great honor.	Kor Khue è interessato a te. Ha saputo quello che hai fatto. Vorrebbe leggerti. Sarebbe offensivo non accettare, è un grande onore.	Kor Khue is interested in you. He heard what you did. He would like to read you. It'd be rude not to accept, it's a great honor.
Walt	Yeah, sure, fine by me.	Ah certo, va bene per me.	Oh, sure, it's okay for me.
Kor Khue to Walt	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Sue to Walt	He says that you think you've been disrespected. That people don't even look at you.	Dice che la gente non ti rispetta. Che non ti vuole neanche guardare.	He says that people don't respect you. That people don't even want to look at you.
Kor Khue to Walt	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Sue to Walt	He says that you do not live and your food has no flavor. You are scared of your past.	Dice che nel tuo modo di vivere non c'è più sapore, che sei preoccupato per la tua vita.	He says that in your life style there is no flavour anymore, that you are worried about your life.

In (116), it is interesting to notice that some Italian utterances don't provide a literal translation of the English utterances and assign a slightly different connotation to the American character, as we can see when Sue states "He says that you think you've been disrespected", which is translated as "Dice che la gente non ti rispetta" ("He says that people don't respect you"), erasing the reference to the fact that Walt only "thinks" he has been disrespected. Likewise, when the 'Italian' Sue claims "Dice [...] che sei preoccupato per la tua vita" ("He says [...] you are worried about your life") she changes the connotations of the English utterance "He says [...] you are scared of your past" as she suggests that Walt is not so much obsessed by his past but rather feels in danger in that particular stage of his life.

In *Gran Torino*, another significant instance of translation by interpreting occurs when Vu, Sue and Thao make amends for Thao's trying to steal Walt's *Gran Torino* and Sue translates what her mother Vu says to Walt (117).

(117)

Walt	What's going on?	Che succede?	What's wrong?
Vu to Sue	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Sue to Walt	Thao is here to make amends, he's here to work for you.	Thao è venuto a fare ammenda, a lavorare per te.	Thao has come to make amends, to work for you.
Vu	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	No he's not. How can he work for me?	Vuoi scherzare? Non ci penso nemmeno.	Are you joking? I don't even think about it.
Vu to Sue	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Sue to Walt	My mum says that he dishonoured the family and now he has to work off his debt. He'll start tomorrow morning.	Mamma dice che lui ha disonorato la sua famiglia e ora deve pagare il suo debito. Comincerà domattina.	Mum says he dishonoured his family and now he has to work off his debt. He'll start tomorrow morning.

In this film interpreting from Hmong into English/Italian is also sometimes enacted by younger members of the third generation of Hmong immigrants, as can be seen when an old Hmong man and his little granddaughter visit Walt to ask his permission to allow Thao to work for them (118).

(118)

Grandfather	Hello. <i>Hmong</i>	Salve. <i>Hmong</i>	Hello.
Granddaughter	Grandpa says he want to know if you can have Thao clear out the big wasp nest under our porch?	Il nonno dice che vuole sapere se puoi dire a Thao di levare il grande nido di vespe che sta sotto il nostro portico.	Grandpa says he wants to know if you can ask Thao to clear out the big wasp nest that is under our porch.
Walt	Wasp nest? That's terrible. I think we can tell him sometime after lunch.	Di vespe hai detto? Ma è terribile. Sì, beh, dì al nonno che si può fare dopo pranzo.	Wasp nest, you said? But it's terrible. Yes, well, tell grandpa that it can be done after lunch.
Granddaughter	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Grandfather	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	

In (118), apart from the initial greeting the old man addresses to Walt in English saying “Hello”, probably one of the very few words he knows in what he considers as the they-code, he then intersententially switches to Hmong to make his request and her granddaughter translates what he says allowing understanding and communication.

Also in *Crash* interpreting is performed by young immigrants in instances of turn-specific code-switching (covering 25% of the total occurrences), as Dorri often acts as an interpreter between her first-generation immigrant father Fahrads and some American characters, as can

be seen when she linguistically mediates between Farhad and an insurance officer (119).

(119)

Insurance officer to Dorri	Has your father read his policy?	Ha letto la polizza suo padre?	Did your father read the policy?
Dorri	He doesn't read English.	Non ci capirebbe niente.	He wouldn't understand anything.
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Insurance officer	Mr Golzari, you said you called the locksmith?	Signor Guezari, lei ha chiamato il fabbro?	Mr Guezari, did you call the locksmith?
Dorri	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Farhad	Yes. I tell him, fix it.	Sì. Ho detto di riparare.	Yes. I told to fix.
Insurance officer to Dorri	They said that uh, their man told you...	Loro dicono che l'operaio le ha detto...	They say that the worker told you...
Dorri to Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Insurance officer	...to fix the door, and you didn't do so.	...di riparare la porta, e lei non l'ha fatto.	... to fix the door, and you didn't do it.
Dorri	Are you saying it's his fault?	Sta dicendo che è sua la colpa?	Are you saying that it's his fault?
Farhad	<i>Farsi</i>	<i>Farsi</i>	
Insurance officer	Insurance company is calling it negligence. They're not covering any of this.	L'assicurazione la considera negligenza. E quindi non la copre.	The insurance company considers it negligence. And therefore they don't cover it.

As already mentioned, in the corpus of films under investigation, the transfer modality of interpreting is adopted not only in films portraying immigrant communities to provide mutual understanding between a we-code-only speaker and a they-code-only speaker, but also in films featuring multiethnic groups of speakers with different mother tongues who need a linguistic mediator to communicate, as we can see in *My Life in Ruins*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*.

In *My Life in Ruins* interpreting is performed by Georgia using turn-specific code-switching (covering 16% of the total occurrences) when she translates into English/Italian what Procopi says in Greek to answer some of the questions the tourists ask him (120).

(120)

Georgia	He's the driver.	È il nostro autista.	He is our driver.
Dorcas Wilmore	What's his name?	E come si chiama?	And what's his name?
Georgia	Right. Everyone, please say hello to Procopi.	Giusto. Per favore, salutate tutti Procopio.	Right. Please, everyone say hello to Procopi.
Tourists	Hey, Procopi.	Ciao, Procopio.	Hello, Procopi.
Procopi	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Georgia	Oh, I'm sorry, he has a nickname he'd rather be known by.	Oh, scusate, ha un soprannome che gli piace di più.	Oh, I'm sorry, he has a nickname he prefers.
Procopi	Poupi.	Poupi.	
Barry	Did he just say, "Poop"?	Ha detto "Pupù"?	Did he say "Pupù"?
Al Sawchuck	Fair suck of the sav, mate, I can't call you Poupi. What's your last name?	Scusa, conducente, ma non posso chiamarti Pupù. Come fai di cognome?	I'm sorry, driver, but I can't call you Pupù. What's your last name?
Georgia to Procopi	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Procopi	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Greek</i>	
Georgia to tourists	It's "Kakas".	È "Kakas".	It's "Kakas".

In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* interpreting is mostly performed by two Indian characters, Ajit and Sunaina, by means of turn-specific code-switching (covering 55% of the total occurrences); Ajit acts as an interpreter between English-only speaking Muriel and Hindi-only speaking Anokhi, thus allowing the two women to overcome the sociocultural and ideological distance initially keeping them apart (121, 122).

(121)

Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Ajit	She wants to thank you for your kindness.	Vuole ringraziarla per la sua gentilezza.	She wants to thank you for your kindness.
Muriel	I haven't been kind.	Ma quando sono stata gentile?	But when was I kind?
Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Ajit	You're the only one that acknowledges her.	Lei è l'unica che le ha rivolto la parola.	She is the only one that talked to her.
Anokhi ((offering Muriel a plate of food))	<i>Dal tadka. Chapati. Hindi.</i>	<i>Dhal tadka. Chapati. Hindi</i>	<i>Dhal tadka. Chapati.</i>
Muriel	I'm not eating that.	Quella roba non la mangio.	I'm not eating that.

(122)

Muriel	Anokhi, Anokhi, I wanted to tell you something... ((to Ajit)) Tell her. Tell her I was glad to come, glad she invited me.	Anokhi, Anokhi, volevo tanto dirti una cosa... ((to Ajit)) Può dirle che sono stata felice di essere andata a casa sua? Che mi ha fatto piacere che mi abbia invitata?	Anokhi, Anokhi, I wanted to tell you something... ((to Ajit)) Can you tell her that I was glad I went to her house? That I was glad she invited me?
Ajit	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Muriel	Glad to meet her	E che è stato bello	And that it was

	family. Her grandmother. Her kids.	conoscere la sua famiglia. Sua nonna. I suoi nipotini.	great to meet her family. Her grandmother. Her little nephews and nieces.
Ajit	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Ajit	She asks if you have children?	Vuole sapere se anche lei ha dei figli.	She wants to know if you have children too.
Muriel	I looked after somebody else's.	No, io ho badato a quelli degli altri.	No, I looked after somebody's else.
Ajit	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Muriel	This one family, years I was with them.	Cioè ai figli dei miei padroni. Sono stata con loro per tanti anni.	That is to say, to my employers' children. I spent with them many years.
Ajit	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Muriel	I ran the house, looked after the money, did it all, cared for them like they were my own.	Io mi occupavo della casa, gestivo i soldi, insomma facevo tutto. Gli volevo bene, come se fossero figli miei.	I ran the house, I looked after the money, in short, I did everything. I loved them, as if they were my children.

In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, interpreting proves to be crucial for plot development especially in the scene featuring Sonny introducing his girlfriend Sunaina to his mother. When Mrs Kapoor meets the girl, she declares that she is against their marriage but then she changes her mind when Young Wasim, an Indian character who speaks no English, utters a long and heartfelt speech in Hindi, which is translated initially by Sunaina and then by Mrs Kapoor herself as she realizes that Young Wasim is talking about her: indeed, he explains that he once knew another man who wanted to marry a woman against his family's aspirations and who simply imposed her on his parents because he loved her (123).

(123)

Wasim	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Madge	What is he saying?	Che sta dicendo?	What is he saying?
Sunaina	He is saying that he has been with this family as long as he can remember.	Dice che lavorava con questa famiglia fin da quando era piccolo.	He says that he has been working with this family since he was a child.
Wasim	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Sunaina	And that he remembers another fight, between two young people and their parents.	E che si ricorda di un altro litigio tra due giovani e i loro genitori.	And that he remembers another fight between two young people and their parents.
Wasim	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Sunaina	And he remembers the moment where the young man stood up to his mother...	E ricorda bene il momento in cui il giovane prese coraggio, guardò la madre e disse...	And he remembers well the moment when the young man plucked up courage, looked at his mother and said...
Mrs Kapoor	... and said yes, I want to marry this woman. Yes, she is from a different community. But she is smart, she is beautiful, and I love her.	... e disse sì, io voglio sposare questa donna. Sì, appartiene a una casta diversa, ma è intelligente, è bella, e io la amo.	... and said yes, I want to marry this woman. Yes, she belongs to a different caste, but she is smart, she is beautiful, and I love her.

In (123), it is thanks to Sunaina's and Mrs Kapoor's interpreting that key facts are disclosed both to the characters on the screen and to the audience, allowing the storyline to develop in unexpected ways, and the maintenance

of spoken Hindi as uttered by Young Wasim further plunges the viewers into the Indian atmosphere.

In *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* interpreting is enacted by Sunaina, linguistically mediating between Anokhi and Muriel (124), as well as by Babul, Madge's driver, acting as an interpreter between his niece, Hindi-only speaker, and Madge (125).

(124)

Anokhi to Muriel	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Sunaina	She asks how was America.	Chiede com'era l'America.	She asks how was America.
Muriel	A tea that makes death more tempting.	Un tè che rende la morte più desiderabile.	A tea that makes death more desirable.
Sunaina to Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	

(125)

Aida to her uncle	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Babul to Madge	She still wants to read your book.	Vuole ancora leggere il suo libro.	She still wants to read your book.
Madge Harcastle	Your uncle told me how very brave you're being... and I thought you deserved a reward.	Tuo zio mi ha detto che sei stata molto coraggiosa, perciò ti meriti un premio.	Your uncle told me you were very brave, therefore you deserve a reward.
Babul to her niece Aida	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	

Though in both (124) and (125) the contents of the Hindi utterances are not so crucial for plot development as was the case in (123), interpreting is nonetheless important as it is consistent with the film's overall aim in building linguistic and ideological bridges between two worlds only apparently far apart.

2.2.5. Misinterpreting the L3

A strategy akin to interpreting but entailing different communicative and narrative aims and used to convey multilingual discourse practices in both versions of some of the films under study is misinterpreting (Bleichenbacher 2008: 185), be it intentional or unintentional, according to which viewers are made aware that the translation does not correspond to what has been actually said on the screen (Carra 2009) though still experiencing the sense of foreignness language alternation provides. What is important to notice is that with misinterpreting a process of manipulation in translation is directly enacted by the characters as a voluntary act of conveying a different meaning, due to reasons mainly related to either lack of comprehension, as we can see in *Spanglish* (126), or rules of politeness, as we can see in *Gran Torino* (127) and *My Life in Ruins* (128).

In *Spanglish*, misinterpreting is enacted by Monica during Flor's job interview with Deborah (126).

(126)

Deborah	Anyway, I have two children. My son Georgie is nine, Bernie you know, and I like the house, I like the house to be like me, you know, and I am, I'm very loose and meticulous, you know, at the same time, but it's all about first names and closeness here. Let her know, absolutely. But I do care about the place. I'm so sorry, I'm not	Comun- ho due figli, mio figlio Georgie ha nove anni, Bernie la conoscete. E mi piace che la casa somigli a me, no? Io sono molto sciolta, meticolosa al tempo stesso. Ma qui è tutto un darsi del tu e regna l'intimità. Diglielo. Assolutamente. Però ci tengo alla casa. Scusami, non ti lascio neanche il tempo di tradurre.	Any-, I have two children, my son Georgie is nine, you know Bernie. And I like the house to resemble me, you know. I'm very loose, meticulous at the same time. But it's all about first names here and intimacy rules. Tell her. Absolutely. But I do care about the place. I'm sorry, I'm not leaving you the time to translate.
---------	--	--	--

	leaving you time to translate.		
Monica	<i>Està vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...</i>	<i>Està vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...</i>	

In (126) Monica has some difficulties in understanding what Deborah says and she summarises the woman's fast speech into two concise sentences: "*Està vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...*" meaning "This woman is really weird. That she has two children...". Though no translation of Monica's short sentences is provided it is clear that their contents do not correspond to the contents of Deborah's long monologue.

In *Gran Torino* misinterpreting proves to be mostly intentional, as we can see when Walt is at Sue's house and Phong, the family grandmother, insults him in Hmong: Walt asks Sue what her grandmother is saying and Sue translates the old woman's words into English/Italian assigning them an opposite meaning in trying not to offend the man (127).

(127)

Hmong people	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Phong	<i>Hmong</i>	<i>Hmong</i>	
Walt	What'd she say?	Che sta dicendo?	What is she saying?
Sue	She said welcome to our home.	Ti dà il benvenuto nella sua casa.	She welcomes you in her house.
Walt	No she didn't.	Oh no, non ci credo.	Oh no, I don't believe it.
Sue	No, she didn't.	No, hai ragione.	No, you're right.

The most significant instance of intentional misinterpreting is to be recognized in *My Life in Ruins*, where misinterpreting is adopted when Georgia tries to solve a misunderstanding between a couple of tourists and a Greek souvenir shop owner, who is charging them extra money for a little souvenir (see 2.2.2., excerpt 90, for a different translation strategy used to convey another part of the same exchange). Georgia translates into English/Italian what the man says in Greek but she changes his offensive words assigning them positive connotations in order to avoid any problem

her tourists might otherwise have if left alone with the Greek man, as they wouldn't be able either to make themselves understood by him or to speak Greek themselves (128).

(128)

Georgia	No no no. He wants me to translate.	No no no. Mi ha chiesto di tradurre.	No no no. He asked me to translate.
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [You fat tourists]	<i>Greek</i> [Turisti grassoni]	Fat tourists
Georgia	My tourist friends	Miei cari turisti	My dear tourists
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [I could give you idiots authentic Greek items made by grandmother]	<i>Greek</i> [Se non fosse che siete idioti potrei vendervi del vero artigianato Greco fatto da mia nonna]	If you weren't such idiots I could sell you authentic Greek handicrafts made by my grandmother
Georgia	He could give you handmade authentic items made by his grandmother	Dice che potrebbe vendervi degli oggetti d'artigianato fatti a mano da sua nonna	He says he could sell you handmade handicrafts made by his grandmother
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [But you dummies want this cheap crap]	<i>Greek</i> [Ma voi turisti imbecilli volete questa merda scadente]	But you stupid tourists want this cheap crap
Georgia	You have good taste	Voi siete degli intenditori	You are experts
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [This junk is made in Korea]	<i>Greek</i> [Questa robbaccia è fatta in Corea]	This junk is made in Korea
Georgia	Things are made in Corinth	Tutti prodotti a Corinto	Everything made in Corinth
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [By prisoners.]	<i>Greek</i> [Da carcerati.]	By prisoners
Georgia	By friends	Da amici suoi	By friends of his

Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [For you, I'll double the price.]	<i>Greek</i> [Per voi il prezzo raddoppia.]	For you the price doubles
Georgia	I can make you a good price	A voi posso fare un buon prezzo	I can make you a good price
Tourist	Yeah, that's what we want right there, fellow.	Ecco, bravo, adesso sì che ci capiamo, amico.	Yeah, good, now we understand each other, fellow.
Souvenir shop owner	<i>Greek</i> [And to your guide a kickback.]	<i>Greek</i> [E alla guida spetta una percentuale.]	And to the guide a kickback.
Big Al	What?	Che ha detto?	What did he say?
Georgia	Enjoy your stay.	Godetevi la vacanza adesso.	Enjoy your holiday now.

In (128) both the English and the Italian audience are perfectly aware that the strategy of misinterpreting is being adopted as the meaning of the sentences uttered by the souvenir shop owner in Greek is rendered by means of English/Italian open subtitles, which further stress Georgia's intention to create a positive, relaxed interactional context.

Drawing some provisional conclusions from the empirical comparative analysis carried out so far with regard to the presence of L3s in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching in the films' original version and to how they are dealt with in the films' Italian dubbed version, we can observe that these two types of language alternation practices are rendered in Italian according to different translation strategies. If, on the one hand, dubbing and domestication repress the cultural other obscuring the films' original ethnolinguistic makeup, on the other hand such transfer procedures as open subtitles, non-translation, voice-over, interpreting and misinterpreting recreate turn-specific and intersentential code-switching's ethnocultural essence, thus reproducing the immigrant and multiethnic communities' transcultural common ground represented on the screen.

As we will see in Chapter 3, the survival of code-switching's ethnocultural essence is instead guaranteed when L3 terms are used in instances of intrasentential code-switching to refer to culture-specific elements, as culture-bound references to the foreign characters'

sociocultural, historical, religious background heritage are mostly preserved unaltered in the Italian dubbed version.

CHAPTER 3

EVOKING SOCIOCULTURAL MEMORIES THROUGH INTRASENTENTIAL CODE-SWITCHING: RETENTION VS LOSS

3.1. Ethnicity, culture and language in audiovisual translation

The sixteen European and American cross-cultural films making up our corpus consistently foreground the symbolic relevance of culture-specific elements that act as key markers of ethnic identities in the multiethnic and immigrant environments they portray. Indeed, in the films' original dialogues, the strict correlation between ethnic culture and identity is linguistically enacted by the characters' recurrent use of intrasentential code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993) from they-code (i.e. L1, if considered from a translational perspective) to we-code (i.e. L3) when referring to their background sociocultural, historical, religious, moral as well as culinary traditions that function both as crucial entries to their cultural and linguistic memory and as powerful metaphors for emotional expressivity. This highlights a crucial connection between culture and language, an issue that has been extensively dealt with in both Sociolinguistics and Translation Studies. Whereas some scholars claim that "languages are inseparable from their cultures" (Cymbalista 2003: 22) and that "culture includes and affects language" (Cui 2012: 827), thus implying both linguistic and cultural untranslatability when cultural and linguistic disparities between distinct societies are at stake, others argue that a language is not as much a part of a culture but rather a vehicle of cultural specificity (Hatim, Mason 1990), thus considering language and culture as autonomous, though interrelated, and suggesting that what is expressed in a source language, though culturally-embedded, can still be transposed into a target language (cf. Sadkowska 2016).

Such intertwining between culture and language is always brought to the fore in multicultural, multilingual audiovisual products, traditionally intended as crucial bearers of sociocultural meanings that, thanks to their worldwide distribution, can be spread cross-culturally among foreign audiences. From this perspective, in considering audiovisual translation as

a “cultural-mediation instrument” (Oltra Ripoll 2005: 75) endowed with an “enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures” (Venuti 1998: 67), the rendering of cultural references is of vital importance for a proper reception of the original film in a target culture. This though proves to be one of the most challenging areas in the field of screen translation as cultural elements are deeply stuck into a sociocultural and linguistic dimension often unfamiliar to the target viewers, all the more so when the films at stake are polyglot films strictly related to specific cultural, often ‘exotic’, backgrounds and pervaded by multilingual dialogues that massively introduce to the vocabulary of the audience new cultural notions conveyed by culture-specific lexical items.

The pervasive cinematic presence of culture-specific terms, also referred to as cultural words (Newmark 1988), culture-bound references (Pedersen 2005) or extralinguistic culture-bound references (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007), has led audiovisual translation scholars to investigate what their specificity consists of in order to identify the transfer procedures that can best render them in another language/culture. Culture-specific terms have been variously described as elements that distinguish themselves for their heterogeneity (Finkel 1962) in a specific lexical context, as words denoting elements typical of a peculiar geographical, historical and social environment that carry a national or local colouring (Vlahov, Florin 1969). From a translational point of view, they may be variously intended as “words denoting concepts and things that another language has not considered worth mentioning, or that are absent from the life or consciousness of the other nation” (Leemets 1992: 475), as references to “a cultural entity which, due to its distance from the target culture, is characterized by a sufficient degree of opacity for the target reader to constitute a problem” (Mailhac 1996: 133-134), as “those textually actualized items whose function and connotations in a source text involve a translation problem in their transference to a target text, whenever this problem is a product of the non-existence of the referred item or of its different intertextual status in the cultural system of the readers of the target text” (Franco Aixelá 1996: 58), as “extralinguistic references to items that are tied up with a country’s culture, history, or geography, and tend therefore to pose serious translation challenges” (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007: 200). The core aspect all these definitions highlight is that culture-bound terms pose a series of problems and challenges in the translation process and are often considered, in terms of “translation crisis points”

(Pedersen 2005: 2) or “translational hurdles” (Chiaro 2009: 155), as untranslatable lexical items.

In trying to cope with the problems inherent in the screen translation of ethnocultural specifics and in order to indicate different translation procedures liable to be adopted for their intercultural and interlinguistic transfer, many scholars have proposed different taxonomies for their categorization (see Newmark 1988; Pedersen 2005; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007; Chiaro 2009; Díaz Cintas 2012; Ranzato 2016). Among the cultural categories most commonly considered as reference points are those proposed by Newmark (1988) based on various lexical fields associated to a culture-specific lexicon: ecology (i.e. flora, fauna, places); material culture (i.e. food and drink, artifacts, items of clothing, houses, means of transport); social culture (i.e. work and leisure); organizations, customs and activities (i.e. political and administrative references, monetary systems, units of measurement, institutions, religious and historical facts, holidays and festivities); gestures and habits (Newmark 1988).

The analytical and theoretical framework we use for our study is mainly based on the taxonomy proposed by Díaz Cintas and Remael, categorizing culture-bound references into geographical references (i.e. objects from physical geography, geographical objects, animal and plant species), ethnographic references (i.e. objects from daily life, measures, references to work, art and culture, descent) and sociopolitical references (i.e. references to administrative or territorial units, institutions and functions, religion, sociocultural life, military institutions and objects) (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007). In particular, we focus our attention on realistic references (cf. Ranzato 2016) relevant to: material, social and ethnolinguistic culture (see 3.2.1.); forms of address, greetings and formulaic expressions used in daily interactions (see 3.2.2.); religious and spiritual traditions (see 3.2.3.); geographical landmarks (see 3.2.4.); food and local products (3.2.5.). In our corpus of films, these references can be specifically intended as third culture references (Ranzato 2010, 2016), i.e. elements that do originally belong neither to the source culture (i.e. European and/or American) nor to the target culture (i.e. Italian) but to a third culture portrayed on the screen and linguistically conveyed by L3s used in instances of intrasentential code-switching.

3.2. The retention of third culture references: transferring intrasentential code-switching

An aspect that immediately stands out from the empirical comparative analysis of the films' scripts is that most occurrences of L3 cultural words in instances of intrasentential code-switching are left unaltered in the Italian dubbed version, following the translation, or non-translation, strategy that has been variously defined as borrowing (cf. Vinay, Darbelnet 1958-2002; Ivir 1987), transference (cf. Newmark 1988), retention (cf. Pedersen 2005; Gottlieb 2009), direct transfer (cf. Leppihalme 2011), loan (cf. Santamaria Guinot 2001; Chaume 2004; Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007), a stylistic method used to foreignize a text by introducing foreign terms with spelling-only adjustments being allowed. Such procedure results to be the most effective to retain the L3 terms' cultural colouring in representing the films' ethnocultural otherness, be it conveyed either by references relevant to sociocultural notions unknown to the target audience or by transcultural references (Pedersen 2005) relevant to cultural elements that were once familiar only to a specific culture but are now universally known (e.g. food, festivities, place names, historical events, religious traditions) as a consequence of the already discussed ever-expanding processes of globalization and mass migration leading to ever-increasing multicultural societies.

3.2.1. Material, social and ethnolinguistic culture

L3 cultural references to the material, social and ethnolinguistic culture distinctive of the foreign and immigrant characters portrayed in our corpus of films are always quoted with their original names in the Italian dubbed version, thus fully displaying the films' ethnocultural specificity. This category of cultural specifics includes references to modes of dress, to be observed especially in *Bend It Like Beckham* (4 items; 1, 2) and *East Is East* (2 items; 3).

(1)

Pinky	No, mum. I want my <i>choli</i> more fitted. That's the style, innit?	No, mamma. Io il <i>choli</i> lo voglio attillato. Va così, vero?	No, mom. I want <i>choli</i> more fitted. It is like this, isn't it?
-------	---	---	--

(2)

Mrs Paxton	[...] You know, we've had some lovely prints in this summer, you know, in swimwear and <i>sarong</i> and that, but she never wants to go shopping with me!	[...] Quest'estate c'erano dei completi bellissimi, e costumi da bagno, e <i>sarong</i> , eccetera, ma lei non vuole mai venire a fare spese con me!	This summer there were beautiful suits, and swimsuits, and <i>sarong</i> etcetera, but she never wants to go shopping with me!
------------	--	--	--

(3)

Mrs Shah	Where did you get this <i>sari</i> ?	Dove preso questo <i>sari</i> ?	Where did you get this <i>sari</i> ?
----------	--------------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------------------

In (1), (2), (3) the Hindi terms are left unaltered in the Italian dubbed version though only one of them, i.e. *sari*, refers to an item of clothing that is well-known in Italy; this transference procedure clearly plunges the viewers into the film's foreign dimension even though no hint at the characteristics of Asian traditional clothing is given.

The same procedure is applied to the names of objects and means of transport typical of the third cultures represented on the screen, as we can see in *The Mistress of Spices* when Haroun, a regular customer of Tilo's Indian Spice Bazaar in the San Francisco Bay area, mentions *shikara*, a boat he and his father used in Kashmir to accompany tourists (4),

(4)

Haroun	Back in Kashmir we are boatmen. My grandfather, my father and I, we would row our <i>shikara</i> for tourists, from America, Europe.	Nel Kashmir facevo il barcaiolo. Mio nonno, mio padre ed io guidavamo la nostra <i>shikara</i> per i turisti. Venivano dall'America, dall'Europa.	In Kashmir I was a boatman. My grandfather, my father and I would row our <i>shikara</i> for tourists. They came from America, from Europe.
--------	--	---	---

in *My Life in Ruins* when Georgia says to her Greek landlord Genaki that she left the rent for him on the *krevet*, the Greek term for "table" (5);

(5)

Genaki	Where is the rent?	E dov'è l'affitto?	And where's the rent?
Georgia	I left it on the <i>kreveti</i> .	L'ho lasciato sul <i>kreveti</i> .	I left it on the <i>kreveti</i> .

and in *Eat Pray Love* when Felipe, talking to Liz, refers to his passport using the object's Portuguese name, *passaporte* (6).

(6)

Felipe	I have 46 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .	Io ho 46 timbri sul mio <i>passaporte</i> .	I have 46 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .
Liz	I happen to have 49 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .	E io invece ne ho 49 di timbri sul mio <i>passaporte</i> .	And I have instead 49 stamps on my <i>passaporte</i> .

Similarly, in *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* the *tuk-tuk*, the typical Indian means of transport, is frequently mentioned (9 occurrences) to underline the exotic environment the British retirees find themselves in during their stay in India (7, 8).

(7)

Evelyn	What exactly is a <i>tuk-tuk</i> ?	Qualcuno sa che cos'è il <i>tuk-tuk</i> ?	Does anyone know what a <i>tuk-tuk</i> is?
--------	------------------------------------	---	--

(8)

Graham	The bus will drop us in the centre of town. We can take <i>tuk-tuks</i> the rest of the way!	L'autobus ci porterà fino al centro della città. Poi da lì prenderemo i <i>tuk-tuk</i> fino all'hotel.	The bus will take us to the centre of town. Then from there we will take the <i>tuk-tuk</i> all the way to the hotel.
--------	--	--	---

In (8) it is interesting to observe that the original version adapts the Thai term to the English syntactic rules of plural formation, appending the final *-s* of the plural, whereas the Italian dubbed version maintains the lexeme in its original morphological form, as Italian pluralization rules are not applied to non-Italian words borrowed from other languages.

Elements relevant to traditions, cultural beliefs, moral principles, social and historical facts peculiar to specific countries are equally brought to the fore in all the films included in our corpus (17 items), as we can see in *The Mistress of Spices* when Tilo explains one of her clients that the Indian ceremonial art form called *mehndi*⁴ is typically done on brides during weddings (9).

(9)

Myisha	Do you know how to do this? My girlfriend says it's an Indian thing.	Sapresti come fare uno di questi? Mia sorella dice che è una cosa indiana.	Do you know how to do one of these? My sister says it's an Indian thing.
Tilo	<i>Mehndi</i> . When are you getting married?	<i>Mehndi</i> . Quando ti devi sposare?	<i>Mehndi</i> . When are you getting married?
Myisha	What's that got to do with anything?	Perchè me lo chiedi?	Why do you ask me?
Tilo	<i>Mehndi</i> is normally done on brides.	Il <i>mehndi</i> di solito viene fatto alla sposa.	<i>Mehndi</i> is usually done on the bride.

In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* and *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* Hindi references to Indian civilization and historic architectural treasures are recurrently made to attract both the British characters and the audiences. In particular, at the beginning of *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, Evelyn, Jean and Madge are fascinated by the Marigold Hotel description which celebrates Indian history making a reference to the period of the *Raj*, i.e. the British government in India before 1947 (10).

(10)

Jean	Indeed the entire building exudes historical ambience and transports one	Nel nostro palazzo vi sembrerà di tornare indietro nel tempo e rivivere	In our palace you'll have the sensation to go back in time and
------	--	---	--

⁴ *Mehndi* is a form of body art from Ancient India, in which decorative designs are temporarily drawn on a person's body, using a paste created from the powdered dry leaves of the henna plant.

	back in time to the proud tradition of the <i>Raj</i> .	l'atmosfera storica dell'antica tradizione del <i>Raj</i> .	relive the historical atmosphere of the ancient <i>Raj</i> tradition.
--	---	---	---

Likewise, when Madge visits the Viceroy Club and asks an elderly secretary if there are suitable bachelors among the club members, she quotes the term *mahārājas* to refer to the prototype of the charming, wealthy man she would like to meet, thus proving to be ready to enter the Indian environment also from a linguistic point of view (11).

(11)

Madge	[...] Perhaps you could tell me a little about the clientele. Any <i>mahārājas</i> ? Wealth widowed land-owners?	[...] Può dirmi qualcosa di più sui soci? Ci sono dei <i>mahārāja</i> vedovi? O dei ricchi latifondisti scapoli?	[...] Could you tell me something more about the members? Are there widowed <i>mahārāja</i> ? Or wealthy single landowners?
-------	--	--	---

The beauty of Indian art is particularly celebrated in *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* when Douglas uses praising terms to describe the *Rajasthani* carvings of some monuments typical of the Western Indian state of Rajasthan (12).

(12)

Douglas	[...] Now please admire these beautifully carved pillars... that are engraved with typical <i>Rajasthani</i> carvings...	[...] Adesso ammirate queste colonne meravigliosamente scolpite... che sono incise con tipici intagli <i>Rajasthani</i> ...	[...] Now admire these beautifully carved pillars... that are engraved with typical <i>Rajasthani</i> carvings...
---------	--	---	---

Also references to culturally embedded lifestyles and ethical principles are preserved unaltered (10 items), with their meaning explained either by the character who mentions them or by other characters in the course of the conversation. In *My Life in Ruins* the term *kefi*, the Greek

word for “mojio”, is often used (7 occurrences) both as a generic reference to Greek culture and way of living (13) and as a feeling Georgia lacks at the beginning of the film (14, 15) and that she finds again when she falls in love with Procopi (16).

(13)

Georgia	[...] People reconnect with their souls. They find their <i>mojo</i> . In Greece, it's called <i>kefi</i> , which means “passion, joy, spirit”.	[...] Qui le persone si riconnettono con il proprio spirito. Ritrovano la gioia di vivere. In Grecia questo si chiama <i>kefi</i> , che significa “passione, gioia, spirito”.	[...] Here people reconnect with their souls. They find their <i>mojo</i> again. In Greece this is called <i>kefi</i> , which means “passion, joy, spirit”.
---------	---	---	---

(14)

Maria	Woman. Where is your <i>kefi</i> ?	Donna. Dov'è il tuo <i>kefi</i> ?	Woman. Where is your <i>kefi</i> ?
Georgia	I have <i>kefi</i> . I have lots of <i>kefi</i> .	Ce l'ho il <i>kefi</i> . Ho un sacco di <i>kefi</i> .	I have <i>kefi</i> . I have a lot of <i>kefi</i> .

(15)

Maria	That girl. That girl has no <i>kefi</i> !	Quella ragazza. Quella ragazza non ha <i>kefi</i> !	That girl. That girl has no <i>kefi</i> !
-------	---	---	---

(16)

Maria	You found your <i>kefi</i> .	Hai trovato il tuo <i>kefi</i> .	You found your <i>kefi</i> .
Georgia	Yes.	Sì.	Yes.

As far as moral values are concerned, both versions of *Ae Fond Kiss* include Punjabi words referring to such Pakistani and Indian principles as *izzat* (17) and *zakah* (18).

(17)

Rukhsana	[...] See, we have this concept called, ehm, <i>izzat</i> , which I	[...] Noi abbiamo un codice, che chiamiamo <i>izzat</i> .	[..] We have a code that we call <i>izzat</i> . More or less it
----------	---	---	---

	guess is family honour, and that's really important to-to people. [...]	Più o meno corrisponde all'onore familiare, e questo è molto importante per la nostra gente. [...]	corresponds to family honour, and this is very important to our people. [...]
--	---	--	---

(18)

Casim	Exactly. There's still so much I'm proud of. D'you know what <i>zakah</i> means?	Esattamente e ci sono molte altre cose di cui vado fiero. Sai cosa significa <i>zakah</i> ?	Exactly and there are many other things I'm proud of. Do you know what <i>zakah</i> means?
Roisin	((shakes her head))	((shakes her head))	
Casim	It's when you give a percentage of your income to the poor. My dad, still to this day, gives exactly to the penny to asylum seekers.	È quando dai una percentuale dei tuoi averi ai poveri. Mio padre, ancora oggi, devolve ai senza tetto una parte dei suoi guadagni.	It's when you give a percentage of your income to the poor. My father, still to this day, gives a part of his income to asylum seekers.

In (17), Rukhsana is asking Roisin to split up with Casim as their relationship dishonours both him and his family, and she explains to the Catholic girl the meaning of *izzat*, the Punjabi expression for family honour that has a crucial importance for Rukhsana and her family. Rukhsana's use of intrasentential code-switching to refer to her background heritage's ethical principles shows that just as language preference serves as a device with which Rukhsana may categorize herself, it also serves as a device with which she categorizes others, both ascribing group membership and excluding Roisin from the world she and her brother Casim belong to. In (18) it is Casim that, using English/Italian as metalanguages, explains to Roisin the meaning of another term, i.e. *zakah*, imbued with Pakistani ethics as referring to a moral code at the core of his family life; in this case, differently from what we observed in (17), his quoting the Punjabi lexical item can be seen as an attempt to integrate Roisin into his world from both an ideological and a linguistic point of view.

Ideological integration as realized by means of linguistic devices (as observed in excerpt 18) is further to be observed in many films portraying intercultural relationships between characters belonging to different ethnic groups and, in particular, between a member of an immigrant community and a member of the host society. In these cases, the bilingual immigrant speakers, in considering their mother tongue as a vital part of their culture and as deeply entrenched in their cultural cognition, often integrate single linguistic units from their we-code within speech acts in the they-code, using we-code expressions to refer to their ethnolinguistic perception of the world. This can be noticed, for instance, in *Real Women Have Curves* as far as the relationship between Ana and Jimmy is concerned: when they kiss for the first time, Ana explains that the Spanish equivalent of “kiss” is *beso*, so as to make Jimmy feel closer to her Mexican roots (19).

(19)

Ana	No, that's a <i>beso</i> . A kiss.	No, questo è un <i>beso</i> . Un bacio.	No, this is a <i>beso</i> . A kiss.
-----	------------------------------------	---	-------------------------------------

Likewise, when Ana and Jimmy are on the point of making love for the first time and Ana cannot take her shirt off as her arm gets caught in its sleeve, Jimmy asks what the Spanish equivalent of “damn” is, Ana replies quoting the Spanish term *pinche* and Jimmy, in turn, uses the Spanish term as an attributive adjective of the English noun “shirt” when saying “*Pinche* shirt!”, thus creating a perfect combination of Spanish and English lexical items to let Ana know that he really wants to enter her world also from the linguistic point of view (20).

(20)

Ana	Oh damn shirt.	Oh maledetta maglietta.	Oh damn shirt.
Jimmy	How do you say “damn” in Spanish?	Come si dice “maledetto” in spagnolo?	How do you say “damn” in Spanish?
Ana	<i>Pinche</i> .	<i>Pinche</i> .	<i>Pinche</i> .
Jimmy	<i>Pinche</i> shirt!	<i>Pinche</i> maglietta!	<i>Pinche</i> shirt!

Similarly, in *Spanglish*, the use of Spanish in instances of intrasentential code-switching often pertains to L3 references whose main

aim is to bring two different worlds closer together by means of strictly linguistic devices that do not imply further allusions to specific ethnocultural aspects, as can be seen when John and Flor interact and John repeats a Spanish word uttered by the woman (21).

(21)

Flor	Engreído.	Engreído.	
John	Oh, boy, <i>engreído</i> is gonna be rough. ((turns to Cristina))	Oh mamma, <i>engreído</i> mi sa che è tosto. ((turns to Cristina))	Oh my God, I think <i>engreído</i> is rough.
Cristina	Smug!	Prepotente!	Smug!

In (21) Flor angrily addresses John using the term *engreído*, the Spanish equivalent of “smug”, a word that John repeats inferring its sense both from the conversational context and from Flor’s anger; the maintenance of this instance of discourse-related intrasentential code-switching in both versions perfectly succeeds in conveying not only the connotative force distinctive of Flor’s utterance but also, and primarily, John’s attempt to gradually move towards Flor’s linguistic, and therefore sociocultural, dimension.

Two films included in our corpus that particularly emphasize the importance of the immigrant characters’ linguistic heritage are *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*; indeed, Gus Portokalos recurrently claims that every English word has a Greek root. In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* we see him explaining the etymology of the words “arachnophobia” and “kimono” (22, 23).

(22)

Gus Portokalos	How about “arachnophobia”? <i>Aráchnē</i> that comes from the Greek word for spider... and “fobia” is <i>phobia</i> , it means “fear”. So, “fear of spiders”. There you go!	Che ve ne pare di “aracnofobia”? <i>Aráchnē</i> che viene da parola greca vuol dire “ragno”... e “fobia” è <i>phobia</i> , significa “paura”. Perciò “paura dei ragni”. Ed ecco	How about “arachnophobia”? <i>Aráchnē</i> that comes from Greek word means spider... and “fobia” is <i>phobia</i> , it means “fear”. So, “fear of spiders”. And there you go!
----------------	---	---	---

		qua!	
--	--	------	--

(23)

Gus Portokalos	Of course, “kimono” is come from the Greek word <i>himonas</i> , which means “winter”. So, what do you wear in the wintertime... to stay warm? A robe. You see, “robe”, “kimono”. There you go!	Ma certo, “kimono”! Quello viene dalla parola greca <i>himonas</i> e significa “inverno”. Perciò, che cosa vi mettete quando è inverno per stare calde? Un paltò. Vedete? Paltò, kimono. Ed ecco qua!	Of course, “kimono”! That comes from the Greek word <i>himonas</i> and means “winter”. So, what do you wear in wintertime to stay warm? A robe. You see? Robe, kimono. And there you go!
-------------------	---	---	--

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* also Gus’s nephew Costa is portrayed as obsessed with Greek words, as we can see when he states that *chimichanga*, the name of a deep-fried burrito popular in Tex-Mex and Southwestern US cuisine, comes from Greek (24).

(24)

Costa	Sure. <i>Chimi</i> comes from the Greek word <i>kima</i> which means “spicy beef”. And <i>changa</i> comes from the Greek word <i>tsanta</i> , which means “purse.” So meat that is shaped like a purse. <i>Chimichanga</i> . There you go.	Certo. <i>Chimi</i> viene dalla parola greca <i>kima</i> , che vuol dire “manzo piccante”. E <i>changa</i> viene dalla parola greca <i>tsanta</i> , che vuol dire “borsa”. Perciò carne fatta a forma di borsa. <i>Chimichanga</i> . Ecco fatto.	Sure. <i>Chimi</i> comes from the Greek word <i>kima</i> , which means “spicy beef”. And <i>changa</i> comes from the Greek word <i>tsanta</i> , which means “purse”. So meat that is shaped like a purse. <i>Chimichanga</i> . There you go.
-------	---	--	---

In the same film, Gus refers to Toula’s American husband Ian as to a *xeno*, i.e. “foreigner”, using the Greek term (2 occurrences) to underline that, though he has accepted Ian as his son-in-law, he still considers him as an out-group member of his (now) extended family (25).

(25)

Gus Portokalos	Toula, find your daughter a Greek boyfriend before she does what you did.	Toula, trova a tua figlia un fidanzato greco prima che faccia come te.	Toula, find your daughter a Greek boyfriend before she does what you did.
Toula	What the...	Ma che...	But what...
Gus Portokalos	You married a <i>xeno</i> .	Hai sposato uno <i>xeno</i> .	You married a <i>xeno</i> .
Toula	My husband!	Mio marito!	My husband!
Gus Portokalos	He's a nice boy, very nice, but not Greek, a <i>xeno</i> .	È un bravo ragazzo, molto bravo, ma non è greco, è <i>xeno</i> .	He's a nice guy, very nice, but he is not Greek, he is <i>xeno</i> .

An empirical diachronic analysis of the transfer modes adopted for the L3 in the Italian dubbed version of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (released in 2002) and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (released in 2016) highlights an interesting fact: the term *xeno* is used also in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (5 occurrences) but it is always translated with its standard Italian equivalent *straniero* (“foreigner”) (26-28).

(26)

Gus Portokalos	Now we have a boyfriend, in the house. Is he a nice Greek boy? Oh no no no, no Greek! No Greek! A <i>xeno</i> ! A <i>xeno</i> with a big long hair on top of his head!	Ora abbiamo un fidanzato, in casa. È un bravo ragazzo greco? Oh no no no, non è greco! Non è greco! È uno straniero! Ma uno straniero con tanti capelli lunghi sopra la testa!	Now we have a boyfriend, in the house. Is he a nice Greek boy? Oh no no no, he's no Greek! He's no Greek. He's a foreigner. But a foreigner with a lot of long hair on top of his head!
----------------	--	--	---

(27)

Gus Portokalos	[...] My daughter engaged to a <i>xeno</i> ! I always think	[...] Mia figlia fidanzata con uno straniero! Ho	[...] My daughter engaged to a foreigner! I've
----------------	---	--	--

	she's going to be married in the Greek Orthodox Church. Why is she doing this to me?	sempre pensato che si sposava nella chiesa greco-ortodossa. Perché fa questo a me?	always thought she got married in the Greek-Orthodox Church. Why is she doing this to me?
--	--	--	---

(28)

Gus Portokalos	[...] That family is like a piece of toast. No honey, no jam, just dry. My daughter, my daughter gonna marry Ian Miller. A <i>xeno</i> . A <i>xeno</i> with a toast family.	[...] Quella famiglia è come il pane secco. Senza miele, senza marmellata, asciutte. Mia figlia, mia figlia sposerà Ian Miller. Uno straniero. Uno straniero con una famiglia di rinsecchiti.	[...] That family is like dry bread. Without honey, without jam, dry. My daughter, my daughter is going to marry Ian Miller. A foreigner. A foreigner with a dry family.
----------------	---	---	--

In (26-28) the dubbing and standardization of the Greek term in the Italian version of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* deprives the target audience of the strongly felt sense of Greekness that is instead distinctive of the film's protagonists and is always conveyed in the Italian dubbed version of its sequel, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, whose Italian translator/dialogue adaptor seems to follow the recently emerged tendency, in the field of the audiovisual translation of multilingualism, to stick to the original audiovisual product's foreign ethnolinguistic flavour (as already discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.; see 3.3. for in-depth discussion on the elimination of intrasentential code-switching in dub).

3.2.2. Forms of address, greetings and formulaic expressions

Ethnographic references made by means of intrasentential code-switching are maintained unaltered also when L3 greetings, terms of endearment, interjections, exclamations and formulaic expressions are used in the course of exchanges in the L1/L2 (covering 43% of the total items), leading to specific speech patterns that, especially when immigrant characters are at stake, entail the spontaneous use of the we-code as the

linguistic correlative of the concepts of ‘family’, ‘home’, ‘homeland’, thus fulfilling code-switching’s emotive and phatic functions.

3.2.2.1. Address terms, pet names and honorifics

As far as forms of address are concerned, they are always borrowed in their original form in both versions of the films under investigation (137 items) and are used both by speakers with different ethnicities in the course of cross-cultural interactions (as in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*) and by immigrant characters in the course of intimate, in-group conversations (as in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, *Real Women Have Curves*, *The Hundred-Foot Journey*).

In *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, the Spanish vocative *señor*, the equivalent of “Mr”, is used by American characters when addressing Spanish characters in order to conform to the Spanish environment they find themselves in. This can be seen when Vicky, at the beginning of the film, rejects Juan Antonio’s invitation to spend a weekend in Oviedo with him and addresses him using *señor*, generally employed to show respect and politeness but here used with a mocking tone implying derogatory connotations (29).

(29)

Vicky to Juan Antonio	Jesus, this guy, he doesn’t beat around the bush. Look, <i>señor</i> , maybe in a different life.	Mio Dio, questo qui non ha mezza misure. Senta, <i>señor</i> , magari in un’altra vita.	My God, this guy doesn’t have half-measures. Listen, <i>señor</i> , maybe in another life.
-----------------------	---	---	--

Affectionate forms of address and terms of endearment for parents, sons/daughters and close relatives are extensively to be found in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, where they act as linguistic reinforcements of family ties and whose maintenance in both versions of the films fulfils emotive as well as pragmatic functions.

In *Bend It Like Beckham*, Mrs Bhamra often addresses Jess, her youngest daughter, with the Punjabi lexical item *Chi Chi Chi* (3 occurrences), meaning “little finger”, a term used to symbolize strength and unity that derives from the Hindu belief that Lord Krishna lifted an entire mountain on his little finger so that his poor friends could take shelter. But, especially in British contexts, this term is also often used with negative connotations to refer to a person of mixed British and Indian descent, and these could be the implications it entails also in this film as Mrs Bhamra uses it with angry tones to reproach her daughter Jess, who constantly breaks her Indian family rules with her ‘too British’ lifestyle (30, 31).

(30)

Mrs Bhamra	<i>Chi Chi Chi.</i> Cigarette!	<i>Chi Chi Chi.</i> Sigaretta!	<i>Chi Chi Chi.</i> Cigarette!
------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------

(31)

Mrs Bhamra	<i>Chi!</i> We’re going to pray to God to give you both sense, not bring back food for you!	<i>Chi!</i> Noi andiamo a pregare Dio che ti dia un po’ di buon senso, non certo a prendere da mangiare!	<i>Chi!</i> We’re going to pray God to give you some common sense, not to take food for you!
------------	---	--	--

In this film, a Hindi-Punjabi word imbued with loving connotations that adults frequently use when addressing their children is *putar*, i.e. “child; son; daughter”, whereas children addressing adults recurrently use *massiji*, i.e. “aunt”, formed with the gender-neutral honorific suffix *ji*, traditionally appended to names and terms of address to show respect to one’s interlocutor (32).

(32)

Tony’s mother	[...] And pray for me, that I get a lovely daughter-in-law like you for my Tony, uh <i>putar?</i>	[...] E prega per me che io possa trovare una nuora come te per il mio Tony, ah, <i>putar?</i>	[...] And pray for me that I could find a daughter-in-law like you for my Tony, uh <i>putar?</i>
Tony	Mum!	Mamma!	Mom!
Pinky	Ah, thank you,	Oh, grazie, <i>massiji!</i>	Oh, thank you,

	<i>massiji!</i> Okay, bye eh.	Arrivederci, eh.	<i>massiji!</i> Goodbye, eh.
--	-------------------------------	------------------	------------------------------

Similarly, the Hindi-Punjabi honorific *baba*, i.e. “father; grandfather; wise man”, is often adopted as a mark of respect both by children to address their father and by wives to address their husbands, as is the case with Mrs Bhamra when talking to her husband in (33) and (34).

(33)

Mr Bhamra	I said I want to speak to them!	Ho detto che voglio parlare con loro!	I said I want to speak to them!
Mrs Bhamra	Okay, <i>baba</i> .	Okay, <i>baba</i> .	Okay, <i>baba</i> .

(34)

Mrs Bhamra	Okay, okay, fine <i>baba</i> . Let’s just do it before something else goes wrong!	Okay, okay, va bene <i>baba</i> . Dobbiamo sbrigarci prima che succeda qualcos’altro!	Okay, okay, fine <i>baba</i> . We must hurry up before something else goes wrong!
------------	---	---	---

The equivalent Hindi honorific *papa*, meaning “father” and derived from baby talk, is extensively used in *The Hundred-Foot Journey* (58 occurrences) by Hassan, his brother and his sister to address their father (32, 33).

(32)

Hassan	<i>Papa</i> , come on!	Forza <i>papa!</i>	Come on <i>papa!</i>
--------	------------------------	--------------------	----------------------

(33)

Mansur	<i>Papa</i> , no, you will not barter. We will just pay the rate like normal people.	<i>Papa</i> , no, non si contratta stavolta. Paghiamo la tariffa come le persone normali.	<i>Papa</i> , no, we won’t bargain this time. We will pay the rate like normal people.
--------	--	---	--

Likewise, the Hindi affectionate address term *mummyji*, i.e. “mummy”, is used in both *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (9 occurrences;

34-36) and *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (7 occurrences; 37-39) everytime Sonny speaks to his mother in many different conversational contexts.

(34)

Sonny	[...] I have a dream <i>mummyji</i> . A most brilliant one. To out-source old age [...]	[...] Io ho un sogno <i>mummyji</i> . È un progetto che può funzionare. La delocalizzazione della vecchiaia [...]	[...] I have a dream <i>mummyji</i> . It's a project that can work. The relocation of old age [...]
-------	---	---	---

(35)

Sonny	Success does not happen overnight <i>mummyji</i> . This is blue sky thinking and it requires long-term strategy and patience.	Il successo non arriva così dall'oggi al domani <i>mummyji</i> . Chi lo crede è un pazzo. Serve una strategia a lungo termine e molta pazienza.	Success does not come overnight <i>mummyji</i> . Who thinks so is crazy. You need long-term strategy and a lot of patience.
-------	---	---	---

(36)

Sonny	It takes teamwork to make a dream work, <i>mummyji</i> .	Ci vuole un lavoro di squadra per realizzare un sogno, <i>mummyji</i> .	It takes teamwork to achieve a dream, <i>mummyji</i> .
-------	--	---	--

(37)

Sonny	Don't speak to the guests <i>mummyji</i> .	Non disturbare gli ospiti, <i>mummyji</i> .	Don't disturb the guests, <i>mummyji</i> .
-------	--	---	--

(38)

Sonny	<i>Mummyji</i> , Guy Chambers has chosen you. A great mystery for another time. But the moment he	<i>Mummyji</i> , Guy Chambers ha scelto te. Questo è un grande mistero da risolvere. Quando ti fa un cenno devi	<i>Mummyji</i> , Guy Chambers has chosen you. This is a great mystery to solve. When he beckons, you must
-------	---	---	---

	beckons, you must join him on the dance floor to throw some shapes.	raggiungerlo sulla pista da ballo e scatenarti con lui.	join him on the dance floor and rock and roll with him.
--	---	---	---

(39)

Sonny	What's left of our hopes for the hotel are in his hands, <i>mummyji</i> , so, please, take one for the team.	Ciò che resta delle nostre speranze per l'hotel è nelle sue mani, <i>mummyji</i> , perciò fai uno sforzo per la squadra.	What's left of our hopes for the hotel is in his hands, <i>mummyji</i> , so make an effort for the team.
-------	--	--	--

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (44) and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (40-43, 45-49) the importance of family ties is always emphasized also from the linguistic point of view as the members of the Portokalos family habitually address each other using the Greek terms of address *papou*, i.e. “grandfather” (6 occurrences; 40-43), *yiayia*, i.e. “granny, grandma” (5 occurrences; 42-44), *mana-yiayia*, i.e. “grand-grandmother” (7 occurrences; 45, 46), *thia*, i.e. “aunt” (15 occurrences; 47-48), *thio*, i.e. “uncle” (5 occurrences; 49).

(40)

Paris	Bye bye <i>papou!</i>	Ciao <i>papou!</i>	Bye <i>papou!</i>
-------	-----------------------	--------------------	-------------------

(41)

Toula	Paris, <i>papou</i> didn't mean to say anything to hurt you, you are beautiful, str-beautiful, of course you don't look old, he just says things like that... to me too! [...]	Paris, <i>papou</i> non voleva dire niente che ti ferisse, sei bellissima, str-bellissima, certo che non sembri vecchia, lui dice cose così... anche a me! [...]	Paris, <i>papou</i> didn't mean to say anything to hurt you, you are beautiful, str-beautiful, of course you don't look old, he just says things like that... to me too! [...]
-------	--	--	--

(42)

Paris	So, <i>yiayia</i> , are you and <i>papou</i> really gonna get married now?	Allora, <i>yiayia</i> , tu e <i>papou</i> vi sposerete per davvero?	So, <i>yiayia</i> , are you and <i>papou</i> really gonna get married?
-------	--	---	--

(43)

Paris to her father	You track me, all day. Mom's needy, <i>papou</i> wants to marry me off, <i>yiayia</i> constantly tells me to never ever let a boy touch my <i>poulaki</i> because "once he feels it, he wants it".	Tu mi pedini, tutto il giorno. Mamma è ansiosa, <i>papou</i> vuole darmi in sposa, <i>yiayia</i> costantemente mi dice di non lasciare che un ragazzo tocchi la mia <i>poulaki</i> perché "una volta sfiorata la vuole".	You track me, all day. Mom is anxious, <i>papou</i> wants to marry me off, <i>yiayia</i> constantly tells me to never let a boy touch my <i>poulaki</i> because "once he brushes against it, he wants it".
---------------------	--	--	--

(44)

Gus Portokalos	Look, everybody. Look who's back again.	Guardate, guardate chi è tornata.	Look, look who's come back.
Toula and Maria	Hi, <i>yiayia</i> .	Ciao, <i>yiayia</i> .	Hi, <i>yiayia</i> .
Gus Portokalos	Sit down, <i>yiayia</i> . Very good.	Siediti, <i>yiayia</i> . Bravissima.	Sit down, <i>yiayia</i> .

(45)

Marianti	Yeah, we had to stop and pick up <i>mana-yiayia</i> . But... where is she?	Sì, siamo passati a prendere <i>mana-yiayia</i> . Ma... dov'è?	Yeah, we went and picked up <i>mana-yiayia</i> . But... where is she?
Ian	<i>Mana-yiayia!</i>	<i>Mana-yiayia!</i>	
Toula	<i>Mana-yiayia!</i>	<i>Mana-yiayia!</i>	

(46)

Paris	<i>Mana-yiayia</i> , I'm gonna stay home for college.	<i>Mana-yiayia</i> , resterò qui per il college.	<i>Mana-yiayia</i> , I'm gonna stay here for college.
-------	---	--	---

(47)

Toula to Voula	Hi, <i>thia</i> .	Ciao, <i>thia</i> .	Hi, <i>thia</i> .
----------------	-------------------	---------------------	-------------------

(48)

Athena to Voula	Yeah, convince her to just go to the church and get it done, <i>thia</i> .	Sì, convincila ad andare in chiesa a farlo e basta, <i>thia</i> .	Yes, convince her to go to the church and get it done, <i>thia</i> .
-----------------	--	---	--

(49)

Toula to Gus	Well, you could have called <i>thio</i> Panos in Greece.	Beh, potevi chiamare <i>thio</i> Panos in Grecia.	Well, you could call <i>thio</i> Panos in Greece.
--------------	--	---	---

In (40-49) the pervasive presence of Greek affectionate terms of address in both versions clearly illustrates that Greek functions as the linguistic correlative of the Portokaloses' view of their family as an entity within which individuals are mostly identified with their family roles, evoked by their Greek names, something that always brings their Greek heritage to the fore. This aspect is further emphasized by the presence, in (43), of the Greek term *poulaki*, a diminutive meaning "little bird" derived from baby talk and referred to the female genitalia, used by Paris, Toula's daughter and a third-generation immigrant, in an instance of unmarked, metaphorical intrasentential code-switching.

L3 pet names and terms of endearment are likewise often used in the original version of many of the films under study (13 items) and mostly preserved in the films' Italian dubbed version, thus fulfilling code-switching's emotive function. Punjabi pet names are to be found, for instance, in *Ae Fond Kiss* (7 items) when Casim compares Roisin first to a *khotee*, i.e. butterfly, and then to a *durdou*, i.e. frog (50).

(50)

Casim	You're a <i>khotee</i> .	Sei una <i>khotee</i> .	You're a <i>khotee</i> .
Roisin	A <i>khotee</i> ? Is that a compliment?	Una <i>khotee</i> ? È un complimento?	A <i>khotee</i> ? Is that a compliment?
Casim	A lovely little <i>khotee</i> .	Una piccola dolce <i>khotee</i> .	A little sweet <i>khotee</i> .
Roisin	Ah.	Ah.	Ah.
Casim	Do you know what you are?	Anzi, sai cosa sei?	Or rather, do you know what you are?
Roisin	What?	Cosa?	What?
Casim	A <i>durdou</i> .	Una <i>durdou</i> .	A <i>durdou</i> .
Roisin	<i>Durdou</i> ? What's that?	Una <i>durdou</i> ? E cos'è?	A <i>durdou</i> ? And what's that?
Casim	Frog.	Una ranocchietta.	A little frog.

The term *durdou* is used again by Casim as a term of endearment when he leaves a voice message on Roisin's answering machine apologising after a quarrel with her (51).

(51)

Casim	Please call me when you get back in or if you're in, please pick up, honey. See you soon, my <i>durdou</i> .	Per favore richiamami quando torni a casa, o se ci sei alza questa cornetta. Fallo per me amore. A presto, <i>durdou</i> .	Please call me back when you get back home, or if you're in pick up this receiver. Do it out of love. See you soon, <i>durdou</i> .
-------	--	--	---

An interesting fact is that, at the end of the film, it is Roisin that uses this term to address Casim, in a sort of reversal of roles that indicates that Roisin's and Casim's worlds are now intertwined also from the linguistic point of view (52).

(52)

Roisin	I'll let you know. Crazy <i>durdou</i> .	Le farò sapere. Piccolo pazzo <i>durdou</i> .	I'll let you know. Little crazy <i>durdou</i> .
--------	--	---	---

In the Italian version of *East Is East*, where the prevailing tendency is to dub and translate Urdu forms of address into Italian (see 3.3.), some vocatives are instead borrowed in their original form when their culturally-embedded essence renders it difficult to find a pragmatic equivalent liable to convey (at least) similar nuances of meaning. This can be observed when Mark, inviting Abdul to drink something to celebrate the wedding of one of their co-workers, addresses him using the Urdu term *gunga* (2 occurrences), meaning “dumb” and generally referred to a person either speech-impaired or not willing to speak; in this case, Mark uses the term with ironical, and in a sense, affectionate tones implicitly referring to the fact that Abdul is considered, by the other men at his workplace, as shy and reserved (53).

(53)

Abdul	No, Mark, I don't drink.	No, grazie, io non bevo.	No, thanks, I don't drink.
Mark	((shouting)) <i>Gunga</i> , it's tradition! He's getting married tomorrow! Drink, <i>gunga</i> !	((shouting)) <i>Gunga</i> , è la tradizione! Domani si sposa! Dai, <i>gunga</i> !	<i>Gunga</i> , it's tradition! He's getting married tomorrow! Drink, <i>gunga</i> !

Neutral vocative expressions used as generic terms of address are instead to be found in both versions of *Real Women Have Curves*; the most recurrent one is *mujeres* (4 occurrences), i.e. “women”, prevailingly uttered by Ana's mother to address the women workers at the sewing factory in order to reinforce their common Mexican roots and their sense of being a community, a crucial sociocultural aspect conveyed to both audiences (54, 55).

(54)

Ana's mother	<i>Mujeres</i> , this is my daughter, Ana. You know, the one I always complain about.	<i>Mujeres</i> , questa è mia figlia Ana. Quella di cui mi lamento sempre.	<i>Mujeres</i> , this is my daughter, Ana. The one I always complain about.
--------------	---	--	---

(55)

Ana's mother	<i>Mujeres</i> , you are not going to believe this. I heard gossip at the Chapala Market.	<i>Mujeres</i> , non ci crederete mai. Ho sentito un pettegolezzo al Chapala Market.	<i>Mujeres</i> , you'll never believe this. I heard gossip at the Chapala Market.
--------------	---	--	---

As far as proper culture-specific honorifics are concerned, the term of Arabic origin *sahib*, meaning “holder, master, owner” and nowadays commonly employed to address a man in a position of authority, is used in both *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* and *East Is East*. In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, Graham asks his driver Pravesh to accompany him to visit a place particularly dear to his heart, as it is the place where he met his former lover Manoji many years before, and Pravesh intrasententially switches from English to Hindi using *sahib* to express his social deference to the British man (56).

(56)

Graham	This can't be right, surely?	No, il posto non è questo.	No, the place is not this one.
Pravesh	I am thinking so, <i>sahib</i> .	Io credo di sì, <i>sahib</i> .	I think so, <i>sahib</i> .

Similarly, in *East Is East*, *sahib* is used by Zaid to address his employer Iyaaz (57).

(57)

Zaid	Er, Iyaaz <i>sahib</i> , this film is not showing today.	Ehm, Iyaaz <i>sahib</i> , oggi non danno questo film.	Er, Iyaaz <i>sahib</i> , today they don't show this film.
Ella	Oh, well, never mind.	Oh, beh pazienza, non importa.	Oh, well never mind, it doesn't matter.
Iyaaz	<i>Auntyji</i> , no problem! Zaid? Change picture. Put on “Chaudvin Kha Chand”.	Zia, non c'è problema! Zaid? Cambia film. Metti “Chaudvin Kha Chand”.	Aunt, no problem! Zaid? Change picture. Put on “Chaudvin Kha Chand”.
Zaid	<i>Sahib</i> , the film is	<i>Sahib</i> , il film è già	<i>Sahib</i> , the film's

	already playing for half hour.	cominciato da mezz'ora.	da	already started for half an hour.
--	--------------------------------	-------------------------	----	-----------------------------------

In (57) the maintenance of the Hindi term in the Italian version provides the Italian audience with a faithful representation of the two men's asymmetrical relationship, based on Iyaaz's authority, on the one hand, and on Zaid's sense of inferiority, on the other hand, as expressed by his use of the we-code honorific.

In *The Hundred-Foot Journey* the Hindi honorific *bhaiya* is used in the original version and borrowed in its original form in the Italian dubbed version when Mrs Kadam, running through the crowded market of Mumbai along with his little son Hassan, tries to get the attention of the sea-urchins' seller and she addresses him using this term, generally employed as a form of respect both to address someone whose name you do not know and, in its meaning of "big brother", to address either one's elder brothers or any one older in age (58).

(58)

Mrs Kadam	Hassan, stay with me. <i>Bhaiya!</i> Hassan, come on! <i>Hindi</i>	Hassan, andiamo! <i>Bhaiya!</i> Hassan, sbrigati! <i>Hindi</i>	Hassan, come on! <i>Bhaiya!</i> Hassan, hurry up!
-----------	--	--	---

3.2.2.2. Greetings

L3 greetings represent another category of cultural specifics extensively used in the original version of the films under study (94 items) and always preserved unaltered in their Italian dubbed version; indeed, also in this case, as for the previously observed cases of culture-bound references, L3 greetings are stuck into specific ethnocultural contexts that are imbued with sociocultural, and in some cases religious, connotations and are strictly related to a terminology that is exclusive to their culture of origin.

As far as greetings entailing a spiritual import are concerned, the Arabic greeting *As-salām'alaykum*, i.e. "Peace be upon you" (59-62) and its typical response *Wa'alaykum as-salām*, i.e. "And upon you" (59), are often used as standard salutations among Muslims in *East Is East* (35 occurrences of *As-salām'alaykum*, 13 occurrences of *Wa'alaykum as-*

salām; 59-61) and *The Mistress of Spices* (2 occurrences of *As-salām 'alaykum*; 62).

(59)

Pohppa Khalid	<i>As-salām 'alaykum.</i>	<i>As-salām 'alaykum.</i>	
Abdul	<i>Wa 'alaykum as-salām.</i>	<i>Wa 'alaykum as-salām.</i>	

(60)

George	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Shah.	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Signor Shah.	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Shah.
Mr Shah	<i>Alaykum as-salām.</i>	<i>Alaykum as-salām.</i>	
George	Ella, Mr Shah.	Ella, il Signor Shah.	Ella, Mr Shah.
Mr Shah	<i>As-salām 'alaykum.</i>	<i>As-salām 'alaykum.</i>	
Ella	<i>Alaykum as-salām.</i> <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Shah.	<i>Alaykum as-salām.</i> <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Signor Shah.	<i>Alaykum as-salām.</i> <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Shah.

(61)

Earnest to Mr Khan	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Khan!	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Signor Khan!	<i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> Mr Khan!
--------------------	--------------------------------------	--	--------------------------------------

(62)

Hameeda to Tilo	[...] If we meet on the stairs, he just says “ <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> ” and hurries down.	[...] Se ci incontriamo mi dice solo “ <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> ” e scappa via.	If we meet he just says to me “ <i>As-salām 'alaykum</i> ” and runs away.
-----------------	---	---	---

The Sanskrit greeting *Namastè*, literally meaning “I bow to you” or “I bow to the divine in you”, used with relatives, guests or strangers as a respectful form both for greetings and farewells, is to be found in *Eat Pray Love* when Indian characters greet Liz at the *ashram* (2 occurrences; 63), in *The Hundred-Foot Journey* when used by Indian characters to address

French characters (3 occurrences; 64, 65), and in *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* when Indian characters greet either each other or their British interlocutors (14 occurrences; 66-68).

(63)

Man to Liz	<i>Namastè.</i> It has already started.	<i>Namastè.</i> Benvenuta.	<i>Namastè.</i> Welcome.
------------	---	----------------------------	--------------------------

(64)

Aisha	<i>Namastè.</i>	<i>Namastè.</i>	
-------	-----------------	-----------------	--

(65)

Mahira	<i>Namastè!</i>	<i>Namastè!</i>	
--------	-----------------	-----------------	--

(66)

Evelyn	<i>Namastè.</i>	<i>Namastè.</i>	
Market seller	<i>Namastè.</i>	<i>Namastè.</i>	

(67)

Sunny	<i>Namastè Anokhi.</i> <i>Hindi</i>	<i>Namastè Anokhi.</i> <i>Hindi</i>	
Anokhi	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Sunny	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Hindi</i>	
Anokhi	<i>Hindi. Namastè</i> madam.	<i>Hindi. Namastè</i> signora.	<i>Hindi. Namastè</i> madam.
Muriel Donnelly	<i>Namastè Anokhi.</i>	<i>Namastè Anokhi.</i>	

(68)

Evelyn	<i>Namastè.</i>	<i>Namastè.</i>	
Hari's cousins	<i>Namastè.</i>	<i>Namastè.</i>	

Also generic L3 greetings, used in the films under study both by immigrant characters in the host country and by speakers of different nationalities who meet and interact in multiethnic environments, are borrowed, in the films' Italian dubbed version, to convey the original film's ethnolinguistic foreignness. In *Spanglish*, the traditional Spanish

greetings *Hola* (7 occurrences) and *Buenos días* (4 occurrences) are adopted, in particular, by John Clasky and Bernice to address Flor (69, 70).

(69)

John	<i>Hola Flor!</i>	<i>Hola Flor!</i>	<i>Hola Flor!</i>
Flor	<i>Hola.</i>	<i>Hola.</i>	

(70)

Bernice	Hey! “ <i>Buenos días</i> ” Flor.	Ehi! “ <i>Buenos días</i> ” Flor.	Hey! “ <i>Buenos días</i> ” Flor.
---------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------------

In (69) and (70) the presence of spoken Spanish in the Italian dubbed version has a crucial significance as John’s and Bernice’s use of the Spanish greetings can be considered as the linguistic correlative of their desire both to overcome the barriers initially separating them from Flor and to make Flor feel at ease (or we could say ‘at home’) in their WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant) environment, a context that she clearly perceives, at least at the beginning of the film, as ‘alien’ also from a linguistic point of view.

Similarly, in *My Life in Ruins* Greek greetings such as *Kalimera*, i.e. “Good morning” (4 occurrences; 71, 72), and *Kalispera*, i.e. “Good evening” (4 occurrences; 73), are used by Georgia in an attempt to get closer to both Procopi (71) and her group of tourists (72, 73), to whom she teaches these typical Greek greetings adopting English as a metalanguage to explain their meaning (72, 73).

(71)

Procopi	<i>Kalimera.</i>	<i>Kalimera.</i>	
Georgia	<i>Kalimera.</i>	<i>Kalimera.</i>	

(72)

Georgia	<i>Kalimera, Kalimera</i> everyone. That’s Greek for “Good morning”.	<i>Kalimera, Kalimera</i> a tutti quanti. Che in Greco è “Buongiorno”.	<i>Kalimera, Kalimera</i> everyone. That in Greek is “Good morning”.
---------	--	--	--

(73)

Georgia	Okay, let’s learn	Bene, impariamo	Okay, let’s learn
---------	-------------------	-----------------	-------------------

	some more Greek. <i>Kalispera, kalispera</i> everyone. That's Greek for "Good evening".	un'altra parola greca. <i>Kalispera, kalispera</i> a tutti voi. In greco vuol dire "Buonasera".	another Greek word. <i>Kalispera, kalispera</i> to all of you. In Greek it means "Good evening".
Tourists	<i>Kalispera, kalispera.</i>	<i>Kalispera, kalispera.</i>	

Also in *Eat Pray Love* L3 greetings are mostly used with the aim of shortening the distance between characters of different nationalities, as can be observed when Felipe addresses Liz beginning his English utterance with *oi*, the Portuguese equivalent of "Hello", which derives from the imperative form of the verb *oír*, i.e. "to hear" or "to listen to", and that is commonly used not only as a greeting (as in 74) but also as an interjection during a conversation.

(74)

Felipe	<i>Oi</i> , can I buy you a drink?	<i>Oi</i> , posso offrirle da bere?	<i>Oi</i> , can I buy you something to drink?
--------	------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	---

The importance of L3 greetings to convey the filmic context's exoticism is particularly to the fore if we consider the Italian dubbed version of *Real Women Have Curves*. Indeed, interestingly enough, in this film where, as already observed in Chapter 2, the L3/we-code is mostly dubbed into Italian, Spanish greetings and blessings are instead mostly preserved at the spoken level with no form of translation provided. The most recurrent ones are: *Buenas* (3 occurrences), used by Estela, her grandfather and one of her cousins (75), *Buenas noches* (1 occurrence) used by Ana when greeting a group of Mexican street singers (76) and the blessing *Qué Dios te bendiga*, i.e. "God bless you" (1 occurrence), used by Ana's mother when parting from Normita who is going to leave the sewing factory to go back to Mexico and get married (77).

(75)

Estela	<i>Buenas.</i>	<i>Buenas.</i>	
Grandfather	<i>Buenas.</i>	<i>Buenas.</i>	
Cousin	<i>Buenas.</i>	<i>Buenas.</i>	

(76)

Ana	<i>Buenas noches.</i>	<i>Buenas noches.</i>	
-----	-----------------------	-----------------------	--

(77)

Ana's mother to Normita	<i>Qué Dios te bendiga.</i>	<i>Qué Dios te bendiga.</i>	
-------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	--

As excerpts (59-77) illustrate, the maintenance of L3 greetings in the films' Italian dubbed version serves a series of crucial functions within the films' overall architecture and, above all, it allows the target audience to fully experience the original sociolinguistic filmic context and to better understand the characters' interpersonal relationships, as language is primarily used to uncover mutual ties, to express in-group solidarity and shared identity, to create common linguistic and cultural dimensions within which linguistic and cultural difference can be overcome.

3.2.2.3. Formulaic expressions, exclamations and interjections

Another category of L3 culture-bound references whose ethnolinguistic peculiarities are preserved unaltered in the Italian dubbed versions of the films under study is represented by formulaic expressions, exclamations and interjections, used in a wide range of conversational contexts that are always assigned a distinctively exotic flavour.

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (78, 79, 83), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (81) and *My Life in Ruins* (80, 82), we can find many typical Greek phrases used both for emotional manifestations in everyday colloquial interactions and for celebrations (i.e. festivities, drinking salutations) such as *pame*, i.e. "let's go" (1 occurrence; 78); *opa*, i.e. a cheer of joy used during celebrations and dancing (10 occurrences; 79-81); *yia sou* i.e. "health to you" (6 occurrences; 81); *yiamas*, i.e. "cheers" (3 occurrences; 82); *Christos Anesti*, i.e. "Christ is risen!" (4 occurrences), and *Alithos Anesti*, i.e. "Truly He is risen!" (2 occurrences), used to say "Happy Easter" (83).

(78)

Ian	Thanks, baby. Greek school,	Ah, grazie, tesoro. Scuola greca,	Oh, thanks, honey. Greek
-----	--------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------------------

	<i>pame</i> . What's that mean?	<i>pame</i> . Che vuol dire?	school, <i>pame</i> . What does it mean?
Daughter	“Let’s go”.	“Andiamo”.	“Let’s go”.

(79)

Angelo	Hey Ian, we’re going to kill you, <i>opa!</i>	Ciao Ian, ti facciamo fuori, <i>opa!</i>	Hi Ian, we are going to kill you!
--------	---	--	-----------------------------------

(80)

Kim, Doris and Su	<i>Opa!</i>	<i>Opa!</i>	
-------------------	-------------	-------------	--

(81)

Angelo	<i>Yia sou</i> , Ian.	<i>Yia sou</i> , Ian.	
Nikki	<i>Opa!</i>	<i>Opa!</i>	

(82)

Marc	How do you say “Cheers”?	Come si dice qui “Cin cin”?	How do you say here “Cheers”?
Georgia	We say <i>yiamas</i> , to our health.	Noi diciamo <i>yiamas</i> , alla salute.	We say <i>yiamas</i> , to our health.
Marc	<i>Yiamas</i> .	<i>Yiamas</i> .	

(83)

Toula	So, for “Happy Easter” we say <i>Christos Anesti</i> . Then the other person says back <i>Alithos Anesti</i> . So if you want to say “Happy Easter”, you go, <i>Christos Anesti</i> . So try it.	Allora, per “Buona Pasqua” noi diciamo <i>Christos Anesti</i> . E l’altra persona risponde <i>Alithos Anesti</i> . Perciò se vuoi dire “Buona Pasqua” dici <i>Christos Anesti</i> . Prova.	So, for “Happy Easter” we say <i>Christos Anesti</i> . And the other person replies <i>Alithos Anesti</i> . So if you want to say “Happy Easter” you say <i>Christos Anesti</i> . Try it.
-------	--	--	---

L2 interjections are instead used in *Eat Pray Love*, mainly to shorten the distance between characters of different nationalities, as we can see when Felipe addresses Liz using the Portuguese expression *ta bom*, an equivalent of “All right, okay” (84);

(84)

Felipe	<i>Ta bom.</i>	<i>Ta bom.</i>	
--------	----------------	----------------	--

likewise, Armenia, a Brazilian woman living in Bali, often adopts unmarked, situation-related intrasentential code-switching from English to Portuguese when talking to Liz; this can be seen when she describes an hair treatment done by Wayan, the local town healer, and uses the expression *lindo*, i.e. “lovely”, repeating it twice to stress her utterance’s phatic connotation, as well as when she uses the exclamation *ótimo*, i.e. “great, super”, to show her enthusiasm when Liz tells she has a nice dress to wear at the party Armenia wants her to go to (85).

(85)

Armenia	It makes the hair long and lustrous. Like Cher. circa 1975. <i>Lindo, lindo!</i> Do you have a nice dress?	Ti fa i capelli lunghi e lucenti. Come Cher, tipo nel 1975. <i>Lindo, lindo!</i> Ce l’hai un vestito carino?	It makes the hair long and lustrous. Like Cher, as in 1975. <i>Lindo, lindo!</i> Do you have a nice dress?
Liz	One.	Uno.	One.
Armenia	<i>Ótimo!</i> Put it on tonight and come to the Beach Shack. I’ll introduce you to everyone. The expats, the locals. You’ll dance. You’ll love it.	<i>Ótimo!</i> Mettitele stasera e vieni al Beach Shack. Ti presento a tutti. Lì puoi ballare con i locali, con gli stranieri. Vedrai che ti piace.	<i>Ótimo!</i> Put it on tonight and come to the Beach Shack. I’ll introduce you to everyone. There you can dance with the locals, the foreigners. You’ll see that you’ll love it.

L3 interjections are sometimes used by the foreign/immigrant characters also to introduce a topic at the beginning of an utterance, as we can observe in *Real Women Have Curves* when Ana’s mother uses the

Spanish adjective *bueno*, i.e. “well”, as a filler word when she recounts the plot of an episode of her favourite soap opera (86) and when she thanks Ana’s teacher for the visit he paid to her family (87).

(86)

Ana’s mother	<i>Bueno.</i> This handsome, dark stranger comes to visit the fishing village. And she wants her...but of course we know what he wanted, no? One night, without telling her parents, Yanira goes out with the stranger.	<i>Bueno.</i> Allora, lo straniero, quello bello, va a visitare il villaggio dei pescatori e lei finalmente lo incontra. Lui le dice che non importa se è mezza guercia e che lui la ama e che la vuole. Ma noi ovviamente sappiamo cosa vuole lui, giusto? Poi senza dire niente ai suoi genitori di notte Yanira esce con lo straniero.	<i>Bueno.</i> So, the stranger, the handsome one, goes to visit the fishing village and she finally meets him. He tells her that it doesn’t matter if she is half cross-eyed and that he loves her and he wants her. But of course we know what he wants, right? Then, without telling anything to her parents, one night Yanira goes out with the stranger.
--------------	---	---	--

(87)

Ana’s mother	<i>Bueno.</i> Thank you very much, <i>señor</i> Guzman, but this is a family matter.	<i>Bueno.</i> Grazie mille, signor Guzman, ma questa è una questione di famiglia.	<i>Bueno.</i> Thank you very much, Mr Guzman, but this is a family matter.
--------------	--	---	--

All excerpts in (78-87) represent perfect linguistic combinations of L1/L3, in the original versions, and of L2/L3 in the Italian dubbed versions, where linguistic integration proves to be the linguistic correlative of the ideological and sociocultural integration that the use of intrasentential codeswitching normally entails in multilingual discourse practices, both on and off the screen.

3.2.3. Religion and the spiritual sphere

The culture-specific elements extensively to be found in the multiethnic films under study also include L3 references to the religious and spiritual sphere, always conveyed by means of loans in the Italian dubbed versions, as they are exclusive to their characters' specific background sociocultural heritage and represent both conceptual and lexical gaps in any other sociocultural system besides their own.

East Is East, where religion plays a crucial role in the characters' life, recurrently presents the Arabic expression *Inshallah*, meaning "Allah willing" or "if Allah wills it" (3 occurrences; 88), as well as some phrases taken from the Qur'an that the Mullah teaches to his class of pupils (15 occurrences; 89).

(88)

George Khan	You arrange?	Pensaci tu.	You think about it.
Mullah	<i>Inshallah.</i>	<i>Inshallah.</i>	

(89)

Mullah	<i>Bismillah.</i>	<i>Bismillah.</i>	
Class	<i>Bismillah.</i>	<i>Bismillah.</i>	
Mullah	<i>Irachmah.</i>	<i>Irachmah.</i>	
Class	<i>Irachmah.</i>	<i>Irachmah.</i>	
Mullah	<i>Neerahim.</i>	<i>Neerahim.</i>	
Class	<i>Neerahim.</i>	<i>Neerahim.</i>	
Mullah	<i>La Eh Laha.</i>	<i>La Eh Laha.</i>	
Class	<i>La Eh Laha.</i>	<i>La Eh Laha.</i>	
Mullah	<i>Illalah.</i>	<i>Illalah.</i>	
Class	<i>Illalah.</i>	<i>Illalah.</i>	
Mullah	<i>Ho Mohammed Dar.</i>	<i>Ho Mohammed Dar.</i>	
Class	<i>Ho Mohammed Dar.</i>	<i>Ho Mohammed Dar.</i>	
Mullah	<i>Rasoo Lallah.</i>	<i>Rasoo Lallah.</i>	
Class	<i>Rasoo Lallah.</i>	<i>Rasoo Lallah.</i>	

As (88) and (89) show, in our corpus of films religious terms are often used by immigrant characters to reinforce the survival of their background belief system in their host country, something that is clearly to be observed also in *Crash*, when Farhad mentions the Farsi term *farishta*, whose original meaning comes from pre-Islamic pagan traditions and means “angel, divine messenger”, to refer to a little girl that, according to him, acted as his guardian angel and prevented him from committing a terrible crime (90).

(90)

Farhad	I shoot a little girl.	Io sparato a ragazzina.	I shoot little girl.
Dorri	What?	Cosa?	What?
Farhad	No, she’s okay. She’s... here-here. The gun shoot her, but she’s okay, Dorri. Nothing happened. She’s my <i>farishta</i> .	No, ma-ma lei è okay. Lei... lei colpita qui, pistola ha sparato, ma lei okay, Dorri, niente è successo. Lei è mio <i>farishta</i> .	No, but-but she’s okay. She’s... struck here, the gun shoot, but she okay, Dorri, nothing happened. She’s my <i>farishta</i> .
Dorri	What are you talking about, Daddy?	Di che cosa stai parlando?	What are you talking about?
Farhad	My <i>farishta</i> , Dorri. My angel, my angel. She came to protect me. To protect us. You understand?	Mio <i>farishta</i> , Dorri. Mio... mio angelo, mio angelo. Lei è venuta a proteggere me. Lei protegge noi. Tu capisci?	My <i>farishta</i> , Dorri. My... my angel, my angel. She came to protect me. She protects us. You understand?

L3 culture-specific references deeply embedded in the religious and spiritual sphere of a country are extensively to be found in *Eat Pray Love*, especially in the part of the film set in India where Liz discovers the power of prayer to achieve spiritual peace; when Liz arrives at the *guru*’s sanctuary and she is shown the *ashram*, both Sanskrit words *guru*, i.e. a teacher and guide but also someone considered as a reverential figure who has achieved the permanent state of enlightenment and can actually pass

this state on to others (12 occurrences), and *ashram*, i.e. a holy place dedicated to prayer and meditation (4 occurrences), are maintained unaltered in Italian, where they are used as loanwords (91).

(91)

Liz	Is the <i>guru</i> here?	La <i>guru</i> è qui?	Is the <i>guru</i> here?
Man	She's always here.	Lei è sempre qui.	She's always here.
Liz	I know, but is she "here" here?	Lo so, ma "qui" qui?	I know, but "here" here?
Man	She's at her <i>ashram</i> in New York.	È nel suo <i>ashram</i> di New York.	She's at her <i>ashram</i> in New York.

Likewise, when the *guru*'s devotee explains the customs and practices of the *ashram*, he uses the Hindu word *seva*, i.e. selfless service or work performed without any thought of reward or repayment, a philosophical concept unknown in Western cultures that lacks an Italian lexical and semantic equivalent (3 occurrences; 92).

(92)

Man	Change into your work clothes. I'll take you to your <i>seva</i> . It's a Hindu word for "selfless devotional work". It's required for everyone who stays.	Se ti metti gli abiti da lavoro ti porto nel tuo <i>seva</i> . È una parola Hindi, per il "disinteressato lavoro di preghiera". È richiesto a tutti quanti qui.	If you put your work clothes on I'll take you to your <i>seva</i> . It's a Hindu word for "selfless devotional work". It's required for everyone here.
-----	--	---	--

Furthermore, while at the *ashram*, Liz remembers that her ex boyfriend David once mentioned the term *Ganesh* (also spelled *Ganesa* or *Ganesh*), a popular Hindu deity in a human form with the head of an elephant that commonly represents the Lord of Good Fortune, even though the meaning David refers to, in this scene, is that of the Destroyer of Obstacles of a material or spiritual order, as he himself explains to Liz (93).

(93)

David	<i>Ganesh</i> . Remover	<i>Ganesh</i> . Colui che rimuove gli	<i>Ganesh</i> . The one who removes
-------	-------------------------	---------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

	of the obstacles.	ostacoli.	obstacles.
--	-------------------	-----------	------------

In *Eat Pray Love*, another important reference to the spiritual sphere is made by Felipe, in the part of the film set in Indonesia, when he compares Liz and himself to *antevasins*, a Sanskrit term referring to a person who had left the bustling center of worldly life to go live at the edge of the forest where the spiritual masters dwelled (94).

(94)

Felipe	I knew it. We are both <i>antevasins</i> , my dear.	Lo sapevo. Siamo tutti e due <i>antevasins</i> , mia cara.	I knew it. We are both <i>antevasins</i> , my dear.
Liz	What is that?	Che vuol dire?	What does it mean?
Felipe	<i>Antevasins</i> is... It's an in-between. It is the one who lives by the border... because they renounce to the comfort of family life in order to seek "enlightment".	<i>Antevasins</i> è... uno che sta in mezzo. È quello che vive sul confine... sono quelli che rinunziano a un conforto della vita di famiglia per cercare la "illuminazione".	<i>Antevasins</i> is... one that stands in-between. It is the one who lives by the border... they are those that renounce to the comfort of family life in order to seek "enlightment".

In (92-94) it is interesting to notice that, as already observed for many previous instances of L3 culture-bound references (see 3.2.1.), the meaning of the L3 expressions is extensively explained in the L1/L2 by the speaker immediately after they are mentioned, a procedure that allows both audiences full understanding of the crucial religious and spiritual aspects brought to the fore in the scenes at stake (see also 3.2.4.).

3.2.4. Geographical landmarks, historic sites and places of worship

Another type of L3 culture-bound references to be recognized in the films under study is represented by geographical references (Díaz Cintas, Remael 2007), which are always left unaltered in both versions to convey the local distinctiveness of the places the characters find themselves in or come from (8 items).

In *Spanglish*, Deborah Clasky mentions the *barrio*, meaning “district” or “neighbourhood”, which, in the film, refers to Carbon Beach, the highest-value beach neighbourhood on the Pacific Coast where the Claskys own a house: in this scene Deborah tries to convince Flor to work as a full-time nanny and house-keeper for her family for the summer months and live with them at their summer house (95).

(95)

Deborah	Oh come on, it's... there's no buses from her to here. There's no question. Double come on. The <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, the <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.	Beh ma dai, è... non ci sono autobus da casa sua a qui. Non c'è discussione. Ti prego, ti straprego. Voglio dire, il <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, il <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.	Well come on, it's... there's no buses from her house to here. There's no question. Please, double please. I mean. The <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach, the <i>barrio</i> , Carbon Beach.
---------	---	---	--

In (95), the maintenance of the Spanish term and its use by an American character proves to be particularly meaningful as it indicates Deborah's attempt to convince Flor to accept her offer using the Hispanic woman's ‘language of the heart’, thus fulfilling, with her participant-related intrasentential code-switching from English to Spanish, both emotive and conative functions.

In *Eat Pray Love*, when Felipe shows Liz one of the many religious temples in Bali, he uses its original name, “*Pura Melanting*”, followed by a literal translation of its meaning (96),

(96)

Felipe	It's beautiful, no? It's <i>Pura Melanting</i> , which means “temple of prosperity”.	È bello, eh? È <i>Pura Melanting</i> , che significa “tempio della prosperità”.	It's beautiful, no? It's <i>Pura Melanting</i> , which means “temple of prosperity”.
--------	--	---	--

whereas in *My Life In Ruins* Georgia frequently quotes Greek terms relevant to famous Greek historic landmarks (4 items) such as *tholos* and *agora* (97).

(97)

Georgia	We are now walking through the <i>tholos</i> . Say it with me? Anyone? Okay. The Greek word <i>agora</i> means a place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.	Ci troviamo ora nel <i>tholos</i> . Volete dirlo insieme a me? Nessuno? D'accordo. La parola greca <i>agora</i> significa luogo di raduno e, nei tempi antichi, questo era il cuore della vita ateniese.	We now find ourselves in the <i>tholos</i> . Do you want to say it with me? Anyone? Okay. The Greek word <i>agora</i> means place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.
---------	---	--	--

As far as geographical references are concerned, as illustrated in (95-97), an interesting aspect to notice, in particular in films set in cross-cultural environments rich with places of interest and historic landmarks typically crowded with tourists, is that the meaning of many L3 geographical references is explained in English/Italian within the same utterance, thus plunging viewers into the cinematic exotic dimension without impairing comprehension, a procedure adopted also when moral principles and spiritual aspects are dealt with (as observed in 3.2.1., 3.2.3.).

3.2.5. Linguistic flavours of ethnic food across cultures

Other ethnographic references to be found in our corpus of films are those relevant to traditional ethnic food and local products (76 items), whose L3 names are left unaltered in both versions to illustrate the key role food plays in the characters' life both as a crucial vehicle of self-representation and as a cultural identifier, as can be seen, in particular, in *Bend It Like Beckham* (9 items), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (7 items), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (4 items), *Ae Fond Kiss* (6 items), *My Life in Ruins* (5 items), *Eat Pray Love* (2 items), *The Hundred-Foot Journey* (21 items), *The Mistress of Spices* (16 items), *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (7 items), *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (2 items). It is especially

in films revolving around immigrant families and communities that ethnic food is always placed into the foreground in the characters' life as one of the last bastions of sociocultural traditions that should be preserved across generations to validate in-group identity models (Monti in press). Indeed, the greatest connection between the first-, second- and third-generation immigrants portrayed on the screen is represented by the food they prepare faithfully respecting their homeland culinary practices while living a life at a point of cultural adjustment. But ethnic food is likewise brought to the fore in films set in multiethnic environments that are world-famous tourist destinations, whose local specialties sometimes also function as 'linguistic charms' capturing the tourists' senses with their alluring original names.

In this regard, what is interesting to observe in the films under study is that it is essentially through language that food is presented, as it is 'mentioned', 'named', 'quoted', 'cited' more than it is actually cooked (though, in some cases, the linguistic references to food are made during scenes featuring food preparation): indeed, the characters, and in particular the immigrant characters, linguistically enact their hybrid identity within their discourse practices through the recurrent use of intrasentential code-switching from the they-code into their we-code when quoting the original names of the recipes that are a basic part of their background heritage (Monti in press).

3.2.5.1. Identity cooked in exotic dishes

The role ethnic eating habits play as identity icons in the daily life of the members of immigrant families and communities can be clearly observed in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, *The Hundred-Foot Journey*.

In *Bend It Like Beckham*, Indian food is often evoked in the course of family conversations both as a powerful marker of ethnic belonging and as a symbol of the Bhamras' well-being (98-101).

(98)

Mrs Bhamra to Pinky	Chicken, lamb... and <i>paneer tikka</i> ⁵ . We'll show them, we're not poor	Pollo, agnello... e anche <i>paneer tikka</i> . Glielo faremo vedere,	Chicken, lamb... and also <i>paneer tikka</i> . We'll show them, we're not poor
---------------------	---	---	---

⁵ Marinated paneer/cottage cheese cubes, arranged on skewers and grilled or baked in the tandoor oven.

	people!	non siamo mica poveri, no?	people, are we?
--	---------	----------------------------	-----------------

(99)

Mrs Bhamra	Ah, my mother chose all my twenty-one dowry suits herself. I never once complained. You girls are too spoilt. Now don't forget my <i>dhania</i> ⁶ , four bunches for a pound and more carrots, I'm making <i>achar</i> ⁷ .	Mia madre scelse lei tutti i ventuno vestiti del mio corredo e non mi sono mai lamentata. Voi due siete troppo viziate. E non vi scordate il mio <i>dhania</i> , quattro mazzetti per una sterlina, e un po' di carote, devo fare <i>achar</i> .	My mother chose all my twenty-one dowry suits herself and I never complained. You girls are too spoilt. And don't forget my <i>dhania</i> , four bunches for a pound, and some carrots, I'm making <i>achar</i> .
------------	--	--	---

(100)

Jess	Bring me back some <i>langar</i> ⁸ .	Portatemi un po' di <i>langar</i> .	Bring me back some <i>langar</i> .
------	---	-------------------------------------	------------------------------------

(101)

Pinky	[...] Mum's making the <i>samosas</i> ⁹ .	[...] Mamma prepara le <i>samosa</i> .	[...] Mum's making the <i>samosa</i> .
-------	--	--	--

In (101), in the original version, the term *samosas* presents the English inflectional suffix for the plural *-s* whereas it is preserved in its original Punjabi form in the Italian dubbed version where it is used as a loanword (as already observed in excerpt 8 for the term *tuk-tuk*).

In *Bend It Like Beckham*, Mrs Bhamra is the character who most recurrently names typical Indian dishes and is constantly portrayed as a matriarchal figure symbolically devoting herself to the family's emotional

⁶ Coriander leaves.

⁷ A variety of pickled condiments.

⁸ The free vegetarian meal served after a Sikh service.

⁹ Small fried turnover of Indian origin filled with seasoned vegetables.

needs also, and primarily, through the food she prepares. This leads us to observe that, in most multiethnic films centered around the building block of the family, culinary terms are often mentioned when clashes in values and identities are negotiated within mother-daughter conflicts (see 2.1.2.1 for further discussion on this issue). Indeed, the presence and preparation of food on the screen are primarily concerned with the role first-generation immigrant women play in the familial and social structure as conveyors of culinary traditions from one generation to another. As a fact, besieged by a way of life that is not their own, grandmothers and mothers are apprehensive of losing their children to forces they cannot control and thus attempt to bring them up according to their home traditions, represented from a material point of view by their traditional dishes. By passing the family recipes on across generations they are able to preserve elements of their indigenous culture that would otherwise be lost in the Western world they now live in, but the fulfilment of their ambitions in this sense is often complicated by their daughters' attitudes, as second- and third-generation immigrant women do not seem to be particularly interested in learning to cook their homeland specialties, as they are more concentrated on their Western life and rarely demonstrate such traditional forms of 'female competence' as preparing food as their mothers (Monti in press). This can be seen, in *Bend It Like Beckham*, when Mrs Bhamra reproaches her daughter Jess for bending their home sociocultural paradigms, thinking about her career in football instead of learning how to cook Indian food. Mrs Bhamra places food and cooking at the top of the list of her priorities: for her, any good Indian girl is automatically a wife-to-be to a good Indian man if she knows how to cook a perfect full-course North Indian meal; she often tells Jess, with a scornful tone, that when she was her age she was already married and she knew well how to cook Pakistani food such as *dhal*¹⁰, whereas Jess is obviously far from the Indian 'good girl' stereotype (102).

(102)

Mrs Bhamra	I was married at your age and you don't even want to learn to cook <i>dhal</i> !	Io ero già sposata alla tua età e tu non vuoi imparare a cucinare il <i>dhal</i> !	I was already married at your age and you don't even want to learn to cook <i>dhal</i> !
------------	--	--	--

¹⁰ Dried beans.

In many scenes throughout the whole film, we see that Mrs Bhamra tries to make her British-based daughter imbibe as much as possible of her cultural-culinary values, always linguistically symbolized by the Punjabi names of some of the most renowned Indian specialties (103), but, in the end, Mrs Bhamra's efforts prove to be vain as Jess herself declares that she considers playing football more important than cooking Indian food (104).

(103)

Mrs Bhamra	What family will want a daughter-in-law who can run around kicking football all day but can't make round <i>chapatis</i> ¹¹ ? Now exams are over, I want you to learn full Punjabi dinner, meat and vegetarian!	Quale famiglia vorrebbe una nuora che corre tutto il giorno appresso a un pallone ma che non è capace di cucinare le <i>chapati</i> ? Adesso che hai finito gli esami, imparerai a cucinare tutto un pranzo Punjabi, sia carne che verdura!	What family would want a daughter-in-law who runs around kicking football all day but can't cook <i>chapati</i> ? Now that you have finished the exams, you will learn to cook a full Punjabi dinner, both meat and vegetables!
------------	--	---	---

(104)

Jess	Anyone can cook <i>aloo gobi</i> ¹² , but who can bend a ball like Beckham?	Tutte possono cucinare <i>aloo gobi</i> , ma chi tira in porta come Beckham?	Anyone can cook <i>aloo gobi</i> , but who can bend a ball like Beckham?
------	--	--	--

In (103), as in (8) and (101), we find another L3 term, i.e. *chapatis*, with the English inflectional morpheme for the plural, whereas in the Italian version it is a case of lexical borrowing from Hindi.

The role food plays as a crucial family-identity tool is to be clearly recognized also in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* and *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, where the Portokalos family, running a Greek restaurant in

¹¹ Indian flatbread, made of wheat flour, water, and salt.

¹² Dry Indian and Pakistani cuisine dish made with *aloo*, potatoes, and *gob(h)i*, cauliflower, with Indian spices.

Chicago, is always humorously depicted as a food-obsessed clan. Indeed, the Portokaloses live in a sort of devotion to their Greek heritage that they make central to their lifestyle in constantly cooking Greek dishes and evoking them in their conversations. This can be seen, for instance, in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, when all the family members meet to celebrate Easter and Toula’s father proudly enters the scene offering his guests *magiritsa*¹³, a Greek soup rendered in this case even more special having been cooked by Uncle Taki (105).

(105)

Gus	<i>Taki magiritsa!</i>	<i>Taki magiritsa!</i>	
-----	------------------------	------------------------	--

In this film, the distinctiveness of Greek culinary traditions is significantly to be observed on the morning of Toula’s wedding with Ian, when she is surrounded by her female family members, getting ready for the day (106).

(106)

Nicky	Hello ladies... fresh <i>baklava</i> ¹⁴ !	Buongiorno signore... <i>baklava fresca!</i>	Good morning ladies... fresh <i>baklava!</i>
-------	--	--	--

In this scene, Toula holds a sweet diamond of *baklava* in her hand: this means that even though she is going to marry an American man, and therefore she is going to become American, her ‘Greek-flavoured soul’ is still to be, and will always be, ‘tasted’ in the food she eats.

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2*, Greek food is recurrently incorporated into the image as a proper identity symbol: Toula’s great-grandmother, who has never really integrated in the Western world and rarely speaks throughout the whole film (as already observed in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1.), is often portrayed in the act of offering *spanakopita*¹⁵, as we can see when, during a party at the American high-school attended by her great-granddaughter Paris, she introduces herself uttering nothing else but the word “*Spanakopita!*” while giving out slices of this typical Greek pie, in order both to honour her Greek heritage and to impose it within an all-American context (107).

¹³ A traditional Easter soup made with lamb offal and thickened with avgolemono. Endives and dill can be added.

¹⁴ A dessert made of thin pastry, nuts and honey.

¹⁵ A pie with spinach, feta cheese, onion, eggs and seasonings.

(107)

Mana-Yiayia	<i>Spanakopita!</i>	<i>Spanakopita!</i>	
-------------	---------------------	---------------------	--

In this film, food also serves to identify characters, as can be observed during the family meeting arranged to plan the wedding between Gus and Maria when Nikki complains about the *baklava* Mike's wife, Marianthi, usually prepares, thus negatively identifying the woman with her lack of culinary skills (108).

(108)

Nikki	Your <i>baklava's</i> dry. Accept it.	Il tuo <i>baklava</i> è asciutto. Accettalo.	Your <i>baklava's</i> dry. Accept it.
-------	---------------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

Furthermore, Greek food functions as the perfect comfort food in emotionally difficult situations, as we can see when Toula tries to console her father, deeply sad after discovering that his marriage with Maria has never been officially recognized, and she offers him some *baklava* (109).

(109)

Toula	Oh dad... I've just made <i>baklava</i> , you wanna a piece? Chocolate <i>baklava</i> .	Oh papà... ho fatto il <i>baklava</i> , ne vuoi un pezzo? <i>Baklava</i> al cioccolato.	Oh dad... I've made <i>baklava</i> , you wanna a piece? Chocolate <i>baklava</i> .
-------	---	---	--

Also in *The Hundred-Foot Journey* cookery goes beyond mere nourishment, fostering a strong sense of family and group identity. Indeed, the members of the Kadam family constantly negotiate issues of identity, power and relationships by preparing and offering food imbued with their ethnicity, as Papa, the family father, considers Indian food as an important cultural capital, to be strenuously defended against what he sees as the negative 'otherness' represented by French cuisine. This is highlighted at the very beginning of the film when, upon the family arrival in Europe, Hassan is asked by a customs agent if he has any qualifications as a cook, he replies that he has no proof on paper but only on grease-proof paper and offers the customs agent a piece of *samosa*, considering it as his own identity card (110).

(110)

Customs agent	You have qualifications?	Ha delle qualifiche?	Do you have qualifications?
Hassan	Yes, my mother taught me.	Sì, ho imparato da mia madre.	Yes, I learnt from my mother.
Police agent	But no proof on paper?	Ma nessuna carta che lo testimonia.	But no proof on paper.
Hassan	Only grease-proof paper. <i>Samosa</i> ?	No, solo carta da forno. <i>Samosa</i> ?	No, only grease-proof paper.
Police agent	No, thank you.	No, grazie.	No, thank you.

The fact that Hassan says that he learnt to cook from his mother also leads us to observe that food, especially in multiethnic and immigrant communities, is often associated with memories (Monti in press): the act of cooking brings memories back to life and connects Hassan and his relatives both to the members of their family who still live on the other side of the world and to the spirits of those who are no longer with them but live on in every ingredient. This can be seen when Mr Kadam stands by the door of his newly opened restaurant in Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, the *Maison Mumbai*, and tries to drag people in as they're passing by mentioning chicken *tikka*, a delicious Indian specialty that he considers as the visiting card of his restaurant (111).

(111)

Mr Kadam	This is a new restaurant, we opened today. It's an Indian restaurant. Great food. Chicken <i>tikka</i> ¹⁶ .	Questo è un nuovo ristorante, abbiamo aperto oggi. È un ristorante indiano. Ottimo cibo. Pollo <i>tikka</i> .	This is a new restaurant, we opened today. It's an Indian restaurant. Excellent food. Chicken <i>tikka</i> .
----------	--	---	--

Chicken *tikka* is further celebrated, throughout the film, as one of the most typical symbols of Indian culinary, and therefore sociocultural, traditions; this is underlined when Madame Mallory visits the *Maison Mumbai* for the

¹⁶ Grilled chicken pieces in tomato puree sauteed with onions and other spices, and garnished with fresh green coriander.

first time, she asks what type of oven is in the yard and Mansur explains that it is a type of oven specifically designed to cook this famous Indian dish (112).

(112)

Madame Mallory	Mmm. What is this?	Mmm. Cos'è questo?	Mmm. What is this?
Mansur	It is an oven.	È un forno.	It is an oven.
Madame Mallory	Oven? It's not a drum? To play?	Forno? Non è una grancassa per suonare?	Oven? It's not a bass drum to play?
Mansur	No. <i>Tandoori</i> oven for chicken <i>tikka</i> .	No. È il forno <i>tandoori</i> per il pollo <i>tikka</i> .	No. It's <i>tandoori</i> oven for chicken <i>tikka</i> .

The fact that, with the opening of their *Maison Mumbai*, the Kadams want to recreate the environment they have left behind is also proved by their getting spices directly from India, which is for them a further means to keep their Indian identity alive: in this sense, every bite of the food they eat is like a bite of home, as Hassan says when talking to an Indian cook in Paris making explicit reference to the Indian spices' original names (113).

(113)

Hassan	Where did you get the spices?	Dove ha preso le spezie?	Where did you get the spices?
Indian cook	I have them send it from home, from India. You know, it's cheaper than a flight ticket.	Me le faccio mandare da casa, dall'India. Lo sa, costa meno di un biglietto aereo.	I have them sent from home, from India. You know, it's cheaper than a flight ticket.
Hassan	It's got <i>amchur</i> ¹⁷ .	C'è l' <i>amchur</i> .	It's got <i>amchur</i> .
Cook	Yes.	Si.	Yes.
Hassan	And <i>kala jeera</i> ¹⁸ .	E il <i>kala jeera</i> .	And <i>kala jeera</i> .
Cook	Yes. A little bit of <i>garam masala</i> ¹⁹ also. Every bite	Si. E anche un po' di <i>garan masala</i> . Ogni boccone ti	Yes. And also a little bit of <i>garam masala</i> also.

¹⁷ Mango powder.

¹⁸ Black cumin.

¹⁹ Blend of ground spices.

	takes you home.	riporta a casa.	Every bite takes you home.
--	-----------------	-----------------	----------------------------

Also in films set in cross-cultural environments that are typical tourist destinations as *My Life in Ruins*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* local food specialties wave as important ethnographic flags representative of the identity of the place as well as of its locals.

In *My Life in Ruins*, Greek food often takes centre stage as one of the main ‘tasty’ symbols of Greece, as we can see whenever tourists are offered such mouth-watering specialties of Greek cuisine as warm *loukoumades*²⁰ (114).

(114)

Nico	Hello, beautiful people. I am Nico. For you, warm <i>loukoumades</i> .	Salve, bellissima gente. Io sono Nico. Eccovi delle <i>loukoumades</i> calde.	Hello, beautiful people. I am Nico. Here for you warm <i>loukoumades</i> .
------	--	---	--

In *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, Indian food is recurrently celebrated as one of the most representative icons of Indian culture, as can be observed when the British guests, in the Marigold hotel upper courtyard, look on with trepidation as another meal is laid before them: Evelyn lists the names of all the Indian specialties sumptuously displayed on the tables that allure the guests’ senses also with their mysterious names, significantly left unaltered in the Italian version (115).

(115)

Evelyn	Sonny is conducting his own personal assault on our sense with the flow of exotic dishes he demands daily from the kitchen. <i>Mooli Moong Dal</i> .	Anche Sonny contribuisce allo stordimento dei nostri sensi bombardandoci con piatti esotici che escono magicamente dalla cucina. <i>Mooli Moong Dal. Baghara Baingan</i> .	Also Sonny contributes to stunning our senses with the flow of exotic dishes that magically come out from the kitchen. <i>Mooli Moong Dal</i> .
--------	--	--	---

²⁰ Donuts.

	<i>Baghara Baingan. Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>	<i>Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>	<i>Baghara Baingan. Banjari Gosht. Paneer Methi Chaman. Mutton Vindaloo.</i>
--	--	---	--

In (115), even though the guests have no idea of what most of these dishes consist of, it is clear that they are eager to taste them as tasting Indian food is for them like tasting Indian culture, it is a plunge into dishes that are ‘exotic’ also from the linguistic point of view and, just for this reason, have a highly evocative power.

3.2.5.2. Otherness served on a linguistic plate

What we’ve observed so far significantly illustrates how ethnic food acts as a crucial trope for the clash between European/American and non-European/American cultures in the multicultural films under study. This is especially to be noticed in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, where food functions as the main vehicle for the expression of difference and ‘otherness’ as embodied by Toula Portokalos and her family. At the beginning, Toula recollects her childhood through food scenes, pointing out how she always felt different also in relation to her family’s foodways (116).

(116)

Toula ((voice))	When I was growing up I knew I was different, the other girls were blond and delicate and I was a swarthy six-year-old with sideburns. I so badly wanted to be like the popular girls, all sitting together, talking and eating their Wonder Bread	Quando ero piccola sapevo di essere diversa. Le altre bambine erano biondine e delicate mentre io ero una morettona di sei anni con i basettoni. Mi sarei dannata per essere come le ragazze ben volute da tutti,	When I was a child I knew I was different. The other girls were blond and delicate whereas I was a swarthy six-year-old with sideburns. I would have done everything to be like the popular girls, all sitting together, talking and eating their
--------------------	--	---	---

	Sandwiches...	che sedevano insieme a parlare e a mangiare i loro panini con il pane a cassetta...	Wonder Bread Sandwiches...
Little girl	What's that?	E quello cos'è?	And what's that?
Toula	<i>Moussakà</i> ²¹ .	<i>Moussakà</i> .	
Little girl	<i>Mous-kaka</i> ??	<i>Mous-kaka</i> ??	

In this scene, we see the young Toula at school, eating her lunch of *moussaka* at a table by herself while at the next table the popular American girls – white, blond, thin, pretty – are eating Wonder bread sandwiches, the all-American food: the girls make fun of Toula's lunch and one deliberately mispronounces it as “*mous-kaka*”, where “*kaka*” is a child's word referring to crap, something that assigns negative connotations to Toula's ‘different’ food and implicitly to her.

The relevance of food as a symbol of otherness can also be noticed when the Portokaloses meet the parents of Toula's American husband-to-be, Rodney and Henriette Miller. The distance between the two cultures is particularly emphasized during the first dinner together at the Portokaloses: the Millers are continuously offered food such as *spanakopita*, typically served during social occasions but certainly not the most suitable one to guests who are the stereotypical WASP family, who look almost disgusted when presented with its greasy slices (117).

(117)

Voula to Ian's parents	<i>Spanakopita!</i> You're hungry?	<i>Spanakopita!</i> Avete fame?	<i>Spanakopita!</i> Are you hungry?
Rodney Miller	Thank you.	Grazie.	Thanks.

Immediately after this, the Millers are pushed upon countless shots of *ouzo*, a typical Greek liquor which soon intoxicates them (118).

²¹ An eggplant and/or potato-based dish popular in Balkan and Mediterranean cuisines, with many local and regional variations.

(118)

Woman	Rodney, Henriette, <i>ouzo?</i>	Rodney, Henriette, <i>ouzo?</i>	Rodney, Henriette, <i>ouzo?</i>
Rodney Miller	Thank you. Oh, it's liquorice.	Grazie. Oh, è liquirizia.	Thank you. Oh, it's liquorice.

Also in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* the Greek characters' otherness is always highlighted by means of L3 references to Greek food, for instance when Costa, a third-generation Greek, mentions *spanakopita* declaring that the American spellcheck curiously changes it to *spina bifida*, thus underlining that Greek food is often considered, within American culture, as something 'different' in the negative sense of the term (119).

(119)

Costa	Oh no, spellcheck corrected <i>spanakopita</i> to <i>spina bifida</i> .	Oh no, il correttore ortografico ha corretto <i>spanakopita</i> in <i>spina bifida</i> .	Oh no, spellcheck corrected <i>spanakopita</i> to <i>spina bifida</i> .
-------	--	--	--

The negative associations assigned to Greek food and, implicitly, to Greek people, are further highlighted by Toula as she knows that her relatives are considered weird and eccentric by their American neighbours, who often identify the Portokaloses with their odd eating habits and, in particular, with the smell of *feta* cheese, as Toula sarcastically points out when talking to Marge (120).

(120)

Toula	No, I mean, what? As in what is wrong with you? You're standing on our lawn making fun of my family? Oh we're so weird, oh we smell like burnt oregano and <i>feta</i> cheese.	No, io voglio dire, cosa? Nel senso, cos'è che vi ha preso? Vi trovate sul mio vialetto a prendere in giro la mia famiglia? Oh siamo così strani, oh puzziamo di origano bruciato e di tanta <i>feta</i> .	No, I mean, what? As in what's wrong with you? You're standing on my alley making fun of my family? Oh we're so weird, oh we smell like burnt oregano and a lot of <i>feta</i> cheese.
-------	---	--	--

Greek culture is presented as opposed, and therefore inferior, to European and American culture through food images also in *My Life in Ruins*, especially at the beginning of the film when the European and American tourists arrive in Greece: when Georgia offers them some *souvlaki*²², they initially reject it preferring the “chicken fingers and French fries” served by an everything-but-Greek Hard Rock Café (121).

(121)

Georgia	It's <i>souvlaki</i> . It's meat on a stick.	Sono <i>souvlaki</i> . Spiedini di carne.	They are <i>souvlaki</i> . It's meat on a stick.
Nico	Hey, hey. Come to the Hard Rock Café. It's very Greek.	Hey, hey. Venite all'Hard Rock Café. Tipico greco.	Hey, hey. Come to the Hard Rock Café. Typically Greek.
Gator	Yeah, Hard Rock! Chicken fingers and French fries!	Sì, Hard Rock! Io vado, ho voglia di patatine.	Yeah, Hard Rock! I'm going, I fancy French fries.
Georgia	No, no. I have <i>souvlaki</i> , why would you want to that...	No, no. Ho preso i <i>souvlaki</i> , perchè volete andare in quel...	No, no. I've got <i>souvlaki</i> , why do you want to go to that...

In (121), American fast-food culture seems to win over traditional Greek culinary culture, though the reference to *souvlaki* is nevertheless given a particular emphasis as Georgia waves a stick of this specialty in her hand while pronouncing its name, thus visually and linguistically stressing its being an important mark of Greek ethnicity.

A similar rejection towards ‘different’ food is to be observed in *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, where Muriel’s initial aversion to Indian food is particularly evident when, on the bus to the hotel at her arrival in India, she is offered by Douglas some Indian food that she refuses to eat because, as she herself explains, she does not understand its name, she considers it as something ‘strange’ also from the linguistic point of view and therefore as something disgusting that must be avoided (122).

(122)

Douglas	Would you like	Vuole assaggiarlo	Would you like to
---------	----------------	-------------------	-------------------

²² A Greek dish of pieces of meat grilled on a skewer.

	some of this? I believe it's <i>aloo ka paratha</i> ²³ .	signora? Dovrebbe chiamarsi <i>aloo ka paratha</i> .	taste it madame? It should be <i>aloo ka paratha</i> .
Muriel	If I can't pronounce it, I'm not eating it.	Non so neanche pronunciare il nome, figuriamoci se lo mangio.	I can't even pronounce its name, let alone eat it.

Another film that extensively examines cultural and linguistic differences through food is *The Hundred-Foot Journey*. In one of the first scenes, Mr Kadam celebrates Indian cuisine as superior to French cuisine making a list of typical Indian dishes, all quoted with their original names, that the President of France could certainly never taste at the *Le Saule Pleureur*, Madame Mallory's restaurant, though this is one of the best French restaurants in the area (123).

(123)

Mr Kadam	Is the President of France able to order <i>murgh masala</i> ²⁴ , with cashew nuts and cardamom? And <i>ka saag aloo</i> ²⁵ ? <i>Dhal</i> ? Our secret family spices?	E il Presidente della Francia può ordinare un <i>murgh masala</i> , con anacardi e cardamomo? O un <i>ka saag aloo</i> ? O un <i>dhal</i> ? Con le spezie segrete di famiglia?	And is the President of France able to order <i>murgh masala</i> , with cashew nuts and cardamom? Or a <i>ka saag aloo</i> ? Or a <i>dhal</i> ? With our secret family spices?
Mansur	No, but they are a Michelin star restaurant, Papa.	No, ma è un ristorante con una stella Micheline, Papa.	No, but it's a restaurant with a Michelin star, Papa.
Aisha	They have frogs' legs, escargot,	Fanno zampe di rana, escargot,	They have frogs' legs, escargot,

²³ A breakfast dish originating from the Indian subcontinent that consists of unleavened dough stuffed with a mixture of mashed potato and spices, rolled out and cooked with butter or ghee, usually served with butter, chutney, curd or Indian pickles.

²⁴ Spicy, sweet, rich chicken curry.

²⁵ Potato dish.

	ratatouille...	ratatouille...	ratatouille...
Mr Kadam	Is the President able to order <i>tandoori</i> goat? Cooked the way Hassan cooks? Sprinkled with roast spices?	E il Presidente può ordinare il capretto <i>tandoori</i> ? Come lo cucina Hassan? Cosperso di spezie tostate?	And is the President able to order <i>tandoori</i> goat? Cooked the way Hassan cooks? Sprinkled with roast spices?

3.2.5.3. Blending linguistic ingredients for cultural integration

According to what we have observed so far, ethnic food is recurrently used as a marker of cultural differentiation, but it is also used to reconcile the clash between two cultures, creating affective bonds across cultural and linguistic difference.

In *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, a crucial event contributing to cultural and linguistic integration occurs at the end of the film when Toula's father gives a speech at the wedding reception and explains that the name "Miller" comes from the Greek word *milo*, which means "apple", and that the name "Portokalos" comes from the Greek word *portokali*, which means "orange" (124).

(124)

Gus Portokalos	I was thinking last night ... the night before my daughter was going to marry Ian Miller ... that the root of the word "Miller" is a Greek word. And "Miller" come from the Greek word <i>milo</i> , which is mean "apple". There you go. As many of you know, our name	Stavo pensando ieri sera... la sera prima che mia figlia si sposa con Ian Miller... che ... insomma... la radice della parola "Miller" è un parola greca. E "Miller" viene dalla parola greca <i>milo</i> , che significa "mela". Ed ecco qua. Come molti di voi sanno, il nostro cognome	I was thinking last night ... the night before my daughter was going to marry Ian Miller ... that... well... the root of the word "Miller" is a Greek word. And "Miller" comes from the Greek word <i>milo</i> , which means "apple". And there you go. As many of you
----------------	---	---	--

	Portokalos is come from the Greek word <i>portokali</i> , which means “orange”. So, okay here tonight, we have apple and orange. We all different but, in the end, we all fruit.	Portokalos viene dalla parola greca <i>portokali</i> , che significa “arancia”. Dunque, allora, qui stasera abbiamo mela e arancia. Siamo tutti diversi ma, alla fine, siamo tutti frutta.	know, our name Portokalos comes from the Greek word <i>portokali</i> , which means “orange”. So, now, here tonight we have apple and orange. We are all different but, in the end, we all fruit.
--	--	--	--

In (124), Gus not only gives voice to his never-ending obsession with Greek words but also, and primarily, assigns to Greek words a crucial symbolic meaning as, in saying that both his family and the Millers are all fruit, he means that, after all, they are all human beings belonging to the same social reality irrespective of their different ethnic and linguistic background.

In this film, a further proof of food symbolic power to dissolve intercultural and interlinguistic conflicts can be observed when Ian’s mother, Henriette, during the wedding reception, states that she needs to drink some more *ouzo* – the Greek liquor she hated when she first tasted it – to get the courage to dance with her ‘new’ family (125).

(125)

Toula	Let’s go dance now, come on.	Ora si balla, coraggio.	Let’s go dance now, come on.
Henriette	Oh no no, I need some more <i>ouzo</i> before I do that.	Oh no, ho bisogno di un altro po’ di <i>ouzo</i> prima di arrivare a quello.	Oh no no, I need some more <i>ouzo</i> before I go as far as to do that.

Accepting to drink *ouzo*, and having incorporated the Greek term in her own vocabulary, Henriette implicitly accepts Toula as her daughter-in-law: she now proves to be willing to inject herself into another culture/language and therefore to taste other types of food, thus also establishing an emotional connection with the people representing such ‘otherness’.

In *My Life in Ruins* Greek food acts as a symbol of acceptance of the otherness it initially represents when, in the concluding scene, the European and American tourists and the Greek people working within the Greek tourist industry gather for a farewell dinner. All types of Greek food are served and two American tourists express their appreciation for some delicious Greek specialties, the same specialties they rejected upon their arrival in Greece (126).

(126)

Big Al	Great buffet, Angie. These <i>baklavas</i> are a riot.	Magnifico buffet, Angie. Queste <i>baklava</i> sono da urlo.	Great buffet, Angie. These <i>baklavas</i> are a riot.
Kim	I've got <i>benecoupola</i> ²⁶ and <i>dolmadas</i> ²⁷ and they look very good. Or, as they say in Greek, <i>kali kola</i> .	Angie, io ho preso un po' di <i>benecoupola</i> e i <i>dolmadas</i> e sembra tutto molto buono, o come dicono in Grecia, <i>kali kola</i> .	Angie, I've got some <i>benecoupola</i> and the <i>dolmadas</i> and everything looks very good, or, as they say in Greek, <i>kali kola</i> .

In (126), the maintenance of the L3 terms is crucially significant as the tourists' appreciation of Greek food is strengthened by their quoting the dishes' Greek names, thus demonstrating a linguistic skill they did not have at their arrival in Greece and that further proves their, also linguistic, integration into a 'different' world.

One of the films under study that most effectively highlights the function food has of blending both cultures and languages is *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, where French and Indian cultures and languages blend together through cooking: indeed, if food initially divides, then it definitely brings people together, uniting two seemingly unequivocally different cultural systems (Monti in press). The whole film is permeated with a sense of necessary compromises in sociocultural and linguistic values, as the food scenes, as well as the naming of food original names, set up and resolve clashes between the two worlds. Food acts as a powerful means of integration, for instance, when Marguerite asks Hassan what's his favourite dish to cook and he answers that it is *jalebi*, explaining the girl what this

²⁶ Beef tenderloin.

²⁷ Stuffed grape leaves.

typical Indian food consists of and adding that it reminds him of his mother, thus stressing that food really represents cultural, and linguistic, memories of the heart (127).

(127)

Marguerite	What's your favourite dish to cook?	Qual è il piatto che ami cucinare?	What's the dish you like to cook?
Hassan	<i>Jalebi.</i>	<i>Lo jalebi.</i>	<i>Jalebi.</i>
Marguerite	What is that?	E che cos'è?	And what's that?
Hassan	Fermented <i>dal</i> and flour, deep fried.	<i>Dal</i> fermentato e farina, tutto fritto.	Fermented <i>dal</i> and flour, deep fried.
Marguerite	Mmm...	Mmm...	Mmm...
Hassan	The smell reminds me of my mother.	Il profumo mi fa pensare a mia madre.	The smell reminds me of my mother.

In this film, the process of culinary, and therefore cultural/linguistic, integration is primarily carried on by Hassan, always adding Indian ingredients to French dishes, and it is definitely celebrated when some food critics write enthusiastic reviews of the culinary regeneration he has brought about, transforming French cuisine and creating unusual but tasty combinations with his introduction of Indian bold spices (128, 129).

(128)

Food critic 1	While it's only been a few months since my last visit, I was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of coriander, fenugreek and <i>masala</i> .	Erano passati solo pochi mesi dalla mia ultima visita ma sono rimasto piacevolmente sorpreso dall'apparizione di coriandolo, fieno greco e <i>masala</i> .	It's only been a few months since my last visit but I was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of coriander, fenugreek and <i>masala</i> .
---------------	---	--	--

(129)

Food critic 2	... glutinous sauce resonant of <i>tandoori</i> and this	... una salsa gelatinosa con sentori di <i>tandoori</i>	... a glutinous sauce resonant of <i>tandoori</i> and that
---------------	--	---	--

	was a surprising triumph...	ed è stato un sorprendente trionfo...	was a surprising triumph...
--	-----------------------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------------------

In (128) and (129) it is interesting to notice that the culinary combinations between Indian and French cuisine created by Hassan seem to find their linguistic counterparts, in both versions, in the vibrant lexical combinations created by the critics when they mention the original names of the Indian spices perfectly ‘amalgamating’ them in their English/Italian utterances.

Another film that extensively celebrates the intermingling of two cultures/languages as figuratively allowed by food is *The Mistress of Spices*. Here the Indian spices act as the main protagonists, symbolizing tradition and identity, endowed with the power to heal and to harm, to please and to punish, to create and to destroy and even to reorganize the world order while constantly supporting their Mistress Tilo, significantly named after the spice of nourishment, as she herself explains (130).

(130)

Tilo	The spices are my love. [...] I am named <i>Tilo</i> , after the sesame seeds, the spice of nourishment.	Le spezie sono il mio grande amore. [...] Io mi chiamo <i>Tilo</i> , nella mia lingua vuol dire semi di sesamo, la spezia del nutrimento.	The spices are my great love. [...] I am named <i>Tilo</i> , in my language it means sesame seeds, the spice of nourishment.
------	--	---	--

As Tilo ‘is’ the spice of nourishment, she ‘feeds’ her Indian and American customers’ needs with the help of the magical powers of the spices, thus also bridging the gap between the complex culinary science of India and the American fast-food consumption culture. In this film the spices rest upon Tilo’s shop shelves as dull objects but come to life and act as proper characters, with the potential to influence the course of events, once Tilo ‘awakens’ them, addressing them by their original Indian names and explaining their mystical properties to her customers. So, when Tilo talks to Haroun, we get to know that *brahmi* is an herb used to calm one’s nerves (131),

(131)

Tilo	He was nervous that day so I just gave him some <i>brahmi</i> leaves to chew.	Quel giorno era nervoso così gli ho dato foglie di <i>brahmi</i> da masticare.	He was nervous that day so I gave him some <i>brahmi</i> leaves to chew.
------	---	--	--

that *dashmool* improves one's memory (132),

(132)

Haroun	Yeah, but for the first time he remembered the Swearing to the Flag, in English.	Sì, ma per la prima volta si è ricordato il Giuramento alla Bandiera, addirittura in inglese.	Yeah, but for the first time he remembered the Swearing to the Flag, even in English.
Tilo	It wasn't me, it was the <i>dashmool</i> , the herb of ten roots.	Non sono stata io, è stato il <i>dashmool</i> , l'erba dalle dieci radici.	It wasn't me, it was the <i>dashmool</i> , the herb of ten roots.

that *chandam* is used to help someone forget the pain caused by sad memories (133),

(133)

Tilo ((voice))	<i>Chandan</i> , the powder of the sandalwood tree, that relieves the pain of remembering.	<i>Chandan</i> , la polvere dell'albero di sandalo, che allevia il dolore dei brutti ricordi.	<i>Chandan</i> , the powder of the sandalwood tree, which relieves the pain of bad memories.
----------------	--	---	--

and that *kalo jire* protects against evil eye (134).

(134)

Tilo ((voice))	What does Haroun need? <i>Kalo jire</i> , black cumin seeds, protection against	Di cosa ha bisogno Haroun? <i>Kalo jire</i> , semi neri di cumino, protezione	What does Haroun need? <i>Kalo jire</i> , black cumin seeds,
----------------	---	---	--

	the evil eye. Thank you, spices.	dall'occhio malvagio. Grazie, spezie.	protection against the evil eye. Thank you, spices.
--	----------------------------------	---------------------------------------	---

Tilo also often teaches her customers some typical Indian recipes that are said to be aphrodisiacs, such as coconut *korma* (135),

(135)

Tilo	You're cooking for her again?	Cucini ancora per lei?	Are you cooking for her again?
Kwesi	She loved the coconut <i>korma</i> .	È impazzita per il <i>korma</i> al cocco.	She went crazy for the coconut <i>korma</i> .
Tilo ((voice))	There's nothing like its delicate flesh to unite two hearts.	Non c'è niente come la sua carne delicata per unire due cuori.	There's nothing like its delicate flesh to unite two hearts.

and *baingan bharta* (136).

(136)

Tilo to Kwesi	[...] You should try the <i>baingan bharta</i> . You grill the eggplant over a flame, sculpt the inside out and then fry it with ten cloves of garlic, cumin seeds, little red onions and tomatoes. And you sprinkle it with coriander leaves. ((voice)) To feed your passion through the night.	[...] Dovresti provare la <i>baingan bharta</i> . Arrostitisci la melanzana su una fiamma, tiri fuori la polpa e poi la friggi con dieci spicchi d'aglio, semi di cumino, cipolline rosse e pomodori. E una spolverata di foglie di coriandolo. ((voice)) Per tenere viva la passione per tutta la notte.	[...] You should try the <i>baingan bharta</i> . You grill the eggplant over a flame, sculpt the inside out and then fry it with ten cloves of garlic, cumin seeds, little red onions and tomatoes. And you sprinkle it with coriander leaves. ((voice)) To feed your passion through the night.
---------------	--	---	--

She explains the positive effects *paan*²⁸ and *supari*²⁹ can have for couples (137),

(137)

Tilo to Kwesi	I have got something for you today. <i>Paan</i> , a must at the end of every couple's meal. What else here... is... sticks of <i>supari</i> for intoxication...	Ho una cosa che fa per te oggi. <i>Paan</i> , indispensabile alla fine di ogni pasto di una coppia. Dunque... ci mettiamo, guarda... bastoncini di <i>supari</i> per l'ebbrezza...	I have got something for you today. <i>Paan</i> , a must at the end of every couple's meal. Now... we put... look... sticks of <i>supari</i> for intoxication...
---------------	---	--	--

and she gives *garan masala* to sad and depressed hearts to give them hope again (138).

(138)

Tilo ((voice))	I'll give her a special blend of <i>garan masala</i> , for hope.	Le darò una miscela speciale di <i>garan masala</i> , per la speranza.	I'll give her a special blend of <i>garan masala</i> , for hope.
----------------	--	--	--

Things change when Tilo falls in love with Doug, an American architect; indeed, as the spices represent tradition, and tradition is resistant to change, the spices put up resistance when Tilo seems to choose Doug over them. They thus refuse to tell Tilo what Doug's spice is when she asks them for advice, addressing them directly with their names as if they were real persons, as she first talks to the man in her shop (139).

(139)

Tilo	Everyone has a spice.	Ognuno ha una sua spezia.	Everyone has a spice.
Doug	Really? I've got a spice too? And which one is mine?	Davvero? Ne ho una anch'io? E qual è la mia?	Really? I've got a spice too? And which one is mine?

²⁸ A preparation combining betel leaf with areca nut and sometimes also with tobacco, chewed for its stimulant and psychoactive effects.

²⁹ Areca nut.

Tilo	If you wait here a minute, I'll just go find yours. ((voice)) Spices, speak to me. What does he need? Is it <i>Methi</i> seeds for strength? <i>Ajwain</i> for confidence? Fennel for perseverance? Why I cannot see? [...] <i>Asafetida</i> the antidote to love. You can't be his spice.	Beh, se aspetta un attimo la vado a cercare. ((voice)) Spezie, parlatemi. Di che cosa ha bisogno? Semi di <i>Methi</i> per la forza? Semi di <i>Ajwain</i> per la sicurezza in se stesso? Finocchio per la perseveranza? Perché non riesco a vedere? [...] <i>Asafetida</i> , l'antidoto all'amore. Non puoi essere tu la sua spezia.	Well, if you wait here a minute, I'll just go and search for it. ((voice)) Spices, speak to me. What does he need? Is it <i>Methi</i> seeds for strength? <i>Ajwain</i> seeds for self-confidence? Fennel for perseverance? Why I cannot see? [...] <i>Asafetida</i> , the antidote to love. You can't be his spice.
------	---	---	--

Without any help from the spices, Tilo gives Doug an herb, *tulsi*, which she knows has the only power to remind him to go back to her (140),

(140)

Tilo	I'm all out of your spice but... I have something for you.	Io avrei finito la sua spezia però aspetti... qui ho qualcosa per lei	I'm all out of your spice but wait... here I have something for you.
Doug	What is it?	Che cos'è?	What's it?
Tilo	This is ... <i>tulsi</i> , holy basil.	Questo è... <i>tulsi</i> , basilico santo.	This is ... <i>tulsi</i> , holy basil.
Doug	What's for?	A che serve?	What's for?
Tilo	Drink it like tea. And that's on the house.	Lo prepari come il tè. Glielo offre la casa.	You prepare it like tea. That's on the house.
Tilo ((voice))	<i>Tulsi</i> , for remembering.	<i>Tulsi</i> , per ricordare. Ricordarsi di tornare.	<i>Tulsi</i> , for remembering.

	Remember to come back.		Remember to come back.
--	------------------------	--	------------------------

though aware that if only she could use another special spice, *prishniparni* (something that is instead forbidden as she cannot exploit the power of the spices to her own ends), she would certainly have him back (141).

(141)

Tilo ((voice))	It would be so easy, just once, to use the spices for myself. Mushed <i>Prishniparni</i> , burnt with loto's roots in the evening, would make him come back to me.	Sarebbe così facile, per una sola volta, usare le spezie per me stessa. <i>Prishniparni</i> schiacciata, bruciata con radici di loto la sera, lo farebbero tornare da me.	It would be so easy, just once, to use the spices for myself. Mushed <i>Prishniparni</i> , burnt with loto's roots in the evening, would make him come back to me.
-------------------	--	---	--

The fact that the original names of the spices are always preserved unaltered in both versions of the film underlines that Tilo's Spice Bazaar is metaphoric of the Indian presence in the world: the spices and their names become the Indian means of creating a multicultural and multilingual world within which the boundaries between cultures and languages are blurred and ethnic differences are dissolved.

The healing power assigned to food is also sometimes ascribed to specific types of drink used in traditional local medicine. In *The Mistress of Spices*, when Doug goes back to Tilo after his mother's death, she offers him some *nimbu pani*, a drink traditionally used to calm one's nerves and relieve sufferings (142),

(142)

Tilo to Doug	I'll give you a <i>nimbu pani</i> , a lime soda. It'll cool you down.	Ti porto un <i>nimbu pani</i> , una bibita al lime. Ti calmerà i nervi.	I'll bring you a <i>nimbu pani</i> , a lime soda. It'll cool you down.
-----------------	---	---	--

whereas in *Eat Pray Love*, when Liz is in Bali, she is offered by Wayan some *jamu* (a term derived from two ancient Javanese words, *djampi*, meaning “healing someone using herbs or prayers and spells”, and *oesodo*, meaning “health”), an Indonesian medicine made from parts of plants like roots, barks, flowers, seeds, leaves and fruits and commonly used by herbal practitioners as a form of therapy to maintain good health and to treat diseases (143).

(143)

Wayan	<i>Jamu</i> . Drink this. Better than antibiotic.	<i>Jamu</i> . Bevi. Meglio che antibiotico.	<i>Jamu</i> . Drink this. Better than antibiotic.
-------	---	--	---

As excerpts (142) and (143) show, the original names themselves of these types of drinks seem to be endowed with magical properties and allow the audience to further taste the films’ exotic flavour.

3.2.5.4. Food in intercultural and interlingual relationships

The therapeutic potential ethnic food is bestowed with leads us to point out another interesting aspect as far the presence and rendering of L3 food references in our corpus of films are concerned. Indeed, in many of the films under study, ethnic specialties and their original names are also seen as perfect vehicles for emotional manifestations, as feelings are often kneaded into food and intercultural passions find shape in tasting food typically belonging to the partner’s culinary traditions.

This can be observed, for instance, in *Ae Fond Kiss* when Casim offers Roisin some *glab jamin*, a popular dessert in India and Pakistan³⁰, in the attempt to assimilate the girl into his own cultural heritage teaching her something of his own foodways also from the linguistic point of view (144).

(144)

Casim	Here you go, Miss Hanlon.	Ecco a lei, signorina professoressa.	Here you go, miss professor.
Roisin	Ooh, lovely!	Oh, che bello!	Oh, how lovely!
Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice	<i>Glab jamin</i> con il	<i>Glab jamin</i> with

³⁰ Also known as “waffle balls”, it is made of dough, often including double cream and a little flour in a sugar syrup flavored with cardamom, rosewater or saffron.

	cream.	gelato.	ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Glab jammin.</i>	<i>Glab jami?</i>	
Casim	No, <i>glab jamin</i> and ice cream.	No, si dice <i>glab jamin</i> con gelato.	No, you say <i>glab jamin</i> with ice cream.
Roisin	<i>Jamin</i> , thanks very much. What is it?	Grazie, ma che cos'è?	Thanks, but what is it?
Casim	<i>Glab jamin</i> and ice cream.	<i>Glab jamin</i> con il gelato.	<i>Glab jamin</i> with ice cream.

Similarly, in *Eat Pray Love*, when Felipe and Liz are at Bali local market, he offers her *rambutan*, fruits from Southeastern Asia similar to lychees (145).

(145)

Felipe	These are <i>rambutan</i> . They're delicious. It's like an orange made love to a plum. Would you like some?	Questi sono <i>rambutan</i> . Una delizia. È come se un'arancia avesse fatto l'amore con una prugna. Li vuoi assaggiare?	These are <i>rambutan</i> . They're delicious. It's like an orange made love to a plum. Would you like to taste them?
--------	--	--	---

As these exotic fruits are unknown in the Western countries and Liz has never heard their name, Felipe tries to explain how they taste using a simile that has amorous connotations, thus projecting on food the love expectations he has of the woman.

Considering all the instances of food naming discussed above, we could say that the recurrent mentioning the original L3 names of ethnic dishes further ascribes identity to the ethnic and immigrant characters, reinforcing, also from the linguistic point of view, the strong connection between belonging to a specific ethnic group and consuming a certain type of food that is highly representative of one's own sociocultural, and linguistic, heritage.

3.3. The loss of ethnolinguistic visibility: dubbing intrasentential code-switching

Notwithstanding the prevailing tendency to retain the L3 culture-bound references in both versions of the films under investigation, as observed in the previous sections, the contrastive analysis of the original dialogues and of the Italian dubbed dialogues highlights that, in a few cases, the L3 culture-specific terms to be found in the instances of intrasentential code-switching in the original dialogues are rendered in dub in the Italian dubbed version, according to different domesticating strategies (covering 22% of the total occurrences).

One exception to the general foreignizing tendency in the rendering of cultural specifics is to be observed in *Ae Fond Kiss* (2 items; 146) and *Bend It Like Beckham* (5 items; 147-150), where the Punjabi culture-specific term *gora/goree*, used by the Pakistani characters to refer to fair-skinned Western people, is always translated in the Italian version with either adjectives like *bianco/a* (“white”) in (146-149) and *bionda* (“blond”) in (147) or derogatory terms like *stronza* (“bitch”) in (150).

(146)

Mr Khan to Casim	Listen, don't let a cheap <i>goree</i> come between us. [...]	Ascolta, non lasciare che una bianca si metta tra noi.	Don't let a white woman come between us.
------------------	---	--	--

(147)

Indian girl	Hey! Who's that <i>goree</i> watching her?	Ehi! Chi è la bionda che la sta guardando?	Hey! Who is the blond that is watching her?
-------------	--	--	---

(148)

Mr Bhamra to Joe	[...] But when I came to this country nothing. I was not allowed to play in any of the teams and these bloody <i>goras</i> in their clubhouses made fun of my turban and sent me	[...] Ma quando arrivai in Inghilterra, niente. Non mi fu permesso di giocare in nessuna squadra. I maledetti bianchi dei circoli sportivi mi sottevano per il mio turbante e mi	But when I arrived to England, nothing. I was not allowed to play in any of the teams. The bloody <i>goras</i> in their clubhouses made fun of my turban and sent me
------------------	--	--	--

	off packing!	cacciarono via.	off packing.
--	--------------	-----------------	--------------

(149)

Jess to Pinky	Pinks, do you think mum and dad would still speak to me if I ever brought home a <i>gora</i> ?	Pinky, secondo te mamma e papà mi perdonerebbero se sposassi un bianco?	Pinky, do you think mum and dad would forgive me if I ever married a <i>gora</i> ?
------------------	--	---	--

(150)

Pinky to Jess	What the bleeding hell's going on, eh? What's that <i>gora</i> going on about you being a lesbo? I thought you fancied your coach!	Si può sapere che cavolo succede? Eh? Perché quella stronza dice che sei lesbica? Ma non ti piaceva l'allenatore?	Is it possible to know what the hell's going on, eh? Why does that <i>gora</i> tell that you are a lesbo? But didn't you fancy your coach?
------------------	--	---	--

In (146-150) the lexical choices to be observed in the Italian dubbed version, as far as the rendering of the term *gora/goree* is concerned, emphasize the negative connotations the word is originally embedded with but cause the loss of its racial connotations, something that is instead crucial in films revolving around racial conflicts (see Bonsignori, Bruti 2008).

A different translation of the term *goree* is to be recognized in *Ae Fond Kiss* when it is used by Hammid (151).

(151)

Hammid	She's a nobody compared to your family, right? Your family back home. You've got a mosque right there. Listen, you're being stupid if you think for one	È niente in confronto alla tua famiglia, okay? La famiglia che ti aspetta a casa. C'è una moschea proprio laggiù. Senti, sei davvero stupido se pensi solo per un minuto che loro	She is nothing compared to your family, ok? The family that waits for you at home. There's a mosque just over there. Listen, you are really stupid if you
--------	---	---	---

minute everyone's going to understand. No one's going to understand. As far as anyone's concerned, she's a <i>goree</i> , she's a white girl, that's it. She's not a Muslim.	possano capire. Nessuno potrà capirti. Per loro lei resta un'occidentale, una ragazza bianca, ecco cos'è. Non è musulmana.	think just for one minute that they could understand. Nobody is going to understand you. For them she remains a westerner, a white girl, that's what she is. She's not a Muslim.
--	--	--

In (151) Hammid's metaphorical intrasentential code-switching from English to Punjabi when quoting the term *goree* underlines the pressure the Indian subcontinent continues to exert on him even though he is perfectly integrated in the Glaswegian society, and this is a crucial aspect related to the character's portrayal that is lost in the Italian version, where the term *goree* is translated with the Italian noun phrase *un'occidentale* ("a Westerner"), conveying the same expressive meaning in pointing out the opposition East vs West but depriving the target version of the sociocultural connotations the use of the original term entails.

Another loss of important ethnolinguistic implications in the Italian dub of L3 culture-bound references can be observed when affectionate term of address are at stake; indeed, in a few cases (12 items), they are rendered in Italian with their referential equivalents that, though implying the same expressive connotations, do not exert the same emotional impact exerted by the use of the L3 terms in the films' original version. This is to be observed in particular in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *East Is East*, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, *Real Women Have Curves*.

The term of address *putar* is used in both *Bend It Like Beckham* and *East Is East* and it is rendered in different ways in their Italian dubbed version; in *Bend It Like Beckham*, where it is mostly preserved unaltered in Italian (see excerpt 32), it is translated in (152) as *figliola* ("my daughter") and in (153) as *figliolo* ("my son"), according to the character it refers to,

(152)

Mr	Don't play with	Non buttare via il tuo	Don't throw away
----	-----------------	------------------------	------------------

Bhamra to Jess	your future, <i>putar</i> .	futuro, figliola.	your future, child.
----------------	-----------------------------	-------------------	---------------------

(153)

Mr Bhamra to Tony	Of course, <i>putar</i> !	Ma certo, figliolo. Sono molto contento.	But of course, child. I'm very happy.
-------------------	---------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

whereas in *East Is East* it is omitted when used by George Khan in addressing his son Saj (154).

(154)

George to Saj	See, <i>putar</i> ? This is very special watch. It tell you time in Arabic!	Guarda qui. Questo orologio molto speciale. Dice ora in arabo!	Look here. This watch very special. Tells time in Arabic!
---------------	---	--	---

A similar loss of affectionate connotations in dubbing an L3 address form can be recognized when the term *auntyji* is standardized as *zia* (“aunt”), in the Italian dubbed version of *East Is East* (155),

(155)

Relative to Ella	<i>Auntyji</i> , you're looking more beautiful every time I see you.	Zia, ogni volta che ti vedo sei più bella.	Aunt, you are more beautiful every time I see you.
------------------	--	--	--

as well as when, in *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, the Greek forms of address *thia* and *thio*, mostly maintained unaltered in the Italian dubbed version of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2* (see excerpts 47-49) are rendered with their standard Italian equivalent *zia* (“aunt”) in (156-158) and *zio* (“uncle”) in (156), something that confirms the already observed tendency towards foreignization in films released in more recent years.

(156)

Toula to Voula	[...] You could be with <i>thio</i> more, and you could take a vacation. I	[...] Staresti di più con lo zio, ti prenderesti una vacanza. Te la	[...] You would stay more with uncle, you could take a vacation. I
----------------	--	---	--

	could book it for you. But, <i>thia</i> , would you hire me?	prenoterei io. Ma zia, mi assumeresti?	could book it for you. But, aunt, would you hire me?
--	--	--	--

(157)

Toula	Okay. <i>Thia</i> Voula?	Bene. Zia Voula?	Okay. Aunt Voula?
Voula	Oh...	Oh...	Oh...
Toula	<i>Thia</i> Voula?	Zia Voula?	Aunt Voula?
Voula	Yes? When you come to my house and I cook for you?	Sì? Quando vieni a casa mia e io cucino per te?	Yes? When do you come to my house and I cook for you?
Ian	Okay.	Presto.	Soon.
Toula	<i>Thia</i> , that might be a problem.	Oh, potrebbe esserci un problema.	Oh, there might be a problem.

(158)

Toula	<i>Thia</i> Voula, we're going to dance!	Zia Voula, adesso si balla!	Aunt Voula, now we're going to dance!
-------	--	-----------------------------	---------------------------------------

Address forms for family members are likewise dubbed in the Italian version of *Real Women Have Curves*, where such affectionate terms of address as *mija*, i.e. “my daughter”, used by Mrs García to address Ana (3 occurrences; 159-161), and *amá*, i.e. “mum”, used by both Ana and Estela to address their mother (7 occurrences; 162-165) in different conversational contexts are rendered, respectively, as *figlia mia* (“my daughter”) and *mamma* (“mum”), losing the emotional connotations the use of the we-code within family interactions originally entails.

(159)

Mrs García to Ana	<i>Mija</i> , I'm really sick.	Figlia mia, sono molto malata.	My daughter, I'm really sick.
-------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------------	-------------------------------

(160)

Mrs García to Ana	<i>Mija</i> , I woke up in the middle of the night, soaking wet. It was like I was on fire.	Figlia mia, mi sono svegliata nel cuore della notte completamente fradicia. Come se avessi il fuoco.	My daughter, I woke up in the middle of the night, soaking wet. It was like I had fire.
-------------------	---	--	---

(161)

Mrs García to Ana	Ana, I need you more than ever, <i>mija</i> .	Ana, adesso ho davvero bisogno di te più che mai, figlia mia.	Ana, I really need you more than ever, my daughter.
-------------------	---	---	---

(162)

Estela	Ana's here, <i>amá</i> .	Ana è qui, mamma.	Ana is here, mum.
--------	--------------------------	-------------------	-------------------

(163)

Estela	No more stories, <i>amá</i> .	Basta storie, mamma.	No more stories, mum.
--------	-------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------

(164)

Estela	<i>Amá</i> , are you doing your work?	Mamma, stai facendo il tuo dovere?	Mum, are you doing your duty?
--------	---------------------------------------	------------------------------------	-------------------------------

(165)

Ana	<i>Amá</i> , come on, let's go.	Mamma, avanti, andiamo.	Mum, come on, let's go.
-----	---------------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------------

Similarly, in *The Second Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* the affectionate term of address *beta*. i.e. “son”, used by Mrs Kapoor to address his son Sonny, is replaced with a pragmatic equivalent *tesoro* (“honey”) (166),

(166)

Sonny's mother to Sonny	Hello, <i>beta</i> .	Buongiorno, tesoro.	Good morning, honey.
-------------------------	----------------------	---------------------	----------------------

and, in *Gran Torino*, the Spanish diminutive *chinito*, i.e. “little Chinese boy”, used with derogatory intentions by a Mexican guy addressing Thao, is translated as *femminuccia* (“sissy”) (167).

(167)

Man of the Mexican gang	Hey, <i>chinito</i> , hey... if you were my baby...	Hei, femminuccia, hei... se fossi la mia ragazza...	Hey, sissy, hey... if you were my girlfriend...
-------------------------	---	---	---

Also L3 interjections, exclamations and formulaic expressions used in instances of unmarked, situation-related intrasentential code-switching are sometimes dubbed (14 items), especially when the characters utter them rapidly and with a low tone of voice as well as when they do not add significant elements either to the speaker’s characterization or to the conversational context. This can be observed, for instance, in *The Hundred-Foot Journey*, where the Hindi interjection *chalo*, i.e. “let’s go, come on” (5 occurrences) is neither borrowed nor translated with an equivalent in the Italian dubbed version (168, 169).

(168)

Mrs Kadam	No more playing, okay? C’mon, bedtime, <i>chalo</i> .	Basta giocare, forza, a letto, dai.	Stop playing, come one, bedtime, come on.
-----------	---	-------------------------------------	---

(169)

Madame Mallory	This is private property.	Questa è proprietà privata.	This is private property.
Hassan	Okay, <i>papa</i> , <i>chalo</i> , let’s go.	Okay, <i>papa</i> , andiamo.	Okay, dad, let’s go.

In this film, another interjection adopted by the Indian characters in the film’s original version but standardized in Italian is *arrey*, i.e. “dude; what’s the hell; for Heaven’s sake” (8 occurrences), commonly used to express surprise, anger or frustration/exasperation, therefore entailing a pragmatic force completely lost in the Italian version where it is omitted (170, 171).

(170)

Mr	<i>Arrey</i> , try one each	Provatene uno e date	Try one and give a
----	-----------------------------	----------------------	--------------------

Kadam	and give a mark out of ten.	un voto da uno a dieci.	mark out of ten.
-------	-----------------------------	-------------------------	------------------

(171)

Hassan	You need to go slower. Papa, <i>arrey!</i> Do something!	Piano, rallenta. Rallenta!	Slow, slow down, slow down. Papa! Slow down!
--------	--	----------------------------	--

Likewise, the Hindi interjection *jaldi karo*, i.e. “hurry up” (1 occurrence), used by Mr Kadam when spurring his children to work as much as possible for the opening of their Indian restaurant, is translated with its Italian equivalent (172).

(172)

Mr Kadam	Hassan, <i>jaldi karo</i> , there’s a lot to be done.	Hassan, fa presto, c’è tanto da fare.	Hassan, hurry up, there’s a lot to do.
----------	---	---------------------------------------	--

An interesting case of cultural substitution and manipulation in translation is instead to be recognized in *My Life in Ruins* (173).

(173)

Irv	I bless you in the name of Socrates, Hippocrates and <i>feta</i> cheese.	Ti benedico nel nome di Socrate, di Ippocrate e di Fallocrate.	I bless you in the name of Socrates, Hippocrates and Fallocrate.
-----	--	--	--

In (173) the expression *feta cheese*, referring to the well-known Greek cheese, is replaced, in the Italian dubbed version, by the term “Fallocrate”, rhyming with “Socrate” and “Ippocrate” and acting, in the filmic context, as the supposed name of a third philosopher (non-existent in Italian philosophy). The Italian lexeme, generally used in a jocular way and referring to a male chauvinist, recreates the same humorous effect of the original lines though deleting the crucial reference to Greek food, which is instead also linguistically celebrated in the original version where its importance is equalled to the importance of two famous Greek philosophers.

Drawing some provisional conclusions from the empiric comparative analysis of the original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films under study with regard to third culture references made by means of intra-sentential code-switching, we can observe that the prevailing tendency is to leave them unaltered in the target version, thus retaining their original local colour and creating a specific trans-ethnic common ground that both the source language audience and the target language audience are made aware of.

CONCLUSIONS

The increasingly pervasive multilingualism characterizing contemporary multicultural societies proves to be an outstanding presence in contemporary European and American multicultural cinema, whose fictional multiethnic worlds mirror real-life European and American multiethnic communities and capture the centrality of their multilingual discourse practices. Indeed, in polyglot films where the linguistic otherness distinctive of cross-cultural encounters and interactions represents a crucial element, multilingualism does not merely function as an ornament, it is not simply a device to mark location or nationality but a central narrative component and a major vehicle for both plot development and character portrayal. In particular, films shot in two or more languages set in multicultural environments and involving a pervasive use of third languages or L3s (Corrius, Zabalbeascoa 2014), i.e. languages spoken by characters whose mother tongue is different from the film's base language, extensively use code-switching as a dynamic conversational strategy to structure and negotiate identity in interaction as well as to (re)construct and (re)negotiate identities and roles in interpersonal relations, considering it as a boundary-levelling or boundary-maintaining linguistic means that also crucially contributes to define in-group and out-group membership, especially when used within immigrant contexts.

The linguistic diversification distinctive of contemporary multicultural audiovisual products, though denoting positive aims as far as the credibility of filmic dialogues is concerned, is often seen as a problematic issue in terms of its rendering when the films at stake are distributed in other countries, as the crucial sociocultural and ethnolinguistic connotations it suggests, and that should be rendered as fully as possible in a target version, are often lost in the dubbing process. It is therefore interesting to focus the attention on how the presence of third languages, in instances of turn-specific, intersentential and intrasentential code-switching, is dealt with in contemporary intercultural films faithfully portraying real intercultural contexts where language alternation practices stand out as key conversational procedures, and to examine how the third languages to be found in the films' original version are rendered in the films' Italian dubbed version, verifying the extent to which the L3s are conveyed to the target language audience. To reach these goals, sixteen European and American contemporary multilingual and multicultural films, whose dialogues are permeated with language alternation practices,

have been selected and an empirical comparative diachronic analysis of the ways in which the L3s are used in their original version and rendered in their Italian dubbed version has been carried out, revealing many interesting aspects from both a sociolinguistic and a translational perspective.

One important sociolinguistic aspect our study highlights is that code-switching is mainly used, in the films' original version, to reflect various nuances of identity in multilayered situational contexts within multiracial, multilingual communities, showing how sociohistorical context is strictly tied to the use of language in social interaction (Bucholtz, Hall 2005). Be it turn-specific, intersentential or intersentential, code-switching results to be the communicative strategy most capable of conveying the foreign/immigrant characters' essence, as the speakers involved in multilingual interactions "index polyphonous identities through their use of the language" (Barrett 1999: 318) and become crucial channels of sociocultural recollections.

From a translational point of view, a key feature that emerges from the through comparative examination of the films' original version and of their Italian dubbed version pertains to the fact that, whereas in the films' original versions the L3 used in instances of turn-specific, intersentential and intrasentential code-switching always prevails in the spoken exchanges, in the films' Italian dubbed version different transfer modes are adopted for the instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, on the one hand, and for the instances of intrasentential code-switching, on the other hand.

With regard to the L3 used in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching, 32% of the total 567 occurrences to be recognized in our corpus of films is dubbed into the L2 by means of both domestication (26%) and explicitation in translation (6%), whereas in a very few cases (1%) the L3 is omitted and not replaced with the L2. Such loss proves to be particularly severe when the representation of immigrant communities is at stake as, in dubbing, the immigrant culture is made invisible in the language of translation, which fails both to reflect the moral values and sociocultural attitudes of the migrant characters and to reproduce the, also linguistic, hybridity of their experience in the host society as expressed by their recurrent switching between they-code and we-code. Evidence of this is extensively provided by our study, which shows how it is in particular in three films released between 1999 and 2004

and revolving around the lives of immigrant families (i.e. *Real Women Have Curves*, *Bend It Like Beckham*, *À Fond Kiss*) that the prevailing tendency to be observed in the Italian dubbed version with regard to the rendering of the L3s is either to dub the L3/we-code into standard spoken L2 through a process of domestication, explicitation and sociocultural adaptation, or to omit it, with the result being a “linguistic whitewashing of originally bright colors into various shades of grey” (Whitman-Linsen 1996: 118), “a sacrifice of realism for the sake of comprehension” (Bleichenbacher 2008: 55). Indeed, the Italian dialogues, in homogenizing multilingual speech patterns and erasing the visibility of the L3, obscure the role code-switching plays as a tool to give voice to immigrant families’ internal structures and cross-cultural relationships, leading the defining sociocultural and ethnolinguistic features of the original films to be diluted to the point of neutralization, flattening out the identity of the characters and depriving the target audience of the emotional impact the use of code-switching entails.

But the empirical comparative examination of the original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films making up our corpus reveals that other transfer modes are adopted, besides and more extensively than dubbing, for the rendering of L3s in instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching in the films’ Italian dubbed version, preserving the L3 at the spoken level and safeguarding the linguistic interplay always brought to the fore in the films’ original version.

Among these procedures, open interlingual subtitles cover 16% of the total occurrences of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching and guarantee a satisfactory representation of the films’ ethnolinguistic background; indeed, hearing the real voices of the foreign/immigrant characters gives vital clues to the definition of their sociolinguistic identity (Snell-Hornby 1998) and the presence of open interlingual subtitles proves to be an undeniable aid to comprehension, enabling the target viewers to get more deeply involved in the filmic context and satisfying their expectations concerning ‘other’ societies, cultures and languages.

If open interlingual subtitles allow the target audience to savour the original films’ linguistic foreignness, this goal seems to be even more thoroughly achieved when the L3 is left undubbed at the spoken level and untranslated (covering 18% of the total occurrences), a procedure that preserves unaltered the films’ original degree of heterolingualism and their overall ethnolinguistic architecture.

Other transfer modes adopted in the Italian dubbed version of the films under investigation for the instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching that safeguard the role played by the L3 in the original version, plunging the audience in the films' 'exotic' essence, are: interpreting (covering 19% of the total occurrences), used with specific narrative aims both to enable communication and to convey the characters' emotional involvement in the conversational act, thus also fulfilling code-switching's referential, emotive and phatic functions; misinterpreting (covering 2% of the total occurrences), implying a process of manipulation in translation that is enacted by the characters themselves as a voluntary act of conveying a different meaning in order to achieve different narrative aims; voice-over (covering 3% of the total occurrences), a type of simultaneous interpreting that proves to be an efficient method to convey meaning especially in the instances of turn-specific code-switching.

The above-mentioned procedures, i.e. open subtitles, non-translation, voice-over, interpreting, misinterpreting, cover 58% of the total occurrences of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching to be recognized in our corpus of films, thus resulting to be the prevailing category of transfer modes adopted for these two types of language alternation and particularly to be observed in films released in or after 2004; this highlights, from a diachronic perspective, a recently emerged tendency towards foreignization in audiovisual translation that restrains "the ethnocentric violence" (Venuti 1995: 20) of traditional domestication translation procedures. Indeed, if compared to dubbing methods, these transfer modes save the integrity and vitality of the source language dialogues thus guaranteeing a higher degree of faithfulness to the original multiethnic context's linguistic and cultural nuances.

With regard to intrasentential code-switching within which L3 terms and expressions are used to refer to cultural specifics, our empirical comparative analysis shows that most instances of L3 culture-bound references are borrowed and maintained unaltered in the Italian dubbed version (covering 78% of the total 568 occurrences), with only a very low percentage of third culture references dubbed into Italian (covering 22% of the total occurrences) and either translated with Italian equivalents (in some cases with different Italian terms used to translate one specific L3 term, according to both speaker and conversational context) or omitted. The transference of L3 culture-specific references in the Italian dubbed version fully recreates the films' original ethnolinguistic specificity

provided by the presence of an L3, making “the translated text a site where a cultural other is not erased but manifested” (Venuti 1998: 242).

We could therefore conclude by saying that the translation strategies nowadays most commonly adopted in the Italian dubbed versions of polyglot films highlight a new trend in audiovisual translation that privileges a faithful rendering of the otherness conveyed by the presence of L3s in instances of turn-specific, intersentential and intrasentential code-switching, thoroughly re-creating the translanguaging and transcultural interactional dynamics to be observed in real-life multiethnic linguistic scenarios and constructing cinematic multicultural and multilingual dimensions within which different linguistic and cultural traditions merge in never-ending processes of cultural and linguistic negotiations.

REFERENCES

- Abend-David, D. (ed.) 2014. *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. London: Continuum.
- Aixelá, J.F. 1996. "Culture-Specific Items in Translation." In A. Román, M.C.A. Vidal (eds.) *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 52-78.
- Anchimbe, E.A. (ed.) 2014. *Structural and Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Indigenisation: On Multilingualism and Language Evolution*. New York/London: Springer.
- Appel, R., P. Muysken 1987. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London/Baltimore, MD: Edward Arnold.
- Armstrong, N. 2005. *Translation, Linguistics, Culture: A French-English Handbook*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Arnold, E. 1993. "Towards a Language-Based Theory of Learning". *Linguistics and Education*, 5 (2), 93-166.
- Audissino, E. 2014. "Dubbing as a Formal Interference: Reflections and Examples". In D. Abend-David (ed.) *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. London: Continuum, 97-118.
- Auer, P. (ed.) 2007. *Style and Social Identities. Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Auer, P., L. Wei (eds.) 2005. "A postscript: code-switching and social identity". *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 403-410.
- 2007. *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Azuma, S. 2001. "Functional categories and codeswitching in Japanese/English". In R. Jacobson (ed.) *Trends in Linguistics: Codeswitching Worldwide II*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 91-103.
- Bailey, B. 2007. "Multilingual forms of talk and identity work". In P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 341-369.
- Baker, C. 2017. "Knowledge About Bilingualism and Multilingualism". In J. Cenoz, D. Gorter, S. May (eds.) *Language Awareness and Multilingualism*. Springer: Cham, 282-295.
- Baker, C., P. Jones 1998. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, M. 1992. *In Other Words: A Course Book on Translation*. London: Routledge.

- Baldo, M. 2009. "Dubbing multilingual films. *La terra del ritorno* and the Italian-Canadian immigrant experience". In M. G. Marrano, G. Nadiani, C. Rundle (eds.) *InTRAlinea Special Issue: The Translation of Dialects in Multimedia*. Retrieved from <http://www.intralinea.org/specials/article/1716>
- Baños, R. 2014. "Insights into the False Orality of Dubbed Fictional Dialogue and the Language of Dubbing". In D. Abend-David (ed.) *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. London: Continuum, 75-95.
- Baños, R., F. Chaume 2009. "Prefabricated Orality: A Challenge in Audiovisual Translation". In M. G. Marrano, G. Nadiani, C. Rundle (eds.) *InTRAlinea Special Issue: The Translation of Dialects in Multimedia*. Retrieved from http://www.intralinea.it/specials/dialectrans/ita_more.php?id=761_0_49_0_M
- Baquedano-López, P., S. Kattan 2007. "Growing up in a multilingual community: Insights from language socialization". In P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.). *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 69-100.
- Baranitch, V. 1995. "General situation with electronic media in Belarus". *Translatio, Nouvelles de la FIT-FIT Newsletter* XIV (3-4): 308-11.
- Barrett, R. 1999. "Indexing polyphonous identity in the speech of African American drag queens". In M. Bucholtz, A.C. Liang, L.A. Sutton (eds.) *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press, 313-31.
- Bartoll, E. 2006. "Subtitling multilingual films". *MuTra: Conference Proceedings Audiovisual Translation Scenarios*.
- Bassnett, S. 1993. *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 2014. *Translation*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Bassnett, S., E. Bielsa 2009. *Translation in Global News*. London/New York: Routledge
- Baumgarten, N. 2005. *The Secret Agent: Film Dubbing and the Influence of the English Language on German Communicative Preferences. Towards a Model for the Analysis of Language Use in Visual Media*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hamburg.
- Beardsome, H.B. 1991. *Bilingualism: Basic Principles*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*, London/New York: Routledge.

- Bhat, C. 2000. "Contexts of Intra and Inter Ethnic Conflict among the Indian Diaspora Communities". Occasional Paper 5, University of Hyderabad: Centre of Study of Indian Diaspora.
- Bhatia, T.K. 2011. "The multilingual mind, optimization theory, and Hinglish". In R. Kothari, R. Snell (eds.) *Chutneying English: The Phenomenon of Hinglish*. New Delhi: Penguin, 37-52.
- Bhatia, T.K., W.C. Ritchie (eds.) 2004. "Bilingualism in the Global Media and Advertising". In T.K. Bhatia, W.C. Ritchie (eds.) *Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 513-46.
- 2013. *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bhatt, R.M. 2010. "World Englishes, globalization and the politics of conformity". In M. Saxena, T. Omoniyi (eds.) *Contending with Globalization in World Englishes*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 93-130.
- Bielsa, E., S. Bassnett 2009. *Translation in Global News*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Bleichenbacher, L. 2008. *Multilingualism in the Movies. Hollywood Characters and their Language Choices*. Tübingen: Francke Verlag.
- Blommaert, J. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blum-Kulka, S. 2000. "Shifts of cohesion and coherence in translation". In L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*. London/New York: Routledge, 298-312.
- Bollettieri Bosinelli, R.M., E. Di Giovanni 2009. *Oltre l'Occidente. Traduzione e alterità culturale*. Milano: Bompiani.
- Bower, A.L. 2004. *Reel Food. Essays on Food and Film*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Bucaria, C. 2008. "Acceptance of the norm or suspension of disbelief? The case of formulaic language in dubbese". In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss, C. Bucaria (eds.) *Between Text and Image. Updating Research in Screen Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 149-163.
- Bucholtz, M., K. Hall 2005. "Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach". *Discourse Studies*, VII (4-5), 586-614.
- Bullock, B., A. Toribio 2009. "Themes in the study of code-switching". In B. Bullock, A. Toribio (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-17.

- Callahan, L. 2009. *Spanish and English in Service Encounters*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carra, J.N. 2009. "The presence of Spanish in American movies and television shows. Dubbing and subtitling strategies". *Vial*, 6, 51-71.
- Chatman, S.B. 1978. *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Chaume, F. 2004. "Film Studies and Translation Studies: two disciplines at stake in Audiovisual Translation". *Meta*, 49 (1), 12-24.
- 2007. "Quality standards in dubbing: a proposal". *TradTerm*, 13, 71-89.
- 2012. *Audiovisual Translation: Dubbing*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Chiaro, D. 2009. "Issues in audiovisual translation". In J. Munday (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*. London: Routledge, 141-165.
- 2010. *Translation, Humour and the Media*. London: Continuum.
- 2012. "Audiovisual Translation". In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Hoboken New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1050-1060.
- Corrius Gimbert, M. 2005. "The Third Language: A Recurrent Textual Restriction In Audiovisual Translation". *Cadernos de tradução*, XVI, 147-160.
- Corrius, M., P. Zabalbeascoa 2011. "Language variation in source texts and their translations. The case of L3 in film translation". *Target*, 23 (1), 113-130.
- Cronin, M. 2009. *Translation Goes to the Movies*. London: Routledge.
- Cui, J., 2012. *Untranslatability and the Method of Compensation. Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2 (4), 826-830.
- Cymbalista, P. 2003. *Untranslatability as Culture-Specific Phenomenon. Studia Anglica Resoviensia*, 2 (14), 21-31.
- Danan, M. 1991. "Dubbing as an expression of nationalism". *Meta*, 36 (4), 606-614.
- Dasgupta, S. 1998. "Gender Roles and Cultural Continuity in the Asian Indian Immigrant Community in the US". *Sex Roles*, 38 (11-12), 953-974.
- Davis, R. 2003. *Writing Dialogue for Scripts: Effective Dialogue for Film, TV, Radio and Stage*. London: Methuen.
- de Higes Andino, I. 2014. "The translation of multilingual films. Modes, strategies, constraints and manipulation in the Spanish translation of *It's a Free World...*". *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 211-231.

- de Higes-Andino, I., A. Prats-Rodríguez, J. Martínez-Sierra, F. Chaume 2013. "Subtitling Language Diversity in Spanish. Immigration Films". *Meta*, 58 (1), 134-145.
- De Bonis, G. 2014. "Dubbing multilingual films between neutralization and preservation of lingua-cultural identities: a critical review of the current strategies in Italian dubbing". In M. Pavesi, M. Formentelli, E. Ghia (eds.) *The Languages of Dubbing. Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*. Bern: Peter Lang Pub Inc., 243-266.
- Delabastita, D., R. Grutman 2005. "Fictional representations of multilingualism and translation". *Fictionalising Translation and Multilingualism, Linguistica Antverpiensia. New Series Themes in Translation Studies*, 4, 11-34.
- De Linde, Z., N. Key 1999. *The Semiotics of Subtitling*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Dewaele, J. 2007. "Becoming bi- or multi-lingual later in life". In P. Auer, Wei (eds.) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 101-130.
- Díaz Cintas, J. (ed.) 2009. *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Bristol/Buffalo/Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- 2012. "Clearing the Smoke to See the Screen: Ideological Manipulation in Audiovisual Translation". *Meta: Translators' Journal*, 57 (2), 279-293.
- Díaz Cintas, J., A. Remael 2007. *Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Dries, J. 1995. *Dubbing and Subtitling Guidelines for Production and Distribution*. Düsseldorf: The European Institute for the Media.
- Dwyer, T. 2005. "Universally Speaking: Lost in Translation and Polyglot Cinema". *Linguistica Antverpiensia New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 4, 295-310.
- Edwards, J. 2007. "Societal multilingualism: reality, recognition and response". In P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 447-468.
- 2012. *Multilingualism: Understanding Linguistic Diversity*. London: Continuum.
- 2014. "Bilingualism and multilingualism. Some central concepts". In T.K. Bathia, W.C. Ritchie (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Second edition, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 5-25.

- Edwards, V. 2005. *Multilingualism in the English-Speaking World*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Egoyan, A., I. Balfour (eds.) 2004. *Subtitles on the Foreignness of Film*. Cambridge-MA/London: MIT Press.
- Finkel, A.M. 1962. "Ob avtoperevode". *TKP*, 104-125.
- Fishman, J.A. 1977. "The social science perspective". *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives. Social Science*, 1, Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1-49.
- 1991. *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Franco, E., A. Matamala, P. Orero 2010. *Voice-over. Translation. An Overview*. New York/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang.
- Franco Aixelà, J. 1996. "Culture-specific items in Translation". In R. Álvarez, C.A. Vidal (eds.) *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 52-78.
- Freddi, M., M. Pavesi 2009. *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue. Linguistic and Translational Insights*. Bologna: Clueb.
- Gal, S. 1988. "The political economy of code choice". In M. Heller (ed.) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 245-264.
- Gambier, Y. 1996. "Introduction: la traduction audiovisuelle un genre nouveau?". In Y. Gambier (ed.) *Les transferts linguistiques dans les medias audiovisuels*. Villeneuve d'Ascq (Nord): Presses Universitaires du Spententrion, 7-12.
- Gambier, Y., H. Gottlieb (eds.) 2001. *(Multi)Media Translation: Concepts, Practices and Research*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. 2007. "Multilingualism of autochthonous minorities". In P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 469-492.
- Giles, H., P. Johnson 1987. "Ethnolinguistic identity theory: a social psychological approach to language maintenance". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68, 69-99.
- Giles, H., J. Coupland, N. Coupland (eds.) 1991. *Contexts of Accommodation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H., R.N. St. Clair (eds.) 1979. *Language and Social Psychology*. Baltimore: Basil Blackwell.
- Gottlieb, H. 1997. *Subtitles, Translation & Idioms*. Københavns Universitet: Center for Translation Studies and Lexicography.

- 2005. "Subtitling". In M. Baker (ed.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press, 244-248.
 - 2009. "Subtitling against the current: Danish concepts, English minds". In J. Díaz Cintas (ed.) *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 21-43.
- Grice, H.P. 1975. "Logic and Conversation". In P. Cole, J.L. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech acts*, New York: Academic Press, 41-58.
- Grutman, R. 2006. "Refraction and recognition: literary multilingualism in translation". *Target*, 18 (1): 17-47.
- 2009a. "Multilingualism". In M. Baker, G. Saldana (eds.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London/New York: Routledge, 182-86.
 - 2009b. "Writing and Reading Diglossia: Evidence from the French-speaking World". In C.P. Amador Moreno, A. Nunes (eds.) *The Representation of the Spoken Mode in Fiction: How Authors Write How People Talk*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 13-40.
- Gumperz, J.J. 1971. *Language in Social Groups*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hansen-Schirra, S., S. Neumann, E. Steiner 2007. "Cohesive explicitness and explicitation in an English-German translation corpus". *Languages in Contrast*, 7 (2), 241-66.
- Hatim, B., I. Mason 1990. *Discourse and the Translator. Language in Social Life*. London: Longman.
- Heiss, C. 2004. "Dubbing multilingual films: a new challenge?". *Meta: Translators' Journal*, 49 (1), 208-220.
- 2014. "Multilingual Films and Integration? What role does Film Translation Play?". In *Media and Translation - An Interdisciplinary Approach*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 3-24.
- Heller, M. (ed.) 2007. *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2011. *Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, M., M. Martin-Jones (eds.) 2001. *Voices of Authority: Education and Linguistic Difference*. Westport CT: Ablex.

- Hendrickx, P. 1984. "Partial dubbing". *Meta*, 29 (2), 217-18.
- Herbst, T. 1997. "Dubbing and the dubbed text. Style and cohesion: textual characteristics of a special form of translation". In A. Trosborg (ed.) *Text Typology and Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 291-308.
- Hornberger, N. 2005. "Heritage/Community language education: US and Australian Perspectives". *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8 (2-3), 101-108.
- Hua, Z. 2008. "Duelling languages, duelling values: code-switching in bilingual intergenerational conflict talk in diasporic families". *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40, 1799-1816.
- Ivir, V. 1987. "Procedures and strategies for the translation of culture". *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistic*, 13 (2), 35-46.
- Jakobson, R. 1959. "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation". In R. A. Brower (ed.) *On Translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 232-9.
- Kachru, B.B. 1978a. "Code-Mixing as a Communicative Strategy in India". In J.E. Alatis (ed.) *International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 107-124.
- 1978b. "Towards Structuring Code-Mixing: An Indian Perspective". *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 5 (1), 73-92.
- 1985. "Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle". In R. Quirk, H.G. Widdowson (eds.) *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-30.
- Kallivayalil, D. 2004. "Gender and Cultural Socialization in Indian Immigrant Families in the United States". *Feminism & Psychology*, 14 (4), 535-559.
- Karamitroglou, F. 2000. *Towards a Methodology for the Investigation of Norms in Audiovisual Translation: The Choise between Subtitling and Revoicing in Greece*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Kaufmann, F. 1995. "Formation a la traduction et a l'interpretation pour les medias audiovisuels". *Translatio, Nouvelles de la FIT-FIT Newsletter*, XIV (3-4), 431-42.
- Kelly-Holmes, H., T.M. Milani (eds.) 2013. *Thematizing Multilingualism in the Media*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Klaudy, K. 2004. "The asymmetry hypothesis: Testing the asymmetric relationship between explicitations and implicitations". In G. Hansen, K. Malmkjær, D. Gile (eds.) *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress, Copenhagen*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Klaudy, K., K. Károly 2005. "Implication in translation: Empirical evidence for operational asymmetry in translation". *Across Languages and Cultures*, 6 (1), 13-28.
- Kulick, D. 1992. *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self, and syncretism a Papua New Guinean village. (Studies in the social and cultural foundations of language)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lanza, E. 2007. "Multilingualism and the family". In P. Auer, L. Wei (eds.) *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 45-68.
- Leemets, H. 1992. "Translating the 'untranslatable' words". In H. Tommola, K. Varantola, T. Salmi-Tolonen, J. Schopp (eds.) *Papers Submitted to the 5th EURALEX International Congress on Lexicography, in Tampere, Finland*. Part 2. Tampere: University of Tampere, 473-478.
- Lefevere, A. 1985. "Why waste our time on rewrites? The trouble with interpretation and the role of rewriting in an alternative paradigm". In T. Hermans (ed.) *The Manipulation of Literature*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 215-243.
- Leppihalme, R. 2011. "Realia". In Y. Gambier, L. van Doorslaer (eds.) *Handbook of Translations Studies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 126-130.
- Lippi-Green, R. 1997. *English With an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Lipski, J.M. 1985. *Linguistic Aspects of Spanish-English Language Switching*. Tempe, Arizona: Center for Latin American Studies Arizona State University.
- Luyken, G. 1991. *Overcoming Language Barriers in Television: Dubbing and Subtitling for the European Audience*. Düsseldorf: European Institute for the Media.
- Mailhac, J. 1996. "The formulation of translation strategies for cultural references". In C. Hoffmann (ed.) *Language, Culture and*

- Communication in Contemporary Europe*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 132-151.
- Malinverno, A. 1999. "La resa della varietà non-standard dal film americano all'italiano del doppiaggio". In M. Vedovelli (ed.) *Indagini Sociolinguistiche nella Scuola e nella Società Italiana in Evoluzione*. Milano: Franco Angeli, 51-72.
- Mareš, P. 2000a. "Fikce, konvence a realita: k vicejazyčnosti v uměleckých textech" [Fiction, convention and reality: On multilingualism in artistic texts]. *Slovo a slovesnost*, 61, 47-53.
- 2000b. "Mnogojazyčnaja komunikacija i kinofil'm" [Multilingual communication and the movie]. In R.A. Nauk (ed.) *Jazyk kak sredstvo transljatsii kul'tury* [Language as a means of translation of cultures]. Moskva: Nauka, 248-265.
- 2003. "Also: nazdar!": *Aspekty textové vicejazyčnosti* ["Alright: hello!": Aspects of textual multilingualism]. Praha: Karolinum.
- Marzà, A., F. Chaume 2009. "The Language of Dubbing: Present Facts and Future Perspectives". In M. Freddi, M. Pavesi (eds.) *Analyzing Audiovisual Dialogue. Linguistic and Translational Insights*. Bologna: Clueb, 31-9.
- Matamala, A. 2009. "Interjections in original and dubbed sitcoms: a comparison". *Meta*, 54 (3), 485-502.
- Meylaerts, R. 2006. "Heterolingualism in/and translation: how legitimate are the other and his/her language? An introduction". *Target*, 18 (1), 1-15.
- 2010. "Translation and Multilingualism". In Y. Gambier, L. van Doorslaer (eds.) *Handbook of Translation Studies*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 227-30.
- 2013. "Multilingualism as a challenge for Translation Studies". *Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge, 519-533.
- Meylaerts, R., A. Şerban 2014. "Introduction. Multilingualism at the cinema and on stage: A translation perspective". *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 1-13.
- Milroy, L., P. Muysken (eds.) 1995. *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Minutella, V. 2012. "'You fancying your gora coach is ok with me': Translating multilingual films for an Italian audience". In A. Remael, P. Orero, M. Carroll (eds.) *Audiovisual Translation and Media*

- Accessibility at the Crossroads. Media for All 3*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 313-334.
- Montes-Alcalá, C. 2001. "Written codeswitching: Powerful bilingual images". In R. Jacobson (ed.), *Trends in Linguistics: Codeswitching Worldwide II*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 193-219.
- Monti, S. 2009. "Code-switching and multicultural identity in screen translation". In M. Freddi, M. Pavesi (eds.) *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue. Linguistic and Translational Insights*. Bologna: CLUEB, 165-185.
- 2010. "Screen Translation as Gateway and Gate-Keeping in *Ae Fond Kiss*". In A. Saleh Elimam, V. Flippance (eds.) *CTIS Occasional Papers*, 5, 25-49.
 - 2014. "Code-switching in British and American films and their Italian dubbed version". In Adriana Șerban, R. Meylaerts (eds.) *Multilingualism at the Cinema and on Stage: A Translation Perspective, Linguistica Antverpiensia. New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 135-168.
 - 2016. "Reconstructing, Reinterpreting and Renarrating Code-switching in the Italian Dubbed Version of British and American Multilingual Films". In *Ideological Manipulation in Audiovisual Translation, Altre Modernità*, Università degli Studi di Milano, 68-91. Retrieved from <http://riviste.unimi.it/index.php/AMonline>.
 - in press. "Cooking up flavours of linguistic identity in British and American multiethnic films and their Italian dubbed version". In M. Pérez L. de Heredia, I. de Higes Andino (eds.) *MonTI, Special issue 4, "Multilingualism and representation of identities in audiovisual texts / Multilingüismo y representación de las identidades en textos audiovisuales"*.
- Myers-Scotton, C. 1988a. "Self-enhancing codeswitching". *Language and Communication*, 8, 199-211.
- 1988b. "Code Switching as Indexical of Social Negotiations". In M. Heller (ed.) *Codeswitching – Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 151-186.
 - 1993. *Social Motivations for Code-switching. Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Naficy, H. 2001. *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Newmark, P. 1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. New York: Phoenix ELT.

- Nornes, A.M. 2007. *Cinema Babel: Translating Global Cinema*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- O'Connell, E. 2007. "Choices and Constraints in Screen Translation". In L. Bowker et al. (eds.) *Unity in Diversity? Current Trends in Translation Studies*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 65-75.
- O'Hagan, M., D. Ashworth 2002. *Translation-mediated Communication in a Digital World: Facing the Challenges of Globalization and Localization. Topics in Translation*. London: Multilingual Matters.
- O'Sullivan, C. 2007. "Multilingualism at the multiplex: a new audience for screen translation?". In A. Remael, J. Neves (eds.) *A Tool for Social Integration? Audiovisual Translation from Different Angles, Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 6, 82-95.
- 2011. *Translating Popular Film*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Oltra Ripoll, M.D. 2005. "The translation of cultural references in the cinema". In A. Branchadell, L.M. West (eds.), *Less Translated Languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 75-91.
- Paugh, A. 2005. "Learning about Work at Dinnertime: Language Socialization in Dual-earner American Families". *Discourse & Society*, 16 (1): 55-78.
- Pauwels, A., J. Winter, J. Lo Bianco (eds.) 2007. *Maintaining Minority Languages in Transnational Contexts*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pavesi, M. 2005. *La traduzione filmica. Aspetti del parlato doppiato dall'inglese all'italiano*. Roma: Carocci.
- 2008. "Spoken Language in Film Dubbing: Target Language Norms, Interference and Translational Routines". In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss, C. Bucaria (eds.) *Between Text and Image. Updating Research in Screen Translation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: Benjamins, 79-99.
- 2009. "Dubbing English into Italian: A closer look at the translation of spoken language". In J. Díaz Cintas (ed.) *New Trends in Audiovisual Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 201-213.
- Pavesi, M, M. Formentelli, E. Ghia (eds.) *The Languages of Dubbing. Mainstream Audiovisual Translation in Italy*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Pavlenko, A. (ed.) 2006. *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression, and Representation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Peal, E., M. Lambert 1962. "The relation of bilingualism to intelligence". *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 76 (27), 1-23.
- Pedersen, J. 2005. "How is culture rendered in subtitles?". *MuTra 2005 – Challenges of Multidimensional Translation: Proceedings of the Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra: Challenges of Multidimensional Translation*, Saarbrücken 2-6 May 2005, 1-18.
- Perego, E., C. Taylor 2012. *Tradurre l'audiovisivo*. Roma: Carocci.
- Petillo, M. 2008. *Doppiaggio e sottotitolazione. Problemi linguistici e traduttivi nel mondo della screen translation*. Bari: Digilabs.
- Ponno, K. 1995. "Voice over, narration et commentaire". *Translatio, Nouvelles de la FIT-FIT Newsletter*, XIV (3-4), 303-7.
- Poplack, S. 1981. "Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching". In R. Durán (ed.) *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp, 169-184.
- Raffaelli, S. 1994. "Il parlato cinematografico e televisivo". In L. Serianni, P. Trifone (eds.) *Storia della lingua italiana II vol. Scritto e parlato*. Torino: Einaudi, 271-290.
- Ramière, N. 2007. *Strategies of Cultural Transfer in Subtitling and Dubbing*, PhD Thesis. Brisbane, Australia: University of Queensland.
- Ranzato, I. 2010. *La traduzione audiovisiva. Analisi dei riferimenti culturospecifici*. Bulzoni: Roma.
- 2015. "Dubbing Teenage Speech into Italian: Creative Translation in *Skins*". In J. Díaz Cintas, J. Neves (eds.) *Audiovisual Translation: Taking Stock*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 159-175.
 - 2016. *Translating Culture Specific References on Television: The Case of Dubbing*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Raschka, C., S. Lee, L. Wei 2002. "Bilingual development and social networks of British-born Chinese children". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 153, 9-25.
- Remael, A. 2003. "Mainstream Narrative Film Dialogue and Subtitling". *The Translator*, 9 (2), 225-247.
- Rindstedt, C., K. Aronsson 2002. "Growing up monolingual in a bilingual community: The Quichua revitalization paradox". *Language in Society*, 31 (5), 721-742.
- Romaine, S. 2014. "The Bilingual and Multilingual Community". In T.K. Bathia, W.C. Ritchie (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism and*

- Multilingualism*. Second Edition, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 446-465.
- Romero-Fresco, P. 2008. *A Corpus-Based Study on the Idiomaticity of the Spanish Language Used in Dubbing*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Heriot-Watt University.
- Roth, M. 2009. "Transkulturelle Identitätskonstruktion durch Sprache. 'Mix-language' als kultureller Code des Emotionsausdrucks in Texten türkisch-deutscher Autoren und Sprecher". *Muttersprache*, 4, 287-98.
- Sachdev, I., H. Giles 2004. "Bilingual accommodation". In T.K. Bhatia, W.C. Ritchie (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 353-378.
- Sachdev, I., G. Howard, A. Pauwels 2013. "Accommodating multilinguality". In T.J. Bhatia, R. William (eds.) *Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley, 391-416.
- Sadkowska, A. 2016. "The Translator Is Hitting the Road – on the Untranslatability of Culture". *Annales Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Sectio FF, XXXIV* (1), 123-137.
- Sánchez, R. 1983. *Chicano Discourse: Socio-historic Perspectives*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, Inc.
- Sankoff, D., S. Poplack 1981. "A formal grammar for code-switching". *Papers in Linguistics*, 14, 3-46.
- Santamaria Guinot, L. 2001. *Subtitulació i referents culturals. La traducció com a mitjà d'adquisició de representacions socials*. PhD thesis. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Schäffner, C., S. Bassnett (eds.) 2010. *Political Discourse, Media and Translation*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Şerban, A. 2012. "Translation as alchemy: The aesthetics of multilingualism in film". *MonTI*, 4, 39-63.
- Şerban, A., R. Meylaerts (eds.) 2014. "Introduction". *Multilingualism at the cinema and on stage: A translation perspective. Linguistica Antverpiensia. New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 1-13.
- Shaw, D. 2005. "'You are Alright, But...': Individual and Collective Representations of Mexicans, Latins, Anglo-Americans and Africans in Steven Soderbergh's *Traffic*". *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, 22 (3), 211-223.
- Shuttleworth, M., M. Cowie 2004. *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.

- Siemund, P., I. Gogolin, M.E. Schulz, J. Davydova (eds.) 2013. *Multilingualism and Language Diversity in Urban Areas: Acquisition, Identities, Space, Education*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Silverstein, M. 1979. "Language structure and linguistic ideology". In P.R. Clyne, W.F. Hanks, C.L. Hofbauer (eds.) *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 193-247.
- Sinha, A. 2004. "The use and abuse of subtitles". In A. Egoyan, I. Balfour (eds.) *Subtitles on the Foreignness of Film*. Cambridge-MA/London: MIT Press, 171-190.
- Snell-Hornby, M. 1995. *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sridhar, K.K. 1996. "Societal Multilingualism". In S.L. McKay, N.H. Hornberger (eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 47-70.
- Stavans, I. 2003. *Spanglish. The Making of a New American Language*. New York: Collins.
- Sternberg, M. 1981. "Polylingualism as Reality and Translation as Mimesis". *Poetics Today*, 2 (4), 221-239.
- Stockwell, P. 2007. *Sociolinguistics. A Resource Book for Students*. London: Routledge.
- Szarkowska, A. 2005. "The Power of Film Translation". *Translation Journal*, 9 (2). Retrieved from <http://accurapid.com/journal/32film.htm>.
- Takeda, K. 2014. "The interpreter as traitor: Multilingualism in Guizi lai le (Devils on the Doorstep)". *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 95-111.
- Taylor, C. 2000. "In defence of the word: subtitles as conveyors of meaning and guardians of culture". In R.M. Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. *La traduzione multimediale: quale traduzione per quale testo?*. Bologna: CLUEB, 153-166.
- Tomaszkiewicz, A. 2009. "Linguistic and semiotic approaches to audiovisual translation". In M. Freddi, M. Pavesi (eds.) *Analysing Audiovisual Dialogue. Linguistic and Translational Insights*. Bologna: Clueb, 19-30.
- Toury, G. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Ulrych, M. 2000. "Locating Universal Features of Translation Behaviour through Multimedia Translation Studies". In R.M. Bollettieri Bosinelli et al. (eds.) *La traduzione multimediale: quale traduzione per quale testo?* Bologna: CLUEB, 407-429.
- 2000. "Domestication and foreignisation in film translation". In C. Taylor (ed.) *Tradurre il cinema*. Trieste: EUT, 127-144.
- Valdés, C. 1981. "Codeswitching as deliberate verbal strategy. A microanalysis of direct and indirect requests among bilingual Chicano speakers". In R. Durán (ed.) *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp, 95-107.
- Venuti, L. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London/New York: Routledge.
- 1998. *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Verschik, A. 2017. "Language Contact, Language Awareness, and Multilingualism". In J. Cenoz, D. Gorter, S. May (eds.) *Language Awareness and Multilingualism*. Springer: Cham, 99-112.
- Vinay, J.P., J. Darbelnet. 1958. *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*. Paris: Didier.
- 2002. "A methodology for translation". In L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 128-137.
- Vlahov, S., S. Florin 1970. "Neperovodimoe v perevode. Realii". *Masterstvo perevoda* 6, 1969, Moskva, *Sovetskij pisatel*: 432-456.
- Voellmer, E., P. Zabalbeascoa 2014. "How multilingual can a dubbed film be? Language combinations and national traditions as determining factors". In A. Şerban, R. Meylaerts (eds.) *Multilingualism at the Cinema and on Stage: A translation Perspective. Linguistica Antverpiensia. New Series. Themes in Translation Studies*, 13, 232-250.
- Wahl, C. 2008. "'Du Deutscher, Toi Français, You English: Beautiful!' – The polyglot film as genre". In M. Christensen, N. Erdoğan (eds.) *Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 334-50.
- Wei, L. 2011. "Moment analysis and translanguaging space: discursive construction of identities in multilingual Chinese youth in Britain". *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 1222-1235.
- 2014. "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Bilingualism and Multilingualism Research". In T.K. Bathia, W.C. Ritchie

- (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*.
Second edition, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 26-51.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice. Learning a Social System*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitman-Linsen, C. 1996. *Through the Dubbing Glass. The
Synchronization of American Motion Pictures into German, French
and Spanish*. Frankfurt a.M./New York: Peter Lang.
- Woolard, K.A. 2004. "Codeswitching". In A. Duranti (ed.) *A Companion
to Linguistic Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 73-94.
- Zabalbeascoa, P., E. Voellmer 2014. "Accounting for multilingual films in
translation studies: Intratextual translation in dubbing". In D. Abend-
David (ed.) *Media and Translation: An Interdisciplinary Approach*.
London: Continuum, 25-52.
- Zentella, A.C. 1997. *Growing Up Bilingual*. Malden, MA: Blackwell
Publishing.