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Reconstructing, Reinterpreting and Renarrating Code-switching in the Italian Dubbed Version of British and American Multilingual Films

by Silvia Monti

1. MULTILINGUALISM ON THE SCREEN

Contemporary British and American films increasingly focus their attention on language use within multiethnic societies in the UK and the USA where code-switching, i.e. "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 3), proves to be a key linguistic procedure. Indeed, it is often realised when members of immigrant families talk among themselves or with other members of their ethnic community, thus showing how sociohistorical context is tied to the use of language in social interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

Starting from these assumptions, this paper aims at looking contrastively at the translation strategies of the different types of code-switching to be observed in the Italian dubbed versions of the following seven British and American intercultural films:

1. *Bend It like Beckham* (Chadha, 2002, UK; hereafter *BILB*): tells the story of 18-year-old British-Asian Jess Bhamra. Grown up in the western suburbs of London in a family of tradition-bound Sikh immigrants, she joins the local women's soccer team and falls in



- love with her white coach, despite her parents' grounded roots and the conventional plans they have for her future.
2. *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Zwick, 2002, US; hereafter *MBFGW*): 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.
 3. *Real Women Have Curves* (Cardoso, 2003, US; hereafter *RWHC*): 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 realises that leaving home to continue her education is essential to finding her place proudly in the world as an American and Chicana.
 4. *Ae Fond Kiss* (Loach, 2004, UK; hereafter *AFK*): revolves around the relationship between Casim Khan, a second-generation Pakistani working as a DJ in Glasgow, and Roisin, an Irish Catholic schoolteacher, and highlights the clash of cultures and personalities that arises when their relationship is discovered.
 5. *Spanglish* (Brooks, 2004, US; hereafter *SP*): 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.
 6. *Gran Torino* (Eastwood, 2008, US; hereafter *GT*): revolves around the character of Walt Kowalski, a Korean war veteran who meets his new Hmong neighbors and gradually overcomes his prejudices and ethnocentric beliefs getting involved in their life.
 7. *My Life in Ruins* (Petrie, 2009, US; hereafter *MLR*): Georgia, a college professor of Classical Greek studies, 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 realising that true love may be closer than she thinks if she could just recapture her *kefi* (mojo).

In these films, code-switching functions as a crucial means of the bilingual immigrants' characterisation as they express their bicultural identity through a symbolic use of linguistic variation, proving how multilingualism of autochthonous groups, not actually relevant to practical requirements, is nonetheless important as an act of self-identification (Auer and Wei 2007). Indeed, the authentic strength of the films' dialogue lies in the instances of code-switching occurring when the British/American and the Pakistani (in *AFK*), the Indian (in *BILB*), the Spanish (in *RWHC*, *SP*), the Greek (in *MBFGW*, *MLR*), or the Hmong (in *GT*) characters interact with each other. Their communicative exchanges faithfully represent the distinguishing linguistic traits characterising real multiethnic communities in the UK and the USA, within which second-generation immigrants generally converge to the British/American linguistic background, accommodating to and using their British/American interlocutors' "they-code" (Auer and Wei 2005; 2007), whereas first-generation immigrants diverge (Sachdev and Giles 2004) sticking to their "we-code" (Auer and Wei 2005; 2007), be it



Punjabi in *BILB* and *AFK*, the Mexican variation of Spanish in *RWHC* and *SP*, Greek in *MBFGW* and *MLR*, or Hmong in *GT*.

In establishing a specific socio-linguistic and pragmatic framing within which code-switching seems to operate in audiovisual products, the film scripts will be analysed focusing, in particular, on those cases where it is possible to recognise some sort of manipulation applied in renarrating, reinterpreting and reconstructing the characters' multicultural identity for the Italian audience, thus possibly leading the defining ethnic and linguistic features of the films' original dialogue to be diluted to the point of neutralisation (Pavesi 2005: 37).

2. THE AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION OF CODE-SWITCHING

Issues of multilingualism and language variation on the screen are inherently tied to the concept of audiovisual translation, intended as a transcoding process focused not merely on language transfer but also, and primarily, on cross-cultural transfer (Snell-Hornby 1995). Indeed, the translation of multilingual films, and of code-switching in particular, represents a unique challenge as it involves a "reconfiguration of multilingual relations obtaining within source texts, but the significance of these relations is deeply rooted in the source-culture by the way in which they represent or transform multilingual relations existing in social reality" (Delabastita and Grutman 2005: 27). This implies that the multiplicity of languages used in the films' original version requires a multiplicity of modes in film translation (Heiss 2004). It is therefore interesting to observe whether the different translation strategies adopted for code-switching in the Italian dubbed versions lead to faithful representations of the films' original essence or entail a certain degree of ideological manipulation, as "the way in which cultural values are translated depends not only on linguistic asymmetries between languages but also on fundamental decisions based on power, dominance, and ideology" (Díaz Cintas 2012: 279) and in the passage from the source language to the target language, "subjectivity shifts will probably occur, provoking the displacement of part of the original meaning, whether consciously or unconsciously" (ibid.: 282).

2.1. Reinterpreting Turn-specific and Intersentential Code-switching through Dubbing

The Italian filmmakers' traditional tendency to adhere to norms of monolingualism (Bleichenbacher 2008: 57), involving local standardisation (Pavesi 2005: 56), explicitation (Tourey 1980: 60) and naturalisation (Ulrych 2000: 410), has often led, until recently, to the elimination of code-switching through dubbing. With regard to the films under study, it is in particular in *AFK* and *RWHC* that the spoken we-code results to be mostly dubbed, and therefore flattened out, in the Italian version (a procedure covering 83% of the 84 occurrences in *AFK* and 100% of the 160 occurrences in *RWHC*), thoroughly domesticating the sense of otherness its use traditionally provides.



In *AFK* this can be observed when Rukhsana's mother and Amar's father talk about the arranged marriage between their children, choosing Punjabi to discuss the values at the core of their background heritage:¹

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
MRS KHAN	[Punjabi] [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	[Punjabi] [But his mother put in a lot of effort. The first teachings are from the mother.]	Sì, certo, è così, ma bisogna riconoscere i meriti della madre. Si dice che i primi veri insegnamenti vengano dalle madri.	Yes, of course, it is like that, but you should recognize the mother's merits. They say the first real teachings come from mothers.
MRS KHAN	[Punjabi]	Sono d'accordo.	I agree.
AMAR'S FATHER	[Punjabi] [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 depend also on the mother.

Table 1

The original version maintains the dialogue entirely in Punjabi with open subtitles in English (except in one case when Punjabi is left untranslated), whereas the Italian version replaces spoken Punjabi with standard spoken Italian, thus failing in reproducing the crucial connection between using the we-code and belonging to the older generations as an act of linguistic self-identification.

Another key example can be recognised in a dialogue between the Khans and Amar's family: in the original version, Amar's mother and Mrs Khan speak Punjabi while Rukhsana and Amar adopt turn-specific code-switching—i.e. occurring between the turns of different speakers in a conversation (Myers-Scotton 1993: 4)—using English as the linguistic symbol of their Western identity, whereas in the Italian version all the characters speak Italian, thus neutralising the original dialogue' socio-cultural and emotional implications:

¹ In the excerpts, when the indication [Punjabi] / [Hmong] / [Spanish] / [Greek] appears in square brackets it means that the we-code is maintained at the spoken level with no subtitles conveying its meaning in either the original version or the Italian dubbed version. The sentences in square brackets refer to the English/Italian open subtitles appearing at the bottom of the screen and used to convey the meaning of the spoken exchanges maintained in the we-code.



	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
AMAR'S MOTHER	[Punjabi] [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 that, they always change their minds, one day they want to do one thing, the following day another one.
MRS KHAN	[Punjabi] [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 here nearby. She is always exercising, indeed, look at her beautiful body.
RUKHSANA	Mommy!	Mamma, che dici?	Mom, what are you saying?
AMAR	Aerobics?	Aerobica?	Aerobics?
RUKHSANA	Yeah, yeah.	Già.	Yeah.
AMAR	All right. Do you enjoy that?	Ah, sì. E ti piace?	Ah, yeah. And do you like it?

Table 2

Due to the manipulation of the original dialogue in dubbing, the Italian version does not express the competing visions of the world held by the two generations and recurrently illustrated, in the original version, through the juxtaposition of their linguistic codes across conversational turns.

In *RWHC*, Spanish-English code-switching inundates most of the conversations taking place among the members of both the García family and their Latino community. In the film's original version, spoken Spanish is always maintained and its meaning is conveyed through open subtitles in English, whereas in the Italian version the Spanish utterances are dubbed into Italian with a resulting misrepresentation of the characters' identity. This can be seen when the García family celebrates Ana's birthday and the family members address each other using their we-code, which disappears in the Italian version:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
COUSIN 1	Anita. <i>Ven.</i> [Come.]	Ana. Vieni.	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.	Ok.
COUSIN 1	<i>Ándale, apúrale.</i> [Come on, hurry up.]	Dai, sbrigati.	Come on, hurry up.



ANA'S FAMILY	¡Felicidades! [Congratulations!]	Auguri!	Congratulations!
AUNT	¡Felicidades. Anita! [Congratulations, Anita!]	Auguri, Anita, auguri, auguri!	Congratulations, Anita, congratulations, congratulations!
ANA	Gracias, primos. [Thank you, cousins!]	Grazie.	Thanks.
GRANDPA	Muchas felicidades, Ana... [All the happiness, Ana...]	Tanti meravigliosi auguri...	Many wonderful wishes...
ANA	Abuelito... [Grandpa...]	Ah nonnino...	Ah grandpa...
GRANDPA	...por muchos años. Mira. Mira tu pastelote. [...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.

Table 3

A similar loss in transcultural transmission can be recognised when, at the García sewing factory, the Mexican women co-workers gossip choosing Spanish as their linguistic code:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
ANA'S MOTHER	I have <i>chisme</i> from the market.	Ho un pettegolezzo dal mercato.	I have a piece of gossip from the market.
NORMITA	<i>Mami, Doña Carmen tiene chisme.</i> [Mommy, Mrs Carmen has gossip.]	Mami, la signora Carmen ha un pettegolezzo.	Mommy, Mrs Carmen has a piece of gossip.
CARLOTA	<i>Me encanta el chisme.</i> [I love gossip.]	Vado matta per i pettegolezzi.	I'm crazy about gossips.
ANA'S MOTHER	<i>El Dorado Ortiz</i> is secretly in love with Rosalí.	<i>El Dorado Ortiz</i> è segretamente innamorato di Rosalí.	<i>El Dorado Ortiz</i> 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>El Dorado Ortiz está enamorado de Rosalí.</i> [El Dorado Ortiz is in love with Rosalí.]	<i>El Dorado Ortiz</i> è innamorato di Rosalí.	<i>El Dorado Ortiz</i> is in love with Rosalí.

Table 4

In the original version, the Mexican immigrants' collective use of the we-code proves to be their way of claiming, both consciously and unconsciously, their common ethnic background and it serves to amplify the expressive at hand as it creates an atmosphere of increased solidarity and warmth. Conversely, in the Italian version, the



source culture and the migrant community's internal relations are made invisible in the language of translation.

Excerpt in Table 5 also calls attention to another distinctive discourse practice enacted by the Mexican-American characters, and by Ana's mother in particular, that is to say the continuous code-switching Spanish-English functioning as a means of identification with both Mexican and American cultures. This can be observed during a conversation between Ana and her mother:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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 ahì, Dio mio. Non ti fare troppe illusioni. Non entrerai mai là dentro, è una 46.	Ay ay, 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!
ANA	Don't!	Basta! Finiscila!	Stop! Stop it!
ANA'S MOTHER	They must weigh 10 kilos each!	Peseranno almeno 10 chili l'una!	They must weigh at least 10 kilos each!
ANA	Mum, what do you think you're doing?!	Mamma, si può sapere cosa vuoi da me?	Mom, is it possible to know what do you want from me?
ANA'S MOTHER	<i>Ay, eres tan exagerada.</i> [Oh, you're so dramatic.]	Oh figlia mia, come sei esagerata.	Oh my daughter, how dramatic you are.

Table 5

Ana's mother constantly switches from Spanish into English and viceversa, using turn-specific and intersentential code-switching—i.e. occurring between sentences within a single conversation turn (Myers-Scotton 1993: 4)—as a spontaneous linguistic choice, thus expressing both her deeply-felt tie with her background heritage and her connection to the Western world, in the possible attempt to reconcile the sense of splitting brought about by emigration that is often made by first-generation immigrants. Such further symbolic relevance of code-switching is lost in the Italian version, which reinterprets Ana's mother identity, repressing any presence of the cultural other that is one of the character's distinguishing traits. Another important fact to be noticed in this case is that Ana never uses her family/community we-code, choosing to speak English, the they-code, instead, as the expression of her American identity, another key aspect the Italian audience is not made aware of.

The recurrent dubbing of spoken Spanish into Italian also wipes out the importance the immigrant characters assign to their background moral values, often



discussed, through their we-code, during intimate conversations, as can be seen when Ana's parents talk about her daughter:

	Original versión	Dubbed version	Back translation
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 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> [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.]	Gliela do io l'istruzione. Io le 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.	I give her an education. I teach 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.</i> [It's all right, she can get married later.]	<i>Querida, c'è sempre tempo per sposarsi.</i>	<i>Querida, there's always time to get married.</i>

Table 6

In the Italian version, the only word uttered in Spanish is the affectionate term of address *querida* that Ana's father uses when addressing his wife (and that is not to be found in the original version); this might be due to a sort of compensation strategy enacted by the Italian translator-adaptor in order to, at least partially, convey the foreignness of the character whose mother tongue has been, instead, thoroughly eliminated.

The analysis of the previous excerpts leads us to say that, in the original versions of *AFK* and *RWHC*, the widespread presence of both turn-specific and intersentential



code-switching Punjabi/English and Spanish/English allows the maintenance of the essence of real code-switching discourse, specifically used to promote a sense of solidarity among interlocutors belonging to the same family/ethnic community. Furthermore, the presence of open subtitles every time Punjabi and Spanish are spoken promotes complete audience understandability and guarantees the faithful rendering of the original ethnic background. On the other hand, the Italian dubbed versions lack the linguistic fusion of two distinct languages drawn together by cultural assimilation and symbolising a microcosm of the present-day ever-expanding multicultural world. The target audience is therefore given a different image of the immigrant characters, presented as perfectly integrated in the British/American society and apparently not concerned with sticking to their background heritage also through the use of their mother tongue. The dubbing process thus leads to suppression and normalisation into the target language and culture, with the result being a “linguistic whitewashing of originally bright colors into various shades of grey” (Whitman-Linsen 1996: 118), inevitably detrimental to the films’ overall comprehension.

2.1.1 Renarrating code-switching through explicitation

A peculiar translation strategy sometimes adopted in the Italian version of some of the films under study is explicitation through dubbing, i.e. the tendency for translations to be more explicit than the source text (Klaudy 2001). Even though it primarily aims at making the original script more accessible to the target audience, in the case of multilingual films it removes important aspects of translingual and cross-cultural communication that are essential in the immigrant characters’ discourse practices. It is especially in *AFK* and *BILB* that we can recognise some instances of explicitation: 16 occurrences in *AFK* covering 19% of the total, 22 occurrences in *BILB* covering 50% of the total. When in the original version the spoken we-code is maintained unaltered – it is not translated by means of subtitles and its meaning is left to the imagination of the English audience—in the Italian version it is always dubbed into Italian, as can be observed in *AFK* when Ruckhsana and Amar announce their marriage to Casim:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
CASIM	[Punjabi]	Come va, tutto bene?	How are things, is everything fine?
AMAR	[Punjabi]	Bene, grazie.	Fine, thanks.
CASIM	[Punjabi]	Ciao, mamma, eccomi.	Hi, mum, here I am.
MRS KHAN	[Punjabi]	Oh, ben tornato. È andato tutto bene?	Oh, welcome back. Has everything gone well?
CASIM	[Punjabi]	Tutto bene, grazie. Che la pace sia con te.	Everything all right, thanks. Peace be with you.

Table 7



Whereas no translation of Punjabi appears in the original version, the Italian adaptor translates the whole dialogue, as if s/he wanted to find an alternative way to stress the importance of family ties at the core of the characters' lives, an aspect that in the original version is always highlighted by the use of the we-code.

Also in *BILB*, spoken Punjabi, prevailingly used by first-generation immigrants and usually left untranslated in both versions, is sometimes dubbed into Italian and its *supposed* meaning is conveyed by means of explicitation, as can be seen in tables 8-12:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
PINKY	I'll get it!	Vado io!	I'll get it!
MR BHAMRA	[Punjabi]	Ma chi è a quest'ora?	Who's at this time?

Table 8

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
MR BHAMRA	The dinner's ready?	La cena è pronta?	Is dinner ready?
MRS BHAMRA	[Punjabi]	Quasi.	Almost.
MR BHAMRA	[Punjabi]	Allora perché non mangiamo?	So why don't we eat?

Table 9

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
MRS BHAMRA ((to Jess))	[Punjabi]	Andiamo. Tu sali. A casa facciamo i conti.	Come on. You go up. At home we'll settle the score.

Table 10

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
TONY'S MOTHER	[Punjabi]	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!

Table 11

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
TEET'S MOTHER	[Punjabi]	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	[Punjabi]	Su, lascia stare.	Come on, leave it.
TEET'S FATHER	[Punjabi]	Ora la cosa riguarda la vostra famiglia.	Now the issue concerns our family.

Table 12



We could therefore say that when the Italian versions of *AFK* and *BILB* add further connotations to what is expressed in spoken Punjabi in the original versions, this could be mainly due to the fact that the Italian film translator seems to identify with the English screenwriter, trying to analyse and understand the characters, imagining how the dialogue would have been structured had it been complete in the original version and sometimes adding nuances of meaning to further involve the target audience. Though such translation procedure basically has a positive aim, it implies an act of manipulation, interfering the most with the structure of the original script, minimising the crucial role of the source culture, obscuring foreign identities and obfuscating the importance of family ties that is, instead, at the core of the immigrant families' internal dynamics and linguistically enacted by the recurrent use of the we-code in their discourse practices.

2.1.2 Reconstructing intrasentential code-switching

Whereas the translation-manipulation techniques discussed so far regard instances of turn-specific and intersentential code-switching and can be recognised only in *AFK*, *BILB* and *RWHC*, different translation, or non-translation, strategies are generally adopted in the cases of intrasentential code-switching, which are the ones occurring within the same sentence, from single morpheme to clause level (Myers-Scotton 1993: 4). This is indeed preserved, in both the original and the Italian dubbed versions, particularly when used by second-generation immigrants quoting we-code words to evoke specific socio-cultural, historical and religious traditions of their home country (Monti 2014, 2009), thus "recalling the local-cultural practices of the past within the global medium of English" (Bhatt 2010: 107), with many examples to be found in *MLR* (20 items), *BILB* (6 items), *MBFGW* (3 items), *AFK* (2 items), *SP* (1 item) as the following excerpts from *BILB* (Table 13) and *AFK* (Table 14) show:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
TONY'S MOTHER	Aha. May God give you and your husband an endless happiness! And pray for me, that I get a lovely daughter-in-law like you for my Tony, uh <i>putar</i> ?	Ah, ah! Possa Dio mantenere te e tuo marito nella felicità più infinita. E prega per me che io possa trovare una nuora come te per il mio Tony. Ah, <i>putar</i> ?	Ah, ah! May God preserve you and your husband in the most neverending happiness. And pray for me that I can find a daughter-in-law like you for my Tony. Ah, <i>putar</i> ?
TONY	Mum!	Mamma!	Mom!
PINKY	Ah, thank you, <i>massiji</i> ! OK, bye eh.	Oh, grazie, <i>massiji</i> , arrivederci, eh.	Oh, thanks. <i>massiji</i> , good-bye, eh.

Table 13



The previous dialogue among Jess, Pinky, Tony and his mother shows that a Punjabi word that adults use when addressing their children is *putar* [son, boy], whereas children addressing adults recurrently use *massiji* [aunt]; the two terms are left untranslated in both the original and the Italian version. In the following example, Rukhsana tries to convince Roisin to split up with Casim and she uses the Punjabi word *izzat* when referring to the principle of preserving family honour at any cost:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
RUKHSANA	See, we have this concept called, ehm, <i>izzat</i> , which I guess is family honour, and that's really important to-to people. And my parents all their life have worked very very hard to maintain that, to keep that, and they've built up respect and trust in the community. And what-what Casim has done has basically taken that away.	Noi abbiamo un codice, che chiamiamo <i>izzat</i> . Più o meno corrisponde all'onore familiare, e questo è molto importante per la nostra gente. I miei genitori, per tutta la vita, hanno lavorato molto duramente per conservarlo e rispettarlo, e si sono guadagnati la stima e la fiducia della comunità. E quello che ha fatto Casim ha vanificato tutto.	We have a code, which we call <i>izzat</i> . It more or less corresponds to family honour, and this is very important for our people. My parents have worked hard all their life to maintain and respect it, and they've gained the esteem and trust of the community. And what Casim did has taken everything away.

Table 14

One exception to this tendency is to be observed in *AFK* (1 item, excerpt in Table 15) and *BILB* (5 items, excerpts in Tables 16-19), 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] and *bionda* [blond], or derogatory terms like *stronza* [bitch], which emphasises the negative connotations the word is embedded with but causes the loss of its racial connotations, something that is instead crucial in films which revolve around racial conflicts (Bonsignori and Bruti 2008):

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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.

Table 15

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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?

Table 16



	Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
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 off packing!	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 cacciarono via.	But when I arrived in 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.

Table 17

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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> ?

Table 18

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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?

Table 19

Also in *MLR*, the we-code terms relevant to Greek culture, monuments, historical places as well as everyday objects are always left unchanged in both versions (20 items), as can be seen in Table 20 and Table 21:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
GEORGIA	[...] People reconnect with their souls. They find their mojo. In Greece, it's called <i>kefi</i> , which means "passion, joy, spirit". Oh, it's late!	[...] 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". Oh, è tardi!	Here people reconnect with their own spirit. They find their joy at living again. In Greece, this is called <i>kefi</i> , which means "passion, joy, spirit". Oh, it's late!

Table 20

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
GEORGIA	We are now walking through the <i>tholos</i> . Say it with me? Anyone? Okay.	Ci troviamo ora nel <i>tholos</i> . Volete dirlo insieme a me? Nessuno?	We now find ourselves in the <i>tholos</i> . Would you like to say it with me? Anyone?



	The Greek word <i>agora</i> means a place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.	D'accordo. La parola greca <i>agora</i> significa luogo di raduno e, nei tempi antichi, questo era il cuore della vita ateniese.	Okay. The Greek word <i>agora</i> means place of gathering and, in ancient times, this was the heart of Athenian life.
--	--	--	--

Table 21

There is only one exception: when Georgia speaks to her tenant, the word *trapezi* [table], is replaced in Italian by another Greek term, *krevati* [bed]:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
GENAKI	Bravo. Where is the rent?	Ah, bene. Dov'è l'affitto?	Ah, good. Where's the rent?
GEORGIA	I left it on the <i>trapezi</i> . [Greek]	L'ho lasciato sul <i>krevati</i> . [Greek].	I left it on the <i>krevati</i> .

Table 22

This is possibly due to a failure on the part of the Italian adaptor to correctly understand the Greek term uttered in the original version, something leading him/her to adopt a word with a similar sound though different meaning but, in any case, appropriate to the filmic context.

Also the names of traditional ethnic food are always left unaltered, in both versions, to illustrate the key role it plays in the immigrant characters' life as one of the last bastions of tradition that should be preserved across generations to validate in-group behavioural models. This can be seen in *BILB* (9 items), *MBFGW* (7 items), *AFK* (6 items), *MLR* (5 items), *GT* (2 items). There is only one case of manipulation in *MLR* when Irv, one of the tourists, says:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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 Fallocrates.

Table 23

The expression *feta cheese*, referring to the famous Greek cheese and rhyming with the final syllables of *Socrates* and *Hippocrates*, is replaced, in the Italian dubbed version, by the name of another supposed philosopher, 'Fallocrate', which rhymes with 'Socrate' and 'Ippocrate'. The Italian word, generally used in a jocular way, recreates the same humorous effect of the original though deleting the reference to food as it refers to a male chauvinist.



2.2 On-screen Manipulation: Misinterpreting

A peculiar type of translation-manipulation technique adopted in *SP*, *GT* and *MLR* in the rendering of code-switching 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. In *SP* (2 occurrences out of 125 total items) an interesting instance of misinterpreting can be observed during the job interview taking place between Flor and Deborah with Monica's mediation:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
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 leaving you time to translate.	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.
MONICA	[Spanish: <i>Esta vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...</i>]	[Spanish: <i>Esta vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...</i>]	

Table 24

Monica has some difficulties in understanding what Deborah says and she summarises the woman's words in two concise sentences: '*Esta vieja está rarísima. Que tiene dos niños...* [This broad is really strange. That she has two children...], thus unintentionally misinterpreting what Deborah wishes to communicate. No translation of Monica's sentence is provided, either in the original version or in the Italian one, even though the audience will probably understand that what she says to Flor does not correspond to Mrs Clasky's original words, as the utterances of the Hispanic woman are shorter compared to Deborah's monologue.

In *GT*, misinterpreting proves to be mostly intentional (2 occurrences out of 38 total items), as 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 giving them an opposite meaning in trying not to offend him:



	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
HMONG PEOPLE	[Hmong]	[Hmong]	
PHONG	[Hmong]	[Hmong]	
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.

Table 25

Also in *MLR* intentional misinterpreting (9 occurrences out of 32 total items) is adopted by means of turn-specific code-switching when Georgia tries to solve a misunderstanding between some of her tourists and a Greek souvenir shop owner. 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 local, as they would not be able either to make themselves understood by the Greek man or to speak Greek:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
SOUVENIR SHOP OWNER	[Greek] [You fat tourists]	[Greek] [Turisti grassoni]	Fat tourists
GEORGIA	My tourist friends	Miei cari turisti	My dear tourists
SOUVENIR SHOP OWNER	[Greek] [I could give you idiots authentic Greek items made by grandmother]	[Greek] [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	[Greek] [But you dummies want this cheap crap]	[Greek] [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	[Greek] [This junk is made in Korea]	[Greek] [Questa robbaccia è fatta in Corea]	This junk is made in Korea
GEORGIA	Things are made in Corinth	Tutti prodotti a Corinto	All made in Corinth
SOUVENIR SHOP OWNER	[Greek] [By prisoners.]	[Greek] [Da carcerati]	By prisoners
GEORGIA	By friends	Da amici suoi	By friends of his



SOUVENIR SHOP OWNER	[Greek] [For you, I'll double the price.]	[Greek] [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	[Greek] [And to your guide a kickback.]	[Greek] [E alla guida spetta una percentuale.]	And to the guide a kickback.
BIG AL	What?	Che ha detto?	What did he say?
GEORGIA	Kick back and enjoy your stay.	Godetevi la vacanza adesso.	Enjoy your holiday now.

Table 26

The previous excerpts clearly illustrate that in misinterpreting a process of manipulation is directly enacted by the characters as a voluntary act of conveying a different meaning due to reasons related to either lack of comprehension (in Table 24) or rules of politeness (in Tables 25 and 26), something that is always reproduced in the Italian dubbed versions, thus sticking to the British/American directors' original narrative aims.

3. TRANSLATIONS AND MANIPULATIONS IN THE ITALIAN VERSION OF *SPANGLISH*

Spanglish represents a peculiar case as far as the translation strategies adopted in the Italian dubbed version are concerned. Indeed, although it mostly maintains unaltered the occurrences of spoken Spanish to be found in the original version (83% of the 120 total occurrences), in some scenes a few changes have been made for both translational and adaptational reasons.

3.1 Phonological and Lexical Adaptation

One challenge relates to the translation into Italian of Flor's difficulties in learning English, as in the Italian version the language Flor has to learn is obviously not English but Italian. Therefore, the mistakes she makes in the original version have to be adapted for the Italian audience. One way of tackling this issue is by means of phonological adaptation, as illustrated in Table 27) where Flor asks Cristina to tell Bernice that she wants her to try on an outfit she modified for her:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	Try... <i>No, no no, no como una orden. No más quiero algo como "¡Ándale!</i>	Prova... <i>No, no no, no como una orden. No más quiero algo como "¡Ándale! ¡Póntelo!"</i>	Try...



	<i>¡Pruebatelo!</i> "		
CRISTINA	Just. J- just try it on!	Andale. C- coraggio!	C-courage!
FLOR	(Spanish accent) Yas try on.	(Spanish accent) Corayo, provatelo.	Couraje, try it on.
CRISTINA	Just. Just.	Coraggio. Gio.	Courage. Ge.
FLOR	(Spanish accent) Yastt.	(Spanish accent) Ddcio.	Ggie.

Table 27

Flor's communication difficulty is due to the fact that she cannot utter the phoneme /dʒ/ contained in the word *just*, as it does not exist in Spanish. In the Italian version, the word suggested by Cristina to soften the imperative tone is *coraggio* [courage], presumably chosen by the translator as it features the sound /dʒ/ too.

Flor's difficulties in using the they-code are evident also in Table 28, where her mistake is shifted from the subject, in English, to the verb, in Italian:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	<i>¿Me puedo ir?</i> Me go.	<i>¿Me puedo ir?</i> lo ando.	I ando.

Table 28

In the original version, Flor erroneously confuses the English accusative pronoun *me* with the nominative first person pronoun *I* and in Italian, the translator changes the mistake into the wrong conjugation of the irregular verb *andare* [to go] through a transfer from the Spanish verb *andar* [to walk].

Even though the scenes where Flor has to deal with the problems of learning a new language are the most frequent ones, in some cases the difficulties in mutual understanding are also on the part of the English-speaking characters, often at odds with Spanish, a language they do not know. In Table 29, Deborah is having a hard time trying to pronounce Flor's name:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
DEBORAH	What's your name? <i>Llamo</i> . It's one of my five Spanish words.	Come ti chiami? <i>Llamo</i> . È una delle cinque parole che conosco.	What's your name? <i>Llamo</i> . It's one of the five words I know.
FLOR	Flor Moreno.	Florenzia Moreno.	
DEBORAH	Floor.	Florenzia.	
FLOR	Mhm, Flor.	Mm, Florenzia.	
DEBORAH	Floor?	Florentia?	
FLOR	No. Flor. ((putting emphasis on the 'r'))	No. Florenzia.	
DEBORAH	Floor.	Floren...	
MONICA	Flor. ((putting emphasis on the 'r'))	Florenzia.	
BERNICE	It means 'flower', right?	Viene da 'fiore', vero?	It comes from "flower", doesn't it?
MONICA	Yes. Flower, yes.	Sì, fiore, sì.	Yes, flower, yes.



(VOICE)			
DEBORAH	Floor! What I walk on, right?	Florensia! Come ansia, no?	Florensia! As anxiety, right?
FLOR	Flor.	Florenzia.	
EVELYN	Flor.	Florenzia.	
ALL	Flor!	Florenzia!	

Table 29

In the original version, Deborah finds it difficult to pronounce the sound /r/ at the end of 'Flor'—pronounced by Flor in the Latin way with lots of r's with a curling of the tongue sound at the end—and, following a pattern typical of native English speakers, she renders it as the approximant alveolar /ɹ/, pronouncing it flat like in the word 'floor'. In the Italian version, maintaining the structure of the original dialogue would not make much sense as the sound /r/ exists in Italian and the dubbing actress would not have problems in pronouncing it. The source of Deborah's difficulties is thus shifted so that it becomes coherent with the target language and Flor's name is changed as *Florenzia* (of which Flor is the hypocorism), which features a non-existent sound in Italian, namely the dental fricative /θ/. In the Italian dubbing, Deborah is unable to pronounce her housekeeper's name correctly as she keeps reproducing the /θ/ sound of *Florenzia* first as /z/, then as /t/ and finally as /s/: this leads the Italian adaptor to create a rhyme on the name *Florensia* through the expression *come ansia* [as anxiety]. The general sense of the scene is thus maintained but adapted/manipulated for the Italian audience.

The changes in the Italian version do not exclusively concern the phonological level, as in some cases the Italian translator replaces lexemes that were specifically chosen for the US audience with lexemes that do not take the target audience out of the film (2 occurrences). This can be seen in Table 30 where the term *inglés* [English] is replaced, in the Italian version, by the neutral expression *esta lengua* [this language], referred to Italian:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR ((to Cristina))	<i>Ya no puedes seguir traduciéndome. Tengo que aprender inglés.</i>	<i>Ya no puedes seguir traduciéndome. Tengo que aprender esta lengua, eh.</i>	

Table 30

In Table 31 John makes an attempt at speaking Spanish, while trying to make amends for his wife's rude behaviour towards Flor:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
JOHN	Good. Is <i>simpático</i> the word?	Bene. Empático è la parola giusta?	Good. Is <i>empático</i> the right word?
FLOR	<i>Simpático, sí.</i>	<i>Simpatico, sí.</i>	
JOHN	All right. Who- who- who- whoa, <i>uno</i>	D'accordo. Uouououo, <i>un instant!</i> No no no, è	Okay. Uouououo, a moment! No no no, it's



	<p><i>momento!</i> That's Italian. I... I really am sorry that this is happening. I just wanted you to know that. I, really... So sorry. . Truly. Who- who- woha, I- I didn't mean like... I meant just... just a normal sorry. Eh, so, I'm gonna go to work.</p>	<p>francese. Eh... mi dispiace molto di quello che è successo. Volevo solo dirti questo, sono veramente... mi dispiace molto. Dal cuore. Ouououo... non intendevo dire... cioè, volevo dire solo... mi dispiace normale. Ah, allora, io vado a lavorare.</p>	<p>French. Eh... I'm really sorry for what has happened. I just wanted to tell you this, I'm really... I'm really sorry. From the bottom of my heart. Ouououo... I didn't mean to say... that is, I just wanted to say... I'm normally sorry. Ah, so, I go to work.</p>
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Table 31

In the original version, John wrongly translates the English word 'sympathetic' with the Spanish false friend *simpático*, which means 'nice' and has nothing to do with the apologies he is trying to make. Flor is confused and fails to understand John's intent; note, however, that an anglophone audience would not probably understand the actual source of the misunderstanding and would just realise that John's attempt is unsuccessful. In dubbing, leaving the dialogue exactly as it is in the original would not work, as the Italian word *simpatico* has the same meaning as in Spanish: it is thus replaced with *empatico* [sympathetic]. Flor's puzzled reaction is thus understood as triggered by the fact that John is using a Spanish word that is not very common. An Italian viewer with no knowledge of Spanish would be unlikely to fully understand the nature of the misunderstanding. Then John tries to address Flor in Spanish, but gets confused and uses the Italian *uno momento* [a moment]; in the Italian dubbed version, the target language is the same as the one with which John gets confused, therefore the line is adapted as he utters a French expression, *un instant* [an instant]. In this scene, another instance of adaptation regards the reference John makes to the Italian language saying 'That's Italian', which is coherently replaced in Italian by a reference to French as he says *è francese* [it's French].

3.2 Compensation

In the Italian version of *Spanglish* another recurrent translation strategy implying some sort of manipulation is compensation, particularly to be observed in the scenes during which Flor makes more grammatical errors when speaking Italian than when speaking English (5 occurrences). This translation procedure places itself within a wider pattern, which emerges from the overall analysis of the Italian dubbing of *Spanglish*. Indeed, Flor's estrangement with respect to the new host culture and the consequent difficulties in the communication among the characters are embodied, in the original version, also in the high degree of typological distance between Spanish and English, as perceived by the audience. On the other hand, in the Italian version such aspect would obviously be weakened because of the similarity between Spanish and Italian. This is why compensation is often applied, as can be seen in the following excerpt:



	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	(Spanish accent) I slept.	(Spanish accent) Yo he dormito.	Me has slept.

Table 32

In the Italian version, the Spanish personal pronoun *yo* [I] is used instead of the Italian personal pronoun *io* [I] and the present perfect of the verb *dormire* [to sleep] is formed with the wrong auxiliary *he* rather than with the correct one *ho* [have]:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	(Spanish accent) You know about Cristina and your private school?	(Spanish accent) Sai di Cristina e tua... escuela privata?	Do you know about Cristina and your... private eschool?

Table 33

In this case, the definite article *della* [of the] that should go before the possessive adjective *tua* [your] is omitted and the Italian lexeme *scuola* [school] is replaced by *escuela*, which is a sort of blend between the Spanish word *escuela* and the Italian term *scuola*. Indeed, Flor uses an Italian word but modifies it pronouncing it with the typical features of Spanish words. Generally speaking, this happens very often among Hispanics learning English: they find it hard to pronounce words starting with *s-*, as they do not have such words in their L1, and they therefore tend to add an *e-* before the lexeme, applying a specific characteristic of their mother tongue. A similar case is to be observed in Table 34, where Flor greets John in English, pronouncing the words she uses with her Spanish accent. In the Italian version the phenomenon is emphasised by a slight change of the Italian word, *buonanotte*, which acquires Spanish features becoming *buenanotte*:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	(Spanish accent) Good night.	(Spanish accent) Buenanotte.	Buena night.

Table 34

Other cases of compensation can be found in Tables 35 and 36:

	Original version	Dubbed version	Back translation
FLOR	(Spanish accent) Why is everything so darn confusing? Tuc- tuc- tuc. Is your mind racing, too?	(Spanish accent) Perché è tutto così troppamente confuso? Tuc- tuc- tuc. Anche la tua mente corre veloce?	Why is everything so muchly confused? Tuc-tuc-tuc. Is your mind running fast too?

Table 35

Here, the Italian non-existent adverb *troppamente* is used instead of the correct form *troppo* [too much].



	Original version	Dubbed version	Back Translation
FLOR	(Spanish accent) Take the letter.	(Spanish accent) Prende la letera.	Take la letera.

Table 36

In the Italian version, the imperative clause *prende la letera* has a distinctly Spanish flavour and replaces what would be the correct form *prendi la lettera* [take the letter].

4. CONCLUSIONS

The comparative analysis of the English original version and the Italian dubbed version of the films under study has shown that whereas in the original versions code-switching usually prevails in the spoken exchanges, the Italian dubbing adopts various forms of translation for the we-code that occasionally imply processes of manipulation.

What stands out, in particular, is a different approach to the Italian translation of code-switching in *Ae Fond Kiss* and *Real Women Have Curves* on the one hand, and in *Bend It Like Beckham*, *Spanglish*, *Gran Torino*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, *My Life in Ruins*, on the other. Indeed, it is only in *Ae Fond Kiss* and *Real Women Have Curves* that the general tendency is to dub, respectively, Punjabi and Spanish into spoken Italian through domestication, explicitation and socio-cultural adaptation. Such ideological and cultural manipulation represses the cultural other as it obscures the role of code-switching in giving voice to the 'immigrant families' internal relationships, thus excluding in the representation any question of multiculturalism and multilingualism.

On the other hand, in the Italian versions of *Bend it Like Beckham*, *Spanglish*, *Gran Torino*, *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, and *My Life in Ruins*, most occurrences of the spoken we-code are maintained unaltered in both versions and either left untranslated or translated by means of open subtitles, thus succeeding in faithfully recreating the multiethnic communities' transcultural common ground. Furthermore, even though few cases of manipulation relevant to intra-sentential code-switching are to be recognised in the Italian dubbed versions, these are not detrimental to the films' internal coherence. Such overall procedure seems to follow a trend towards foreignisation giving full voice to the immigrant families' cultural values, rendering the otherness implied in the foreign language/culture and also satisfying the viewers' expectations and curiosity concerning different ethnic traditions.

A peculiar case of, we could say, positive manipulation in translation is represented by the Italian version of *Spanglish* where, though most of the Spanish utterances are mainly left unchanged, some phonetical, lexical and syntactic changes have been made for adaptational purposes, to recreate the Spanish characters' foreignness.

We could therefore conclude by saying that the translation, or non-translation, strategies nowadays most commonly adopted in the Italian versions of multilingual



films privilege a more faithful rendering of the otherness implied in code-switching, carrying over most of the functions it fulfills in multilingual interactional dynamics and thoroughly conveying the translanguaging space (Wei 2011) the characters live in.

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